Volume 0

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Anthropology for Civil Services Examination

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Social and Cultural Anthropology

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Preface

G.S. Kartic, a Gold Medalist in Anthropology from University of Hyderabad in the year 1992, is currently authoring his Ph. D thesis on " Primary Health Care Delivery Amongst Tribal Societies in India: The Impact of Organizational, Cultural and System-specific Factors". He has conducted extensive research amongst the multi-tribal societies in the Agency areas of Vishakhapatnam District of Andhra Pradesh. Though his academic research is in the realm of Medical Anthropology, Kartic has been deploying the methodologies of Visual Anthropology in his profession as a Corporate and Social Media Consultant over one and a half decades. He has scripted, directed and produced more than 2000 corporate and social media products and films for many multinational, government and non-governmental organizations, through his company Grey Scale Media Solutions Pvt. Ltd. He is also an advisor in the realm of capacity building, civic engagement and training for urban local bodies and civic governments. His forte in this domain is in the emerging concept of "place branding". He also provides strategic consulting in the field of communications for various organizations dealing with differently-abled and mentally challenged children.

Kartic has been involved in training the aspirants of Civil Services Examination for over 16 years. Many students of his have made it into the coveted services at various levels across the country. Many amongst them are toppers in their respective years and more or less, on an average, more than 15 students of his make it to the services every year.

This three-volume series is the 8th edition of the original work written in the year 1993. Owing to the dynamic nature of the discipline of anthropology and consistent changes introduced in the syllabus by the UPSC every 3-5 years, these volumes continuously evolve. The subject matter of these books is written strictly keeping the scope of the syllabus for UPSC Civil Services Examination and is based on the changes introduced in the Anthropology Syllabus in the year 2008. Owing to the dearth of books written exclusively for the Civil Services Examination, these three volumes constitute complete study material for the purpose of this examination. Relevant handouts on emerging areas of interest and new developments in the subject domain will be given to the students from time to time, as a part of lecture notes.

The three volumes are organized into Social Anthropology (Volume 1), Physical Anthropology (Volume 2) and Indian Anthropology (Volume 3), for ease of study. Indexing of the topics is, however, done according to the syllabus released by UPSC

1.1 MEANING, SCOPE & DEVELOPMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

Anthropology is the study of the origin, development, and nature of the human species. The word "Anthropology" is a combined form derived from the Greek terms **"anthropos"** (human being) and **"logos"** (study) and can be translated as "the study of humanity". Anthropology is not just the study of human beings. It is the study of human beings living in societies and following distinctive ways of life labeled "culture". The study of anthropology weaves together the findings of its various branches to provide an explanation of the development and nature of human cultures.

Anthropology is considered as the most comprehensive of all the sciences dealing with man. An inherent curiosity of man about himself was the prime factor influencing the emergence of a discipline that systematically studies mankind. For as long as humans have been on earth, they have wondered about who they are, where they came from and why they act the way they do. Much of the human history, according to anthropologist Haviland, has resulted from the efforts of people to answer these basic questions. Because of the limits of knowledge and technology, throughout most of their history, people were unable to accumulate an extensive and reliable body of data concerning their own behavior and background. Hence, they have relied on bodies of myth and folklore to answer these questions. Anthropology, over the last 200 years, is the naturalistic approach to answering these questions people ask about themselves.

Anthropology defines itself as a discipline of infinite curiosity about human beings. Anthropologists seek answers to an enormous variety of questions about humans. They are interested in discovering when, where and why humans appeared on the earth, how and why they have changed since then, how and why modern human populations vary in certain physical features. Anthropologists are also interested in how and why societies in the past and present have varied in their customary ideas and practices.

The definition and the meaning of Anthropology was not always the same since the time it was envisioned for the first time. Anthropology had a slow growth owing to factors like highly restricted geographical wanderings of the people and lack of understanding the non-European cultures by many earlier travelers. The definitions of various scholars given at different periods of time reveal the evolution of the meaning and scope of this discipline.

Definition of Anthropology

Aristotle is referred to as the father of anthropology. He is considered as the first anthropologist who coined, defined and explained the term "anthropology". He defines anthropology as the gossip that revolves around man and the anthropologist as the gossiper who talks about himself.

Anthropology was beginning to be nourished in the philosophical faculties in the universities of Germany between the 14th and 17th centuries. During this period, anthropology was defined as the systematic study of man as a physical and moral being. The physical aspect of man includes the biological conditions of man while the moral aspects are the intangible characteristics of man like the beliefs, morals, ethics and ideals of mankind, which also includes the political, economic and social life.

The 18th century witnessed the publication of the book titled "Anthropology" by a well known German philosopher Emmanuel Kant. In this book Kant defines anthropology as a study which describes and explains the animal origins, social as well as cultural development and progress of man. According to this definition, anthropology is considered as a discipline concerned with the study of human origin and biological evolution and also the human cultural and social development. In fact, it was Kant who identified for the first time that man had an animal origin and his biological complexity is the result of evolution.

During the beginning of 19th century, Encyclopedia Britannica defined anthropology as a discipline devoted to a discourse on human nature. Since human nature is a complex phenomenon, it can be inferred from this definition that anthropology is equally inquisitive about human biology, human culture

the human cultural capacity is responsible for the origin and development of human society. It is these intricate interconnections between biology, culture and society that anthropology explores.

Edward Bunnet Tylor defined anthropology in his book entitled "Anthropology" as the study of old remains of people and the physical features, races, languages, customs and practices of primitive peoples. Through this definition, Tylor has restricted the scope of anthropology to the study of primitive people only. But other anthropologists like Paul Broca, have emphasized that the scope of anthropology extends even to the study of modern cultures also.

Scholars like Malinowski, Radcliffe Brown and Franz Boas defined anthropology during the beginning of the 20th century as the study of man at all levels of developments. Thus, this definition provided a solution to the divided opinion on the scope of anthropology manifest during the later part of the 19th century. These anthropologists emphasized that the scope of anthropology pertains to the study of biology, culture and society of man throughout time and in all parts of the world. Today anthropology is equally inquisitive about the man in his past, present and future and exists as a comprehensive, comparative, holistic and humanistic field of study amongst all the social, biological and humanistic sciences in the world.

The Oxford Dictionary defines anthropology as "Study of mankind especially of its societies and customs; study of structure and evolution of man as an animal". Krober, an eminent anthropologist defines anthropology as "the science of groups of men and their behavior and production". Herskovitz defines anthropology as "the study of man and his actions". According to Jacobs and Sterns, "anthropology is the scientific study of the physical, social and cultural development and behavior of human beings since their appearance on this earth".

These definitions seek to point out that anthropology is a distinct subject which adopts scientific approach to the study of social, physical and cultural behavior of man. In its true sense, anthropology studies the pre-historic man and seeks to trace out various factors that were responsible for human physical, cultural and social evolution. It also makes use of this knowledge to offer solutions to the problems pertaining to the future of mankind.

Nature & Scope of Anthropological Inquiry

The central problem of anthropology is the explanation of humanity. Anthropologists seek to understand the origin and development of the species, the manner in which humans form groups and develop distinctive ways of life - culture, and the various limitations and potentials inherent in humanity. Anthropology is concerned with all human beings, past and present and with all of their works and activities.

There are many other disciplines that are concerned with humanity. In biological sciences anatomy is concerned with the physical structure of human beings, both in itself and in contrast to that of other animals. Physiology, embryology and medicine, all shed light on particular aspects of the human condition. All of the social sciences study social aspects of human activity. Art, music, literature, drama and all the other humanistic disciplines examine the works of humanity.

Anthropology's special role among the many disciplines lies in its unique combination of **holistic, historical** and **comparative methods**. The holistic method involves the study of human beings or groups of human beings in terms of the entire pattern of their lives. Thus, even when anthropologists specialize in particular fields such as biology, social relations, economics or art, they tend to consider those fields in terms of their relationships to all other aspects of humanity and human endeavor. *The basic proposition underlying holism in anthropology is that human behavior arises out of complex interactions taking place within a cultural system.*

The historical method in anthropology involves both the attempt to describe the entire course of human biological and cultural evolution and the attempt to place each way of life in an historical perspective.

relationships among the various peoples on the earth, whereas cultural anthropology interprets the cultures of existing peoples in terms of historical influences on their present ways of life and on their probable future development.

Comparative methods are used as a means of explaining the similarities and differences among the various peoples of the earth. Comparative methods can be used in a limited way to construct explanations of variations within single political units or among closely related peoples. They can also be used in comparative studies designed to test broad, general propositions and theories concerning the nature of human beings and the cultures they construct. The comparative study of the human species centers its attention upon the differences and similarities that separate and unite all of the peoples of the earth. It attempts to isolate and define the laws and principles that account for the development and perpetuation of such differences and similarities.

Anthropological explanations are not limited to any particular group of human beings or to any single period of history. An anthropologist is as interested in the earliest forms of humanity as in contemporary forms. The biological evolution of human species and the development of human ways of life are studied from the earliest times for which any record survives to the present. In studying the contemporary humanity, an anthropologist is as interested in small distant human populations as in those that are large and close. Solutions to such problems require intensive study and comparison of many kinds of human beings and human cultures. The world of today and the fragmentary remains of its past are the sources of data for anthropological research.

A great many different approaches are required for the understanding of humanity in culture. Each of these approaches requires the development of its own specific methods. Anthropology therefore, like many other disciplines, is divided into branches and sub-branches, most important of them being Physical or Biological Anthropology, Socio-cultural Anthropology and Archeological Anthropology.

We can conclude that anthropology is the study of everything human - from our biological origins to how our cultural systems influence our human behavior.

Uniqueness of Anthropological Research

As already stated, anthropology defines itself as a discipline of infinite curiosity about the human beings. Owing to the complexity of human beings and the nature of human behavior, certain specialized methodologies, methods and techniques have been developed, adapted and adopted by anthropology. The combination of these various approaches and themes makes anthropological research and approach very unique in the family of social and natural sciences.

The Comparative Theme: When anthropology and sociology split from one another in the mid nineteenth century, a major element in their separation was that sociologists tended to focus on the European society whereas anthropologists retained their interest in comparing and contrasting what was known about the peoples and cultures of the world, both living and dead. This interest in systematic comparison was rooted in evolutionary concerns, in both the biological and sociological domains.

Anthropologists use **two dimensions of comparison** in their work. **Synchronic comparison** is the comparison of biological, linguistic, archaeological and ethnographic data across a wide geographical area at one arbitrarily selected point in time. **Diachronic comparison** is the comparison of these data through an extended time period in a limited geographical area. From synchronic studies we learn about the regularities of human biology and behavior around the world at a particular time, usually the present or the recent past. From diachronic studies we learn about the human biological and socio-cultural evolution. Although many anthropologists devote most or all of their time to the particularistic study of one group, language, archaeological site or fossil population, all anthropologists acknowledge that their long term aim is to accumulate enough data to enable them to synthesize information and arrive at meaningful and scientific laws describing the ongoing processes of human life every where, past and present. Such laws would be derived from generalizations arising from the systematic comparison and

The Holistic Theme: Another characteristic feature that separated anthropology from sociology in the last century was when sociologists gave more and more focus on society and social systems, anthropologists insisted on trying to tie together what was being learned about human biology, society, culture and psychology. This insistence on seeing the whole context of human behavior is called holism, and it is a fundamental theme of anthropology. Thus, anthropologists have generally resisted simplistic and reductionist explanations of human behavior, taking instead the widest range of information from the domains of biology, psychology, sociology, ecology, ethology and other disciplines and perspectives into account. Perhaps more than all other social scientists, anthropologists are sensitive to the awesome complexity of human nature.

The Systems and Process Theme: As anthropology was developing, it has gone through phases in which emphasis was placed on rather static descriptions and classifications of data, and other phases in which concern with the relationships between elements of biological, environmental, social and culture systems were stressed with a goal of specifying the processes through which these systems maintain their dynamic interrelationships with each other. Since the 1950s, this emphasis on a dynamic systems and processes approach has once more come to predominate in anthropological practice. For instance, archaeologists are no longer content merely to catalogue prehistoric cultures and their sequences; rather they are concerned with investigating the ways in which these cultures were adapted to their environmental niches. Physical anthropologists are concerned with process. They are abandoning the concept of static taxonomies in favor of investigating the ways in which genes express themselves changeably in various environmental contexts. Thus, analyzing the internal dynamics of each system and the processes of interaction among systems is one of the more important tasks of contemporary anthropology.

The Case Study Method: As anthropology developed, its research tended to focus on pre-industrial groups that were often in remote regions, quite distant in space and lifestyle from the rapidly expanding western European society. Consequently, anthropologists in those remote places were cut off from their own society for long periods of time and devoted themselves to extremely detailed descriptions of the particular group with which they were living and immersing themselves in the daily affairs of the people while trying to study them objectively. This technique of social research is called participant observation and it has come to characterize much of anthropological research.

Similarly in archaeology, individual researchers spend years excavating and charting specific sites, frequently leaving it to others to undertake comparative studies that reveal major evolutionary trends. In physical anthropology, researchers spend long periods of time collecting blood samples and body measurements among relatively isolated peoples, or in the agonizingly slow work of studying the behavior of a particular primate group in its natural habitat. Eventually the information from such particularistic research will be analyzed in terms of the larger patterns that research around the world reveals. Furthermore, anthropologists are continually searching for new such "cases" to disprove, modify or support currently held generalizations. Much of the anthropologist's professional career is very much preoccupied and socially identified with a particular group, site, language, community or fossil population that she or he has investigated exhaustively. Indeed, anthropologists in general seem much less comfortable in the grand spaces of abstract theory than in the more concrete world of stones and bones, phonemes and morphemes, rituals and market exchanges, and strata in archaeological sites. We are calling this predisposition toward concrete detail as the case study theme in anthropology.

The Emics & Etics Theme: Because of the cross-cultural nature of so much of anthropological research, anthropologists have been confronted, more than most other social scientists, with the problem of translating the cultural world of their subjects into the idiom of western knowledge. The problem of translation occurs at both ends of one's research: learning about the people one is investigating and then communicating what one has learned about these people to one's professional colleagues. Struggling with these difficulties has sensitized anthropologists to the problem of keeping perspectives and world views separate; the perspectives of the people who are being investigated (called Emics) and the perspectives of the western social science in general and anthropology in particular (called Etics).

of data, is very difficult. It is quite easy to see what one expects to see, to interpret in terms of one's preconceptions.

Naturally, these issues are most highlighted in ethnographic and linguistic research, but they are relevant to archaeology and physical anthropology as well. The researchers must be very careful how they go about trying to comprehend the worlds of their subjects - be these foreign groups, prehistoric populations or living primates. It is crucial that they do not confuse their own perspectives and assumptions with those of their subjects i.e., that they keep emics and etics separated at all stages of research and analysis.

1.2 RELATIONSHIP WITH OTHER DISCIPLINES

Before we begin with our discussion on the relationship of anthropology with various sciences, we shall take a look at the position of this discipline as a branch of knowledge.

Is Anthropology a Natural or a Social Science? There has always been a controversy regarding the position of anthropology among various sciences, whether to consider anthropology as a social science or a physical science. During the period when anthropology was still emerging, it was considered as a natural science. This is mainly because anthropology has adopted evolutionism as its approach. Under this approach, man is considered as a part of nature and social laws are similar to natural laws. But on the other hand, German scholars regarded human life and nature as two separate things and refused to accept human life as a part of natural life. It is not clear whether many of the modern anthropologists regard anthropology as a natural science or a social science. According to scholars like Malinowski, anthropology stands in between natural and social sciences. Anthropologists like Radcliffe-Brown, Nadel and others regard anthropology as a natural science. According to them, anthropology is not involved in giving a detailed description about some special culture. Its job is to give a comparative analysis of different cultures and to frame social laws about the origin and change of human society through that analysis. According to these anthropologists, there are some such patterns in the social life of man that do not undergo any change with a change in place and time, and the work of the anthropologist is to discover laws about them. On the other hand, anthropologists like Kroeber, Bidney and Evans Pritchard maintain that culture and nature are different things and have no real unity in them. According to this school of thought anthropology is a branch of history. As a matter of fact, both these viewpoints about the relation of anthropology and other social sciences are still accepted in different branches of anthropology. While on the one hand, the methods of science are owned in physical anthropology, on the other hand, along with these methods, the methods of history and aesthetics are also owned and their examples are found in the writings of Evans Pritchard and Ruth Benedict. Robert Redfield says that holistic tendencies are on the increase in anthropology. Under this approach, man is scrutinized on different levels of culture and interest in the study of values and personality is increasing. All these tendencies show that in future anthropology will come closer to social sciences in comparison to natural sciences.

Anthropology is commonly classified as a social science, related to such disciplines as sociology, psychology, geography, economics and political science. Through biological anthropology, it is closely connected to such fields as anatomy, physiology, embryology and genetics. Biological anthropology, archaeology and cultural anthropology, all exchange points of view with the more general biological sciences of ecology and ethology. Archaeologists seeking new methods of dating or new ways of analyzing archaeological sites and their contents are often closely linked to geologists, paleontologists, soil chemists, and physicists. Linguists, archaeologists, and cultural anthropologists maintain a close liaison with such humanistic disciplines as history, literature, art and music. For almost all scientific and humanistic disciplines, anthropology provides a view of the past and a constant remembrance of human diversity.

The principal contribution of anthropology to other disciplines stems from its role in the development of the concept of culture. For the humanistic disciplines, the concept of culture carries the implication that styles of art, music and literature are based upon arbitrary criteria characteristic of individual cultural traditions. Because anthropologists are the only academic specialists who are routinely trained in the art

the art, music, and literature of most of the peoples of the world. Just as the student of language must turn to the anthropological linguist for information about the languages of the world, so the student of the humanities must turn to the cultural anthropologist for knowledge about the artistic creations of other cultures. Because anthropologists rarely possess the specialized knowledge acquired by specialists in the humanities, anthropologists, for their part, should turn to the humanities for information about the methods to be used in describing and analyzing art styles or literary or philosophical traditions. Specialists trained in the social sciences, like specialists in the humanities, tend to emphasize the study of their own or closely related cultures. If they are to make wide ranging generalizations about human psychology, politics or economics, social scientists must depend on anthropologists and the data they have collected in order to demonstrate the general importance of their findings.

Because biologists and anthropologists are united in the study of living things, there is a continuing exchange of information and point of view between anthropology and the biological sciences. Biologists who are directly concerned with the study of human beings must depend on anthropology for much of their information about human beings living in different cultures. Because anthropologists tend to think in holistic terms, both about humanity in general and societies and cultures in particular, anthropology has an important role to play in integrating the findings of more specialized disciplines into more general holistic explanations of human behavior. Anthropology has brought to the less global sciences a special sort of objectivity and relativity of point of view. The anthropologist's ability to compare modernized societies with other quite different societies tends to highlight unusual features of modern society and modern thought.

ANTHROPOLOGY & SOCIAL SCIENCES

History: Some scientists regard anthropology as a branch of history. History and anthropology are both related to human actions. Social anthropology discusses human actions that cause social events. History presents a description of these events. Social anthropology studies the origin of civilization and culture and processes of evolution. On the other hand, history studies particular civilization and culture on the basis of a particular period.

Anthropology and history are similar in two aspects. Both study and describe the human past and both the subjects give importance to understanding the ancient aspects of man. At the same time, both anthropology and history differ in some aspects. When anthropology also studies the physical aspects of man along with the social aspects, history has no such interest in the understanding of the physical aspects in understanding social aspects. If the anthropological approach of understanding man is holistic, history approaches the understanding of man purely in chronological and historical viewpoints. If anthropology mainly concentrates on the human cultures, history emphasizes on the study of political events for the same purpose.

Sociology: Sociology studies human behavior in groups. It is a science of societies. Anthropology is a science of man and studies human behavior in social surroundings. The subject matter of sociology and anthropology is common to a great extent. In fact, no special difference in these two sciences was recognized till the beginning of 20th century. The idea of recognizing them as two separate sciences is comparatively new. Sociology and anthropology have very much influenced each other. For example, the ideology of Durkhiem, a French Sociologist, has greatly influenced the doctrines of anthropologists like Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown. Hoebel has stated very clearly, 'Sociology and Social anthropology, in their broadest senses, are one and the same'.

The subject matter of social anthropology is so much similar to the subject matter of sociology that many scientists have regarded it as a branch of sociology. Evans Pritchard has written "social anthropology can be regarded as a branch of sociological studies, that branch which chiefly devotes itself to the primitive societies". Kroeber has gone so far as to call sociology and anthropology as twin sisters.

Discoveries in different branches of anthropology have thrown a new light on the principles of sociology.

behavior in social surroundings. Many of its discoveries have thrown new light on several subjects of sociology. Sociology has taken the ideas of cultural field, cultural apparatus, interdependent tools, cultural lag etc., from social anthropology and has developed them further.

The important discoveries of famous anthropologists like Ralph Linton and Abraham Kardiner have greatly influenced sociology. Both these anthropologists have discovered that there is a basic personality type in every society, which is created by cultural influence on an individual from the very childhood. This basic personality type is different because of the differences in the cultural influences. The discoveries of Malinowski, a British anthropologist, have proved very important in sociology. The applied viewpoint of the study of culture is a special contribution to sociology by Malinowski. According to it, culture should be studied with the viewpoint of its usefulness for man. The discoveries of Ruth Benedict have been very helpful in studying various sociological problems about national character.

Besides social anthropology, the various discoveries of Physical anthropology have also exerted great influence on various problems of sociology. In his book "Anthropology and Modern life" Franz Boas has given a detailed description of this influence playing an important part in turning an individual into a criminal. It has been proved from ethnological discoveries of Franz Boas and Otto Klineberg that physical characteristics have nothing to do with the mental special features and that the influence of environment is the chief cause for mental differences. Anthropology has also helped sociology by disproving the ideas of racism. The discoveries of anthropology have proved that today no race can claim purity or superiority over other races. MacIver and many other sociologists have attached great importance to this contribution of anthropology.

In the modern age, anthropology and sociology have developed so much that to know their differences is more necessary than to know their relations. The scope of anthropology and sociology is different. Social anthropology also studies primitive society whereas sociology studies modern society only. Social anthropology studies all the social, economic, political and cultural aspects of mankind. Sociology on the other hand studies social relations and social interactions alone. In this way the study of sociology is more particularistic whereas that of anthropology is more generalized. Another area where sociology and anthropology differ is that sociology tends to be always suggestive whereas anthropology less tends to be so.

Sociology and social anthropology also differ in the methods they apply in the study. Social anthropologist specifically uses applied method, a classic example for this being participant observation. On the other hand, sociologist to a maximum extent collects the data through survey and statistical methods.

Political Science & Economics: The relationship of anthropology with economics and political science is not as close as that with sociology, psychology and history. Socio-cultural anthropology studies economic, political, legal and all other social and cultural aspects of the society. On the contrary, economics or political science deals with only one of social and cultural aspects, economic or political aspects of the society. This means, when anthropology studies all of human behavior, economics and political science study only particular areas of human behavior.

Economics studies systems of production, distribution and consumption mostly in modern nations. Anthropology on the other hand studies the systems of production, distribution and consumption of material resources of primitive, peasant and also to some extent the urban society.

Economics and socio-cultural anthropology face entirely different kinds of problems when they study economic systems. Economics deals with the problems of production, distribution and consumption of commodities and their prices, values and so on. But anthropology deals with different kinds of problems when it is studying the economics of primitive and peasants. It discovers that the principles and theories of economics applicable to advanced societies may not be applied to some of the primitive and peasant societies. However, even when studying the economic institutions of the primitives and peasants, socio-cultural anthropology takes note of the principles and theories of economics and acquaints itself with

Like economics, political science also deals with one aspect of human behavior. On the one hand it examines the philosophical ideas of the Western thinkers from Plato and Aristotle to David Easton, one of the leading political scientists of today. On the other hand, it studies the constitution and parliamentary and other institutions of the developed societies that are nation states. Unlike political science, anthropology examines entirely different kinds of problems. It studies politics among pre-literate, non-literate and other societies who do not live in nation states. According to Gopal Sarana, the relationship of anthropology with sociology, psychology and history is very intimate but with economics and political science anthropology has a per-functionary relationship. Anthropology has something to borrow from all these disciplines. It can also enrich these disciplines with its comparative and holistic perspectives in which these disciplines are deficient.

psychology

ANTHROPOLOGY & BEHAVIORAL SCIENCES

Psychology is the science of human behavior. Even anthropology encompasses in its scope the understanding and analysis of human behavior. Both anthropology and psychology are closely related. Psychology studies man's behavior in relation to the environment. Anthropology is also a comparative and analytic study of human behavior and experiences. Both try to understand man in the context of social behavior. In this way psychology and anthropology are complementary to each other. Whereas on one side psychological knowledge helps an anthropologist in understanding the root causes of human behavior in different cultures, on the other side anthropological studies help the psychologist in calculating the influence of cultural environment of human behavior.

In the modern times, the various anthropological studies have rendered important help in the field of psychology. By studying different primitive cultures, anthropologists have shown how human behavior differs in different cultural environments. Every culture has its special method of social control, which has an important influence on the personality of its members. For example, there has been a great disturbance in the adjustment of adolescence due to restraint on the mutual relations among the individuals of different sexes in civilized societies. It has been found through anthropological studies that such changes are nowhere to be seen in many primitive societies. For example, as in civilized societies, there is no restriction of any kind among the natives of Samoa Island and therefore an adult becomes self-reliant very early. In India, as compared to Hindu society, it is easier for adolescents of tribal society to become adults due to increased sex education and decreased restrictions. In this way, psychologists learn from such studies the changes that can be seen in human personality and behavior as a result of cultural changes.

The closest relationship between psychology and anthropology is seen between the main branches, social psychology and cultural anthropology. Social psychology studies the individual behavior under social environments. Social anthropology also studies human society, social institutions and groups. Explaining their relationship, Hoebel writes "The anthropologist concentrates chiefly on the society of the primitive people and the sociologist concentrates on our contemporary civilization. The social psychologist roams happily between them manipulating his tests and measurements".

In spite of their close relation, the difference between anthropology and psychology should not be neglected. In brief, the chief differences between them are discussed below.

1. Psychology studies individual behavior in social environments whereas anthropology studies not an individual but the whole of the mankind.
2. Psychology studies individual behavior in social environments whereas social anthropology studies groups of individuals.
3. Both Psychology and anthropology study man but with different viewpoints.
4. Whereas some methods of observation are commonly employed in both of these sciences, some methods of psychology, like the introspection method, are not used in anthropology.

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ANTHROPOLOGY & MEDICAL SCIENCES

A review of literature reveals that anthropologists have made significant contributions in the field of medicine. In 1942, Ackerknecht, a medical historian, contributed a series of scientific papers on "primitive medicine". These papers provided useful guidelines to anthropologists for conducting research on "indigenous" systems of medicine. This was followed by a series of researches and papers by anthropologists like Henery and Margaret Mead in 1947. These papers had one thing in common - the role of anthropology to psychosomatic medicine.

In fact, way back in 1924, W.H.R. Rivers and in 1932 Clements had contributed to anthropology in medicine. Clements tried to trace the worldwide distribution of five basic concepts of disease, namely, sorcery, breach of taboo, object intrusion, spirit intrusion and soul loss. A number of other valuable studies appeared in the thirties and forties including Field's study on the "Religion and Medicine of the Ga People" in 1937, Herbert Spencer's study of "Disease, Religion and society of the Fizi Island " in 1941 and Horley's study of "Mono of Liberia".

However, as said earlier, it was Ackerknecht in 1942 who for the first time brought out that "Primitive medicine is not a queer collection of errors and superstitions, nor is to be explained by simply stating that in the medical field, primitives used spells, prayers, blood - letting, human fat etc. What counts is not the forms but the place medicine occupies in the life of a tribe or people, the spirit which pervades its practice, the way it merges with other traits from different fields of experience ". Even today, his cross-cultural analysis of the practice of medicine in different cultures is of considerable value to the anthropologists working in the field of medicine. Anthropologists have compiled a series of cross-cultural case studies relating to peoples' reaction to health programs. It has been amply highlighted in these studies that introducing western techniques in public health necessitates adapting the role of the doctor and other health personnel to fit other existing cultural expectations. This idea definitely necessitates a close working relationship between anthropology and medicine. Even in western medicine it is important to understand that the primary frame of reference is the social structure. Hence it was suggested that successful establishment of effective medicine would largely depend on the extent to which scientific medical practice could divest itself of western cultural accretions and adapt itself to the social life of the rural setting.

The roots of the relationship between anthropology and medicine are probably as deep as anthropology itself. From the holistic point of view, right from the beginning itself, anthropology seems to have combined in one discipline the approaches of several sciences, including biological sciences, the social sciences and the humanities. Since the beliefs, attitudes and values of a community strongly influence people's interpretations of the symptoms and the techniques for their treatment, it is necessary to analyze the efficacy of the traditional systems of medicine for which a close working relationship between medicine and anthropology is inevitable. The place of medicine in any society is determined by the current social and economic structure, the value that society places on health and disease, the tasks that are assigned to different categories of practitioners and the technology of medicine available to them. The modern culture certainly lays a great deal of stress upon scientific medicine as opposed to folk or indigenous medicine. However, one cannot forget that socio-cultural forces play a large part in determining the meaning of illness, the function of illness and ways of counteracting illness.

Note: More on this in subsequent chapters.

Conclusions: Anthropology is distinguished from other disciplines concerned with an understanding of humanity by the scope of its interests, by its attention to all types of societies and by its attempt to understand humanity in all types of societies from every corner of the earth and all periods of time. Anthropology is also different in the way it approaches specific problems it deals with. The basis of this distinctive approach is to be found in every corner of the earth with culture as the foundation of human society. As part of its deep concern with culture and society, anthropology uses holism as its trademark. The most important reason for anthropology's insistence on holism or comparing the ways of life of societies in different parts of the world and different periods of time is that such comparison helps to

illuminate the culture of every society and to establish the basis for finding what is universal to all humanity, what is general to groups of societies and what is distinctive of particular societies.

Note: Anthropology and Earth Sciences & Life Sciences are discussed in detail in relevant chapters elsewhere in the textbook.

1.3 MAIN BRANCHES OF ANTHROPOLOGY

A) SOCIO-CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY

According to Charles Winick, Social anthropology is "the study of social behavior, especially from the point of view of the systematic comparative study of social forms and institutions". According to others, Social anthropology is a comparative study of human societies. Ideally it includes all societies, primitive, civilized, and historic.

Because human beings always possess culture and always live in societies, there is a broad sense in which all of anthropology can be considered as socio-cultural anthropology. Within anthropology those concerned primarily with the ways of life of people living in recent or existing cultures and societies generally refer to themselves as Socio-cultural anthropologists. When a distinction is made between cultural and social anthropology, cultural anthropologists are generally regarded as those who emphasize cultural traditions and their content, whereas social anthropologists are regarded as those who emphasize behavior and social interaction. Because human social interaction always takes place with reference to cultural traditions, society is generally regarded as an aspect of culture, and social anthropologists are often regarded as a variety of cultural anthropologists.

Socio-Cultural anthropologists are interested in the description and comparison of all human cultures and they search and describe diverse cultures. Because the predatory expansion of urban and industrialized cultures has threatened the existence of many of the world's small and technologically uncomplicated peoples, much of the research effort in socio-cultural anthropology has involved a kind of desperate, last minute attempt to describe the life-ways of broken and vanishing peoples.

Although this emphasis has sometimes led to the description of Socio-cultural anthropology as the study of "Primitive" tribal or "non-literate" cultures, the goals of Socio-cultural anthropology have always been to describe the entire range of human behavior and to develop explanations of the similarities and differences among cultures.

The tendency to emphasize particular aspects of culture has given rise to a variety of sub fields within Socio-cultural anthropology. **Ecological anthropologists** emphasize relationships between cultures and their environments. **Cultural historians** examine the beliefs that people hold about their past history and test them against existing historical documents in order to reconstruct the course of development of their culture. **Economic anthropologists** consider the manner in which goods are produced, the systems of trade or exchange by means of which they are distributed, and the ways in which they are consumed. **Social anthropologists** consider the kinds of groupings and subdivisions that exist among the members of a culture and the kinds of relationships and interactions that take place between them. **Psychological anthropologists** consider the relationships between the individuals and their cultures. Other specialists study religion, culture change, conflict, medicine, education, law, art, play, music, and literature.

Socio-cultural anthropology thus concerns itself with human cultures and societies. Being a branch of the wider subject of anthropology, it is generally dealt in connection with its other branches: Physical anthropology, archaeology and sometimes linguistics and human geography.

Ethnology, Ethnography & Social Anthropology: It is important to make a distinction between ethnology and social anthropology. This is because the term "social anthropology" was not always used to designate this branch of anthropology previously. The term social anthropology was used in United Kingdom and all the other countries that have developed under the British academic traditions.

and other countries. Social anthropologists consider that their subject embraces all human cultures and societies, including their own, they have, for the most part given their attention to those of primitive peoples. Ethnologists are dealing with the same peoples and there is consequently a considerable overlap between the two subjects.

It is important to appreciate that though ethnology and social anthropology make their studies very largely among the same range of peoples, they make them with very different purposes. Consequently, though in the past no clear distinction was made between ethnology and social anthropology, they are today regarded as separate disciplines. The task of ethnology is to classify peoples on the basis of their racial and cultural characteristics and then to explain their distribution at the present time, or in past, by the movement and mixture of peoples and the diffusion of cultures.

The classification of peoples and cultures is an essential prerequisite to the comparisons which social anthropologists make between primitive societies, because it is highly convenient, and even necessary, to start by comparing those of the same general cultural type. When however ethnologists attempt to reconstruct the history of primitive peoples, for whose past historical records are lacking, they are compelled to rely on inferences from circumstantial evidence to reach their conclusions, which, in the nature of the case, can never be more than probable reconstructions. Sometimes a number of different and even contrary hypotheses fit the facts equally well. Ethnology is thus not history in the ordinary sense, for history tells events that *may* have happened, but that events which *did* happen, and not that the events have merely taken place but how and when they happened and often why they happened. For this reason, and because ethnology can in any case tell us little about the past social life of primitive peoples, its speculations have limited significance for social anthropologists. Prehistoric archaeology is best regarded as a branch of ethnology. It attempts to reconstruct the history of peoples and cultures from human and cultural remains found by excavation in geological deposits. It also relies on circumstantial evidence and, like ethnology, can tell social anthropologists little about the ideas and institutions, in which they would be interested, of the peoples whose bones and artifacts it discovers and classifies.

Social anthropology has quite a different task to perform. It studies social behavior, generally in institutionalized forms such as the family, kinship systems, political organizations, legal procedures, religious cults, and relations between such institutions and it studies them either in contemporaneous societies or in historical societies for which there is adequate information of the kind to make such studies feasible. So, whereas some custom of a people, when plotted on a distribution map, is of interest for the ethnologist as evidence of an ethnic movement, of a cultural drift or of past contact between peoples, it is of interest to the social anthropologist as a part of the whole social life of the people at the present time. The mere probability that they may have borrowed it from some other people is not very significant for him since he cannot know for certain that they did borrow it and even if they did he does not know when and why they borrowed. Thus while the ethnologist and the social anthropologist may make use of the same ethnographic data, they use them for different purposes.

Emphasis on Primitive Societies: It is obvious by now that Social anthropologists study the primitive societies. Two questions arise in this context. What are the "Primitive societies" and why social anthropologists study them? The word "Primitive" in the sense in which it has become established in anthropological literature does not mean that the societies it qualifies are either earlier in time or inferior to other kinds of societies. As far as we know, primitive societies have just as long a history as our own, while they are less developed than our society in some respects they are often more developed in others. This being so, the word was perhaps an unfortunate choice, but it has now been too widely accepted as a technical term to be avoided. It suffices to say at this stage that when anthropologists use it, they do so in reference to those societies that are small in scale with regards to numbers, territory, and range of social contacts, and which have, by comparison with the modern societies, a simple technology and economy and little specialization of social function. Some anthropologists would add further criteria, particularly the absence of literature and hence of any systematic art, science or theology.

Anthropologists are criticized for giving so much of their time to the study of the primitive societies. It is

various reasons primitive societies have long held the attention of those interested in the study of the social institutions. The primitive societies have attracted the notice of philosophers in the eighteenth century chiefly because they furnished examples of what was supposed to be man living in a state of nature before the institution of civil government. They engaged the attention of social anthropologists because it was believed that they provided important clues in the search for the origins of institutions. Later anthropologists were interested in them because it was held that they displayed institutions in their simplest forms, and that it is a sound method to project from examinations of the more simple to examinations of the more complex, in which what has been learnt from a study of the more simple would be an aid. The last reason for interest in primitive societies gained in weight as the so-called Functional anthropology of today developed, for the more it is regarded as the task of social anthropology to study social institutions as interdependent parts of social systems the more it is seen to be an advantage to be able to study those societies which are structurally so simple and culturally so homogeneous, that they can be directly observed as wholes, before attempting to study complex societies where this is not possible. Moreover, it is a matter of experience that it is easier to make observations among peoples with cultures unlike our own, the "otherness" in their way of life at once engaging attention, and that it is more likely that interpretations will be objective.

Another reason for studying primitive societies at the present time is that they are rapidly being transformed and must be studied soon or never. These vanishing social systems have unique structural variations, a study of which aids us very considerably in understanding the nature of human society, because in a comparative study of institutions the number of societies studied is less significant than their range of variation. Quite apart from that consideration, the study of primitive societies has intrinsic value - they provide descriptions of the way of life, the values, and the beliefs of peoples living without what we have come to regard as the minimum requirements of comfort and civilization.

Though social anthropologists give chief attention to primitive societies, it must be made clear that a number of important studies of more advanced societies have already been made especially by the American social anthropologists. Theoretically at any rate, social anthropology is the study of all human societies and not merely of primitive societies. This is the case even though in practice and at the present time its attention is mostly given to the institutions of the simpler societies, for it is evident that there can be no separate discipline which restricts itself entirely to these societies. Though a social anthropologist may be carrying out research among primitive people, what he is studying among them are language, law, religion, political institutions, economics, and so forth and he is therefore concerned with the same general problems as the student of these subjects in the great civilized societies of the world. It must be emphasized here that in interpreting his observations on primitive societies the anthropologist is always comparing them with his own.

Social anthropology can therefore be regarded as a branch of sociological studies, that branch which chiefly devotes itself to primitive societies. When people speak of sociology, they generally have in mind studies of particular problems in civilized societies. If we give this sense to the word, then the difference between social anthropology and sociology is a difference of field, but there are also other important differences between them. The social anthropologist studies primitive societies directly, living among them for months and years, whereas sociological research is usually from documents and largely statistical. The social anthropologist studies societies as wholes. He studies their economies, their legal and political institutions, their family and kinship organizations, their religions, their technologies, and their arts etc as parts of general social systems. The sociologist's work on the other hand, is usually very specialized, being a study of isolated problems, such as divorce, crime, insanity, labor unrest and incentives in industry. Sociology is very largely mixed with social philosophy at one end and social planning at the other. It seeks not only to discover how the institutions work but also to decide how they ought to work and to alter them, while social anthropology has mostly kept apart from such considerations. Sociology is considered as a general body of theory about the human societies and it is the relation of this general body of theory to primitive social life, which constitutes the subject matter of social anthropology.

In this context, it is apt to quote the definition of socio-cultural anthropology by **Prof. Keesing**. According to him, "Social anthropology emphasizes a generalizing approach to human behavior, characteristics of the social or behavioral sciences with the focus on particular problems relating to culture, society and personality". Social anthropology studies primitive society and embodies the study of social structure, customs, traditions, norms etc. In addition to this it also studies those processes of human behavior that is responsible for various social events and incidents.

Social anthropology is also concerned with the study of the social structure of the past. But such a study is incomplete without a comparison with the social structure of the present. Since the study of social structure is incomplete without the study of human behavior, social anthropology according to Raymond Firth, "aims at a comparative analysis of how people behave in social institutions". The study of social structure comprises the study of culture and civilization. The study of social behavior and the social institutions forms the important part of social anthropological scope. The study of social anthropology is based on systematic observation comprising the understanding of customs, traditions, religious and political institutions of the human societies.

The scope of study of socio-cultural anthropology comprises a detailed study of the various aspects of ancient society and this comprehensiveness of approach in the study of human societies is another important characteristic of socio-cultural anthropology. It is also concerned with the study of the origin and development of human social organizations. Socio-cultural anthropology abolishes the concept of ethnocentrism by pursuing a comparative study of various cultures.

According to the Royal Anthropological Institute, the aims of social anthropology are:

1. The study of primitive culture in its present form.
2. The study of culture contact and the specific processes.
3. Reconstruction of social history.
4. Search for universally valid social laws.

The nature of socio-cultural anthropology is to examine every aspect of a single culture, every aspect of a single society.

B) BIOLOGICAL ANTHROPOLOGY

Physical anthropology is considered to be the oldest branch of anthropology. Its scope considers man first as a biological organism and secondarily as a social animal. The development of physical anthropology is closely linked with the theoretical developments in the fields of medicine and genetics. Among the developments in biological sciences that have made enormous contributions to the development of the scope of this discipline, the theory of organic evolution and the principles of genetics are significant. Many biologists are responsible for the development of this subject. Comte De Buffon, Paul Broca, John Frederick Bluemenbach, Samuel George Morton, Charles Darwin and Alfred Russell Wallace are considered as the founders of this discipline.

Physical anthropology is also called as Biological anthropology. It is considered as the anthropological contemporary of biological sciences that deal with human beings. Because it studies human beings living in diverse cultures and examines the role of culture in the evolution of the species, physical anthropology is properly set apart from those disciplines that regard human bones and bodies in strictly biological terms. Since the last twenty-five years, in response to revolutionary changes in biological sciences, biological anthropology has undergone change in the complexity and variety of the problems it studies and in the sophistication of techniques it employs.

Although the use of specialized methodologies derived from a variety of biological sciences has created many highly technical sub fields within biological anthropology, the discipline remains primarily

There are three main branches of physical anthropology. They are:

1. Paleontology
2. Neontology
3. Ethology

Paleontology: The etymological meaning of the word "Paleontology" means the science of old life. When translated in the context of anthropology, paleontology is the study of extinct primates and concerns itself with the evolution of man. It examines the most ancient human ancestors including the anthropoids, the humanity's nearest relatives, and reveals the foundations of human biological and cultural evolution. It makes use of the theoretical developments and the methodologies involved in other sciences like botany, zoology, chemistry etc.

Neontology: The etymological definition of "Neontology" means the science of modern or new life. In Anthropological parlance, Neontology is the branch of physical anthropology that studies the living primates. While dealing with the living primates, it examines the comparative anatomy, physiology and genetics of living primates, human variation and differentiation in terms of population genetics, molecular genetics, body shapes, adaptation to different environments and racial classification and other related aspects.

Ethology: Ethology is the scientific study of animal behavior such as that of free ranging to confined monkeys and apes and combines that knowledge with theories about the development of languages, group life and capacity for cultural development.

All these three branches of physical anthropology contribute to the understanding of the human evolution, human variation and human culture and behavior. Biological anthropologists compare the scattered fossil evidence of human evolution, attempt to reconstruct the environments within which human beings evolved and try to develop explanations of the patterns of development they find. In studying the populations of living human beings, the biological anthropologist is primarily interested in observing the processes of evolution that are taking place within human populations at the present time. They are also interested in the examination of the biological similarities and differences between the various populations because this knowledge may shed light on historical relationships between the different population groups or the impact of a particular environment upon the ongoing evolution of the species.

In addition to these general questions about the relationships of human beings to other primates or about past and present human evolution, the physical anthropologist is deeply concerned with the question of the extent to which biological factors exert influence upon the nature, behavior, and potentialities of human individuals and populations. Although these questions are sometimes approached by means of attempts to draw a distinction between human traits that result from heredity and environment, the task of explaining the complex interplay between biological and cultural factors is one of the challenges facing all of the sub disciplines of anthropology.

One of the important areas of research in physical anthropology is the **human population biology**. This sub-discipline studies the adaptations to differing environments and the hereditary characteristics of living populations ranging in size from regional stocks and races to local inbreeding groups such as religious castes. The physical anthropologist in contrast to the other biologists, who study man, is mainly concerned with human variation, sexual differences, growth patterns and physical and physiological differences between human groups, current and past, and the geographical distribution of the human physical characteristics.

Physical anthropology is now in a period of rapid change. This branch of anthropology has close relationships with other fields of biology, especially genetics, anatomy, physiology, taxonomy, or classification. The field has also close connections with cultural anthropology, since man among all animals is preeminently a creature with a culture and can hardly be studied unless this fact is reckoned. Such factors like mating and inbreeding patterns, food resources and food habits, intentional modifications and mutilations of the body, and the history of migrations and pioneering settlements, since they are aspects of culture, are within the scope of cultural anthropology; yet, since they affect the human physical form and racial history, they are also important for physical anthropology. On the other hand, the concern of physical anthropology with the history of human populations often yields results useful to other anthropologists who are interested in cultural history.

Classical & New Physical Anthropology: Initially physical anthropology was considered as a technique for taking carefully defined measurements, compute indices and other statistics. Irrespective of the objectives of the study, the methods of observation, measurement, and comparison were essentially same. Thus the prevailing approach was static with emphasis on taxonomy. The development of the theory was not known at that time and so was genetics. Thus for many years classical physical anthropology was considered nothing but anthropometrics with the belief that with accurate metric values all the problems could be solved.

It was later realized that measurements and indices may certainly determine the degree of development and the extent of variability of a certain trait, but they do not reveal if on the basis of some traits all could be put in a single biological category. It was further realized that to understand the problems of evolution, race and constitution, background knowledge of a number of characteristics viz., cranial forms, pigmentation, somatic structure, growth process etc., seem to be essential. Therefore a reorientation of the methodology became necessary. Thus physical anthropology entered the analytical phase. The general approach gradually underwent a change. It was at this point that new physical anthropology started.

Washburn attempted to bring about certain differences between the classical and new physical anthropology. The field of interest and the final aim of both remained the same. Comprehension and interpretation of human evolution continued to be the main objectives. However, the difference in approach became obvious. In the past there was emphasis on classification and no attempt was made to interpret the phenomenon. It was realized that working on mere external variations was not sufficient. One must examine as to what do the observed differences mean and how are they related to other features. For example in order to understand the variation in size of the brow ridges, a series of measurements were taken on the nose. Now it is realized that other features like the size and the shape of the skull and the face, in fact influence the brow ridges.

The traditional descriptions cannot explain the reasons behind the formation of a particular character or trait. At best they explain their existence and circumstances. New physical anthropology invokes the concept of adaptation. However, even in the methodology of new physical anthropology, classification becomes the first step. This is followed by the problem and it's processing with the belief that without proper interpretation, data are meaningless.

In classical physical anthropology theory was not considered important though points for theoretical discussions did exist. The emphasis was on the collection of data and the description of facts. In recent years there has been a realization that facts alone cannot solve fundamental questions. The chief task of the anthropologist is to understand the nature and kind of adaptation and the operation of the selection process because evolution is considered to be the history of the genetic systems where changes are due to mutation and selection besides other factors. Evolution is also the sequence of effective behavior and therefore to understand it, living subjects must also be studied. While dealing with fossil Hominid remains, it must always be kept in mind that they were once living and adapted to their time and therefore must be studied in the context of their environment.

The traditional physical anthropology, for example, to describe the bone characteristics, lays more emphasis on the elaboration of measurements whereas new physical anthropology enriches the knowledge of the past explaining the bones in terms of their functional significance in the life process. It is important to note that understanding the process of the mechanism responsible for a specific trait is

important and should be given due attention than to make a simple statement about its presence or absence. It necessitates the development of appropriate quantitative and descriptive methods. Another important implication is that now there is much more concrete interrelationship among different subdivisions of anthropology. Further, for a better understanding of process of evolution, this new orientation in physical anthropology needs to be complemented with the appreciation of history and mechanism of culture. This is because, today it is known that human migration, and adaptation, marriage customs, population density, diseases etc. are increasingly influenced by the way of life.

Thus, in view of its growth and new orientation, physical anthropology continues to be a study of human evolution and biological variation. It is concerned with the sources of variation and the direction of change among individuals and groups, past and present. Genetic differences and environmental modifications provide the sources of variations. Physical anthropology thus may be viewed as an approach to human biology in its widest context with emphasis on humanity as whole. Since consideration of a cultural context is always basic to a proper appreciation and understanding of the problems of human evolution, physical anthropology is also concerned with the interaction of socio-cultural and other environmental factors.

Scope of Physical Anthropology: Physical anthropology, right from its inception, has been concerned with the study of man's physical characters, their origin, evolution, and present state of development. Man in all his varieties, is the result of the effects of past as well as the present causes. How he came into being as a physical organism, how he developed his particular culture and the nature of conditions responsible for these should always be studied in relation to the environment. Both physical and cultural factors have played a role in the evolution of man and his differentiation, and both need to be included in the term environment. Defined in this perspective, physical anthropology is the comparative science of man as a physical organism in relation to his total environment - social, cultural, and physical.

The appreciation and evaluation of human variability and dealing with the factors that account for their current distribution have been the basic concerns of physical anthropology from the very beginning. **Anthropometrics**, the basic technique of physical anthropology, has greatly contributed to this aspect. However, in recent years, with the introduction of genetics, a new area of investigation has opened. Naturally there has been a spread of investigations using genetic methods in evaluating the detailed causes of individual variation and diversification of the varieties of man. Such studies are currently carried out under a special branch that helps to draw a reasonably reliable history of the origin and evolution of the human species and its varieties and attempts to understand the causes for human variation.

The study of apes carried upon in physical anthropology called as **Primatology**, since man primarily belongs to the animal kingdom with a clear relationship with the apes and the monkeys. Primatology is fundamental to the study of human biology including anatomy, physiology, and ethology. These sciences throw invaluable light on the evolution of man, particularly the pre-human history. Equally important is the study of the extinct primates who are ancestors to the man today. Such contributions constitute another branch in physical anthropology called **Primate Paleontology.** These studies naturally require knowledge on the pre-historic climatic conditions and changes and their effects on the ecology of primates. Such studies are done by **Geo-ecology.** Physical anthropologists study all these related phenomena while tracing the origin of man and his evolution in his current varieties under Paleoanthropology. It needs to be pointed out at this stage that a proper evaluation of the remains of fossil men, in evolutionary perspective cannot be done without recourse to comparative anatomy including embryology or developmental anatomy and physiology of growth.

The study of existing varieties of man has been one of the basic concerns of physical anthropology. Such studies on one hand refer to the extent of human variation and on the other hand allow attempting at human taxonomy, which in the specific anthropological context is referred to as **Raciology** or the study of races. Since the term "race" has become polluted because of its political and cultural overtones, it has consequently led physical anthropology which has attempted to reexamine the meaning of this concept

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man in order to evaluate the real significance of such differences for a proper interpretation and clear understanding.

Ever since the introduction of **genetics** and its adoption in physical anthropology, the field of human genetics has undergone further differentiation. On one hand there has been an interest in the study of the patterns of inheritance of various body traits and on the other, a proper assessment of the distribution of such traits and their gene frequencies have become necessary for evaluating the process of ongoing human differentiation. This particular interest is unique to physical anthropology as no other science studies normal human variations. At the same time there are cultural varieties of man and customs and traditions that differ from population to population, sometimes resulting into different systems of mating. The systems of mating as practiced in human populations are significant as they regulate the flow of genes in a certain group. For students of physical anthropology interested in the study of evolutionary phenomenon it is therefore necessary to evaluate the inflow or outflow of genes that have evolutionary implications. All such studies are conducted in the field of **Human Population Genetics.** Recent additions to this field are **Serology** and **Dermatoglyphics**. Current lines of investigations in this field may be briefly summarized as gene frequencies and their determination, study of mating systems in human populations and the affinities of human population.

The study of physical anthropology has also contributed towards the improvement of the population - **Eugenics**. Furthermore, the value of physical anthropology in the analysis of growth and development hardly needs any explanation. In recent years physical anthropology has done great service to dentistry, medicine, and industrial research. In fact, wherever human body or its parts need interpretations in terms of its form, function and dynamics of variability and the implications of the age process in terms of physical growth and development, the role of physical anthropology is gainfully utilized.

In the field of **forensic sciences** physical anthropology has made significant contributions. In forensic science, individual characterization involving determination of age and sex is important. Physical anthropology helps in such assessments by utilizing its knowledge in the fields of osteology, osteometry, dermatoglyphics, serology and many other somatic and genetic characteristics and solves the problems of forensic science. Besides, the somatological knowledge can be applied in deciphering the constitutional types in relation to specific diseases or while making proper selections in the fields of sports, a specialization recently christened **Kinanthropometry.**

C) ARCHAEOLOGICAL ANTHROPOLOGY

Archaeological anthropology attempts to reconstruct the cultural forms of the past and to trace their growth and development in time. In this, historians, cultural historians and archaeologists share the same objective. History, in the sense of written history, is based upon written documents describing aspects of life in former times. Unfortunately such written documents cover only the last 5,000 years and only those cultures that possessed writing. Very often, surviving written documents give an inadequate picture of former cultures, and it is necessary to supplement written history with archaeology.

In most cases the archaeologist must reconstruct the cultures of the past from material remains alone. Tracing the clues provided by the smoke blackened walls of caves, unusual variations in the soil, or pieces of stone, the archaeologist locates the campsites, villages or towns of bygone cultures. Highly specialized techniques are used to remove carefully, layer by layer, the various traces left behind by unknown peoples. Skeletons of the ancient dead are found along with the ornaments they once wore and the tools they once carried. The archaeologist finds ancient house floors, bits of pottery and objects of stone and imperishable metals - only that which does not rot or wash away.

From bits of bone and pollen hidden in the dirt, the archaeological anthropologist, with the assistance of biologists and other natural scientists, can reconstruct the natural environment and reach conclusions about the foods consumed by ancient peoples. From the charcoal left behind ancient fires, or from other organic materials, the archaeologist can obtain estimates of the time period during which people lived at the site being excavated. By examining human bones found in the site, guesses can be made about the number of people present, their age and sex and the causes of their deaths. Pottery figurines and other works of art may provide information about the appearances of the people, their dress, and sometimes their social life. Grains of wheat pressed into baked clay or surviving as the carbonized remnants of a burnt dinner may suggest the presence of agriculture.

Archaeologists have discovered the tool-like objects used by earliest human beings and have traced the movement of humanity across the world. The archaeological record shows us the human occupation of new environments and the slow development within each of specialized techniques of adaptation and survival. As the archaeologist reconstructs the history of each of the regions of the world, evidence accumulates concerning patterns of change and stability in human affairs. Working with the socio-cultural anthropologists, the archeologist considers the various factors that contribute to the development of new inventions, to their diffusion across cultural boundaries, and to their impact upon the cultures into which they are introduced.

Old And New Archaeological Anthropology: Like physical anthropology, archaeological anthropology also has its old and new forms. The old or early modern archeological anthropology existed prior to 1960 and it defined itself as a study of all extinct cultures of human species. However, it could only deal with a few extinct cultures. Above all, it was not interpretive. It gave only description and chronologies of the limited number of extinct cultures it had studied. In the early 1960s, new or contemporary archaeological anthropology emerged. It emphasized cultural evolutionary perspective, general systems approach and dependence on logico-deductive reasoning. Evolutionary perspective stressed on the great role of technology and economy in generating progress and consequent evolution of culture. Systems approach placed great emphasis on inter-relations of environment, ecology and local and regional populations. Logico-deductive reasoning utilized the present primitive cultures to understand the extinct ancient cultures.

The new or contemporary archaeological anthropology reconstructs the cultures in the past by excavating and studying the material remains of former human societies. It is the study of past societies and cultures through the material remains that have been left behind by ancient humans. The material remains such as pottery, tools etc., are the reflections of what life was like at some period in the past. The descriptions of the present day primitive cultures are also utilized to know how extinct societies and cultures were similar to those of the contemporary primitive societies – an emerging approach called **ethno-archeology.**

Archaeological anthropology is divided into four branches:

Pre-Historic Archaeological Anthropology: It is also known as Pre-historic cultural history and Synthetic archaeology. It reconstructs the origin, evolution, and diffusion of culture in the period between the first appearance of humans and the development of writing.

Text-Aided Archaeological Anthropology: It is also called as Classical archeology. It deals with the reconstruction of ancient civilizations that have developed the art of writing. It utilizes written accounts and textual descriptions as source material and guide to open up more and more forgotten centers of ancient civilizations.

Text-Free Archaeological Anthropology: This includes Old world archaeology and new world archaeology. It is concerned with non-literate people. For text free archaeology no texts or written materials will be available to guide their excavations and what was really obtained through actual digging.

Salvage Archaeological Anthropology: It is an effort on the part of archaeological anthropologists to obtain as much information as possible from the sites threatened by destruction as a result of either natural causes or human activity.

D) LINGUISTIC ANTHROPOLOGY

Linguistic anthropology is the study of speech and language as a socio-cultural phenomenon across space and time. Linguistic anthropology is not linguistics but linguistics in the context of culture and society. Linguistics deals with history, structure, variation and meaning of language apart from the social and cultural contexts in which they occur. Linguistic anthropology on the other hand, deals with the evolution, structure, variation and meaning of language in the social and cultural contexts they occur.

Although language is a part of culture, and the linguist may be regarded as a kind of cultural anthropologist, the study of language requires highly specialized techniques for the recording, description and comparison of languages. Linguists study and describe the languages spoken by tiny bands of Indians in the rain forests of the Amazon; they examine Greek, Roman and Sanskrit literature in order to reconstruct languages spoken in the past. They also record and analyze the numerous dialects spoken in the various parts of the world. Unlike the practical linguist or polyglot, who speaks and understands several languages and unlike the student of literature and the philologist who are primarily interested in the relationships between language and literature, a linguistic anthropologist studies the origin, development and structure of language and its relationship to other aspects of culture.

Through the application of highly technical methods, the linguist reconstructs the history of particular languages and uncovers the historical relationships that exist among languages. This is done, not simply as a means of reconstructing history, but as a means of arriving at broad generalizations concerning the processes that lead to the origin and development of human languages. The systematic comparison of unrelated or apparently unrelated languages leads to understanding of the universal properties of all human languages.

The linguistic anthropologist is also interested in the many relationships between language and other aspects of culture, including study of the ways in which the language spoken by a group of people is related to their status and social position. Studies of the meaning and use of particular words and phrases serve as a means of understanding the ways in which people in different cultures visualize the various objects and settings that surround them. Special linguistic symbols used in religious rites and ceremonies or on other important occasions provide insights into the things that people in different cultures consider most important or significant. As cultures change or borrow new concepts from other cultures, the changes tend to be reflected in new words and phrases. Thus the linguistic anthropologist can contribute to cultural anthropology's understanding of the nature and direction of the processes by which language is transmitted from one generation to another, which leads to the understanding of the way ideas are transmitted within cultures and of the ways beliefs, ideals and traditions are perpetuated. The linguist tries to understand the role of language in human life and the part it has played in the emergence and development of humanity.

Like physical and archaeological anthropology, linguistic anthropology too shifted its focus of interest in the last four decades. Almost until early 1950s, linguistic anthropology was under the heading of "anthropological linguistics". It was concerned with the origin of language, the classification and genetic relationship of languages and the significance of morphological differences among languages. Since mid 1950's, the term was replaced by "linguistic anthropology". Contemporary linguistic anthropology is interested in the study of evolution and distribution of language as part of culture and in knowing the relations of the patterns of speech with the patterns of acting, behaving and communicating as found in different cultures.

The contemporary linguistic anthropology consists of five branches:

1. **Historical Linguistics:** Historical linguistics is also called as Comparative linguistics. It is concerned with the study of the emergence of language. It is also concerned with the study of divergence and dynamics of language. It examines the way in which the origin of language and the human capacity of languages are interrelated. It reveals the evolutionary development of language from local languages to classic languages and the world languages. It is also concerned with the reconstruction of the

2. **Structural Linguistics:** It is also called as Descriptive linguistics. The chief area of concern for this branch of linguistic anthropology is the construction of languages. In this context, it shows the rules governing the construction of language. This means how people combine sounds into words and words into sentences and sentences into speech. That means, it analyses systems of sound, grammar, and the meaning in particular languages. In other words, it deals with the Phonemic, syntactic and morphemic structures.

3. **Socio-Linguistics:** It is also called as Ethno-linguistics. It is the study of actual speech in various social and situational contexts. It analyzes and shows the way people use words to categorize their experiences and order their social relations. It also studies the way speech varies depending upon the social and situational contexts.

4. **Ethnosemantics:** Ethnosemantics studies how people in a particular society perceive and classify material and social phenomena in the world around them. Ethnosemantics seeks to understand culture from the point of view of people. It shows the systematic knowledge of the people about the world, and the meaning given by the people to their cultural items. People in different societies view and understand their cultural categories such as art, food tastes, kinship relations, plants and animal classification, supernatural beings, diseases, so on by distinct criteria. The ethnosemantic viewpoint is the viewpoint of the people and is different from others or outsiders' viewpoint.

5. **Psycholinguistics:** It studies the processes underlying the acquisition and use of language.

All branches of archaeological anthropology together construct the cultures of extinct humans. They describe and explain the cultures of human species from the emergence of humanity in the prehistoric period until the advent of human civilization at the dawn of historical period. They show how human species, after its evolution, acquired culture and how that culture expanded, progressed, and evolved.

1.8 PRINCIPLES OF PREHISTORIC ARCHEOLOGY

(A) CHRONOLOGY: RELATIVE AND ABSOLUTE DATING METHODS

GEOLOGICAL TIME SCALE

A major aspect of understanding the evolutionary past lies in determining the relationships between various extinct and living species. While some of the biological relationships can be inferred directly from the fossils themselves, in most instances knowing the temporal or time relationships between specimens is either necessary or extremely helpful. How can we determine the time and sequence of ancient events?

Dating the Past: Temporal relationships can be estimated by a number of dating methods. There are several procedures to determine dates, which provide an indication of the sequence in which two or more events occurred.

Paleo-anthropology and pre-historic archeology make use of relative and chronometric dating methods. These dating methods are generally associated with specific events, artifacts or fossils. A broader and more general type of dating involves geological time scale or geological time. This is essentially a time scale for entire history of the earth, from its origin at an estimated 4.6 billion (4,600 million) years ago, up to the present. Geological time is divided into specific epochs, periods and eras of varying lengths.

The Geological Time Scale: The geological time scale presently in use has developed slowly and steadily since the early 1700s, incorporating more and more information as available knowledge expanded. It is based on two essential and rather simple ideas. The first, the law of superposition, holds that of two or more of the earth's rock or strata, those which lie deeper are older or more ancient, having been deposited earlier and later covered by strata laid down more recently. The second basic principle is that strata containing the same kinds of fossils are of approximately the same age.

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Thus, by combining the stratigraphic and paleontological information from a large number of sites, a comprehensive dating sequence can be assembled, which spans all of geological time. Specific epochs, periods and eras are named generally on the basis of associated fossils or geological events, and newly discovered sites can be placed in their appropriate chronological position on the basis of their identified strata and fossils.

Geological time provides a framework for discussions in numerous disciplines. To geologists, for instance, the entire sequence is of direct interest. Paleontologists use it to date fossils of all kinds, and paleo-ecologists use it not only as a relative dating system, but also to provide other disciplines with an overview of general climatic conditions during particular times. For paleo-anthropologists and archeologists, only the more recent periods are of direct concern although the entire sequence provides essential background knowledge.

The Precambrian and Paleozoic Eras: The Precambrian is the earliest of the four generally recognized eras. Many authorities now advocate a further division into a Proterozoic era between the origin of life and Cambrian and Azoic era prior to the emergence of life. In their view the Azoic is characterized by geological and chemical evolution while the Proterozoic primarily by algae, and then simple invertebrates.

The fossil record first becomes relatively abundant during the Cambrian, which is the initial period of the Paleozoic era. Cambrian fossils, which are mostly of marine invertebrates, include numerous members of all known invertebrate phyla. Subsequent periods of Paleozoic saw the appearance of the earliest vertebrates. Land adapted plants appeared and later, during the Devonian period, the first amphibians ventured on to the land. Insects also appeared. However, Devonian is sometimes called the "Age of Fishes" due to the predominance of fish. During the later period of the Paleozoic, amphibians became dominant on land, but reptiles evolved about the same time. As the Paleozoic era came to a close with the Permian period, reptiles were undergoing an extensive adaptive radiation.

The Mesozoic Era: The reptile radiation of the late Paleozoic culminated in two important groups of animals: The dinosaurs that dominated the entire Mesozoic era, and the mammal-like reptiles. The latter evolved into archaic mammals by the middle or Jurassic period of the Mesozoic and birds also appeared during the Jurassic, evidently from a dinosaur ancestor. Thus, although the dinosaurs appeared about 230 million years ago and were dominant for the next 160 million years, they shared the landscape with other important kinds of animals.

During the final Cretaceous period of the Mesozoic, several significant developments occurred. Marsupial and then placental mammals appeared, including the earliest traces of archaic prosimians. Flowering plants evolved, making the beginning of an ecology more similar to that existing today. By the end of the cretaceous, large reptiles had become extinct and the stage was set for the mammalian dominance of the subsequent Cenozoic era.

The Cenozoic Era: The Cenozoic era is called the "Age of Mammals". Cenozoic deposits yield the fossils that demonstrate the adaptive radiation of all the mammals, including the primates. Cenozoic era has two periods - the Tertiary and the Quaternary. The former is divided into epochs: Paleocene, Eocene, Oligocene, Miocene and Pliocene. The quaternary is divided into two epochs: Pleistocene and Holocene (the recent).

The end of the Mesozoic era saw a geological revolution with up thrusting of the chief mountain systems of today, such as the Rockies. This is inferred from the fact that the Mesozoic rocks of these mountains are much folded onto each other, whereas the rock formations of the subsequent Cenozoic era overlie them in more orderly layers. The Cenozoic era started about 65 million years ago.

The Paleocene was generally warm and mild epoch, during which mammalian adaptive radiation was extensive and relatively rapid. A number of virtually identical fossil species are known from strata in North America, Europe and Asia, since during the Paleocene continental drift had not yet separated the

The Eocene climate was apparently even warmer and wetter than that of the Paleocene, and conditions throughout the Northern Hemisphere were somewhat tropical. Eocene fossils include primitive representatives of nearly all modern orders of mammals, and there are again European and North American fossils that are virtually identical. Primates were common and were more advanced than those of the Paleocene, most of which had become extinct.

During the Oligocene the climatic trend seemed to have generally reversed, and tropical forests gave way to widespread evergreen forests of pine and cedar. Many Oligocene mammals reached immense sizes; but at the other end of the scale the first essentially modern mice evolved. Wide range of living families of mammals including old world monkeys and apes appeared.

The Miocene and Pliocene are of particular significance to physical anthropologists since it was during these epochs that archaic apes and identifiable human ancestors eventually were found. The Miocene continued the Oligocene cooling trend; and for much of the epoch a vast evergreen forest stretched across Eurasia from the Atlantic to the Pacific, bounded on the north by savannas and on the south by water or more tropical forests. Apes were common in these forests while modern sub-families of grazing animals evolved on the grasslands.

During the Pliocene, the Oligocene forest belt began to breakup, resulting in a mixed ecological pattern of forests and savannas. It has been suggested that such a pattern, which became common in Europe, Asia and Africa would tend to favor organisms with relatively flexible adaptations, since it would be both advantageous and at times necessary to operate in forests, forest-fringe areas, and savannas with certain exceptions like the ancient horse. Most of the plants and animals of the Pliocene would probably seem generally familiar to us today.

The Pleistocene Epochs and the "Ice Ages": When the Tertiary period came to an end, there began a time of fluctuating, but generally cool climates in the Pleistocene. This epoch included several episodes of glaciations separated by phases during which the climate was considerably warmer. The latter are called "Inter-glacial".

The early part of the Pleistocene is identified with certain species of animals that lived then. These animals' ecology approached that found today in the same parts of the world, although a number of giant mammals still existed, such as mammoths, giant species of buffalo, baboons and pigs.

Dating problems surround the Pleistocene glaciations. It is unclear when these glaciations began, although we do know that glaciations have occurred, at times, as far back as the Paleozoic. The glacial period lasted altogether for about 2 million years. Our evolving ancestors found places and ways to live, strategies that mitigated the full impact of a glacial maximum. In fact, there can be little doubt that survival under such conditions imposed both biological and cultural selection on evolving hominid populations during the Pleistocene. The cultural response can be seen in various stone tool technologies and in other data provided by prehistoric archaeologists, which indicate that our ancestors of the middle and upper Pleistocene had become effective hunters of the wooly mammoths and wooly rhinos that inhabited the tundra plains surrounding the glacial ice sheets. While this may have indeed been a challenging environment, our "stone-age" predecessors evidently coped with it rather handily.

There are other significant effects of widespread glaciations that should be noted. A significant proportion of the global water supply was locked up in the immense continental ice-sheets, and as a result, the world-wide sea level dropped as much as 100 meters. This exposed millions of square kilometers of what today is the continental shelf surrounding contemporary landmasses, and much human activity undoubtedly took place in these zones. With the relatively recent development of techniques for underwater excavations, the continental shelves may someday provide crucial evidence for the course of human bio-cultural evolution during the Pleistocene.

Lowered sea levels can also form so-called land bridges between parts of the globe now separated by ocean. For instance, during much of the Pleistocene most of the islands off Southeast Asia were connected

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to the mainland; what is today Britain was connected to Europe, and Alaska was connected to Siberia. Early humans were thus able to walk to the places that are surrounded by water today.

Thus, although the numerous and irregular fluctuations make the identification and dating of specific glaciations difficult, the glaciations themselves are the outstanding climatological events of the Pleistocene. As a major aspect of the environment in which humans were evolving in many parts of the world, the potential significance of their impact cannot be overlooked.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL REMAINS

Archaeological remains are the material things people leave behind them and are retrieved by the archaeologists from the earth. They may be collected from the surface of the site or dug up. In general, people leave three kinds of remains behind after they have passed from the scene and even while they still inhabit the site for that matter.

1. Remains of the environment
2. Remains of their behavior
3. Their own Skeletal remains.

The Environment: The environment in which any group of people live poses problems that must be solved; it also creates possibilities (in that it contains potential resources) that a group can exploit. Each group developed ways of interacting with its environment - some that are unique to the group, others that it shares with many other groups. The ways in which a group copes with and exploits the potentials of its environment is called its ***system of cultural ecology***; it is very important to be able to reconstruct systems of cultural ecology of the prehistoric groups, since these systems form the material basis on which all societies rest. In order to do that, we must be able to reconstruct the natural environments in which prehistoric peoples lived.

Various kinds of evidence are available to us in this effort. We can, for instance, carefully sift through our archaeological remains to locate and identify all animal bones. From our knowledge of contemporary species and through the study of comparative anatomy, it is possible to learn quite a bit about the climate of a site from the wild animal remains in it. Those wild animal remains that show signs of having been used by people (such as being split open or charred) tell us a great deal about how the occupants of a site met some of their subsistence needs. Of course, if we find the remains of domesticated animals, we know that the people whose way of life we are investigating had considerable control over this segment of their environment.

In a similar manner we can learn a lot about the environment and subsistence activities of prehistoric groups studying remains of plant life in a site. Especially in sites that have been sealed off from the air (as in frozen sites) a tremendous amount of plant life may be preserved. Here too, both wild and domesticated plants reveal both the climate and life ways of groups. However, where the actual plants themselves may no longer be preserved, we need not necessarily despair. For, frequently the enormous amounts of pollen that are always in the air and are deposited along with all the other contents of a site may be retrieved. The outer shell of a pollen spore can survive intact for hundreds of thousands of years. It is possible to identify the species of plants that deposited pollen through examining the spores under a electron microscope - a technique termed Palynology that was developed in 1916 by Lennant Van Post of Sweden.

Information about the environment can also be obtained from some of the art that prehistoric peoples left behind. We know about the climate of Europe around 25,000 years ago from, among other things, the detailed renderings of animal life left painted on cave walls and carved in stone, clay, wood and bone.

The Behavior: People also leave remains that directly indicate their behavior. They leave behind the things they have made - their artifacts - which tell us a great deal; available natural (raw) materials, which

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instance, whether their pottery was made on a wheel or hand coiled); the uses to which their artifacts were put; their aesthetic notions; their ingenuity (or lack of it); the ways in which they chose to spend their time; their rituals; and possibly their religious practices.

Archaeologists examine artifacts in a minute detail, even to the point of X-raying them and using microscopes to study surface scratches. But we can learn a great deal more if we study not only the artifacts themselves, but also the patterns of their deposition, the frequencies with which artifacts are present in various parts of the site, and their relative positions (relative to each other and to the natural features or elements of the site). For example, are the chips produced while making stone tools spread evenly throughout a site or concentrated in a particular area - a "workshop"? Are the charcoal deposits that indicate the presence of fires the same throughout a site - or do some have charred animal remains (and were thus probably used for cooking) while others do not (thus presumably used for heat)? Are the heating fires consistently near the mouth of the cave while the cooking fires are deep within? The careful study of the patterning of the deposition of artifacts - and all other remains in a site - tells us a lot about the organization of behavior among the people who once lived there.

Skeletal Remains: Finally, people leave their own remains behind. These skeletal materials may be formally buried or simply left where the people died - naturally or traumatically. However, the skeletal remains of people (or the remains of our Hominid ancestors) can teach us a great deal about them. For example, Ralph Solecki, while excavating Shanidar Cave in Iraq, found skeletal remains of Neanderthals who lived some 48,000 years ago. Careful study of these remains indicated that these people cared for their aged and crippled. One 40-year-old male had an arm amputated and massive scarring around one eye, indicating probable loss of sight in that eye; another adult male skeleton revealed a triangular wound to a rib that had been healing for about a week at the time of his death (suggesting he had survived an armed encounter before dying a week later in an accidental rock fall). Many diseases leave their traces in people's bones, and the study of skeletal remains thus can reveal much about a group's state of health.

Analyzing Archaeological Remains: Once the remains of a site are being dug up, the question of what to do with them arises. Three fundamental tasks face the archaeologist: Handling the remains, categorizing them and dating them. Only when these tasks have been undertaken can an archaeologist proceed to analyze the remains, i.e., to establish their functional or temporal associations.

Handling the remains: Archaeological remains must be handled with great care. Indeed, it is best to follow D. Leechman's advise to *"treat every specimen as though it were the only one of its kind in the world", since* the better the condition of a given specimen, the more information can be gleaned from it. For a specimen to yield the maximum amount of information possible, it is desirable that the following steps must be undertaken:

1. **Preservation:** Fragile specimen must be strengthened chemically or by storing them in special facilities (like temperature and humidity controlled environments) to prevent or slow their falling apart.
2. **Repair:** Broken specimens (like fossils or ceramics) should be reassembled whenever possible.
3. **Cleaning:** The dirt that almost inevitably is attached to specimens that have been dug-up should be removed, with great care taken to avoid scratching the specimens in the process; this makes subsequent labeling, analysis and categorization of remains much easier, and helps prevent breakage in shipping.
4. **Inspection:** Specimen should be looked over carefully. Sometimes examination with a microscope is called for, since very small scratches and points of wear give indications about how an artifact might have been used.
5. **Description:** Written records must be kept in which specimens are described - both with regard to their features (materials, form) and their location in the site. Frequently photographs are taken to supplement verbal descriptions. These records should be indexed, with a separate entry number for each specimen; consequently, specimens must have catalog numbers affixed to them.

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Obviously, even the rather mechanical work of handling remains is quite involved. Do-it-yourself amateurs frequently (though inadvertently) destroy the usefulness of specimens by mishandling them.

Categorizing the remains: A major step in the analysis of archaeological remains is organizing them into categories. Artifacts have many physical characteristics or features that one can use to categorize them, including the material from which they are made, their shape, color, decorative motive, or even their uses (Functions). Categorization of remains is not, however, an end in itself; its purpose is to shed light on the social and cultural worlds of the prehistoric people. Thus it is analytical, not merely descriptive.

DATING REMAINS

To paraphrase, Albert C. Spaulding, archaeology can be defined in its essence, as the study of the interrelation of form, location in space, and location in time exhibited by artifacts. We have discussed, thus far, some of the ways in which archaeologists study the shapes and forms of artifacts, and also how they take care to record their spatial locations in the course of excavating them. But, what of time? How can archaeologists discover the location of a site specimen in time? Or, to put it more technically, how do archaeologists reconstruct cultural chronologies?

They do it through techniques of dating, of which there are two kinds.

1. Relative dating
2. Absolute dating

RELATIVE DATING

To date a specimen - a tangible remain of the event that produced it - ***in relative terms is to connect it in time to another local event.*** The concern, in relative dating is to establish the order or sequence of events that transpired in a specified place, (usually a site or a group of selected sites). Relative dating techniques cannot answer such questions as: "How long ago did it happen or how long did it take"? Rather, they can shed light on questions such as: "What happened first and what happened next"?

There are two major approaches to relative dating.

a) Stratigraphy

b) Seriation

Stratigraphy: Stratigraphy is the study of strata. It developed out of the *Uniformitarian approach to geology* and is based on the assumption that the processes through which natural and cultural remains are deposited are ongoing and uniform through time. The basic principle of stratigraphy is the **Law of Superposition**, which asserts that given a natural course of events, if stratum A is found to be below stratum B, it must be deposited before stratum B, and hence is older than stratum B. The aim of stratigraphy, then, is to reconstruct the history of deposition of a site's remains.

Two points of caution should be raised. In the first place, older strata may not always be found beneath more recent strata - due to such complicating processes as inversion and mixing of strata. Secondly, it is very important to point out that although cultural deposits are found within natural strata, cultural strata and natural strata are not the same. For example, a singly natural stratum might well contain two or more cultural strata, i.e., successive site components or units of occupation. Finally, remains like burials from a later date can intrude into earlier strata and thus appear to represent much earlier activities than they in fact do. Most sites are created through a combination of cultural and natural depositions. It is very important that these processes be kept separate when we analyze the contents of a site.

Seriation: It is indeed unfortunate for the archaeologist that most prehistoric peoples were not strongly attached to their sites. Hence long (cultural) stratigraphic sequences are a rarity. Short sequences are the rule and when found, they must be related to one another by a different method, namely Seriation. This

geographically defined area, are retrieved, and each deposit is fit into its relative position in the sequence. How? On the basis of the degree to which each deposit exhibits these emerging cultural characteristics that mark the (locally prevailing) pattern of cultural development.

For example, to illustrate how Seriation actually works, we can turn the research of Flinders Petrie, a pioneer in the development of Seriation. First, Petrie assumed that the Egyptian burials he was excavating had become more complex in the course of time - that they have developed from unelaborated trenches to complicated multi-chambered tombs. He arranged the grave goods he retrieved from these burials in a sequence based on this supposition. Then he found that these grave goods in themselves showed systematic changes, style and form, and that the pattern of these changes corresponded to the hypothesized sequence of increasingly complex burial practices. It is interesting to note that subsequent research on Egyptian burials has, for the most art, confirmed Petrie's analysis.

This example also illustrates the point that one can seriate whole cultural complexes, on the one hand, or individual artifacts types on the other. Both forms of seriation are important tools of archaeological research. However, seriation by itself is incomplete; it reveals patterns of cultural change - but not the direction of cultural change. Culture does not always change from simple to complex. It some times devolves from complex to more simple forms; it may also be cyclical in its development. In order to establish the direction of cultural change, the archaeologist must in one way or another be able to tie in the seriation with some external fact (like a sequence of geological strata).

Seriation is thus the opposite of stratigraphy. In stratigraphy, one builds up a sequence of peoples by inference from the superimposition of their assemblages. In seriation, on the contrary, one starts with the hypothesis of a sequence and must test this hypothesis against stratigraphy or other evidence. The validity of seriation depends upon how well it has been tested out by means of other methods.

Besides stratigraphy and seriation, several other relative dating techniques are used when conditions are right. For example, the animal remains in a site can sometimes be used for relative dating purposes - as when a shift in the frequency of domesticated over wild animals in a site sequence indicates the local adoption of animal husbandry, or when cultural remains are found associated with animals like the wooly mammoth, whose teeth changed significantly in the course of the Pleistocene and thus may be used as "markers" indicating where associated cultural remains fit in the sequence of Pleistocene cultural development.

Similarly plant life may guide archaeologist in relative dating. As we already indicated, pollen is preserved for very long periods of time and can be used to reconstruct prehistoric environments. Once the sequence of climatic or environmental change has been worked out for an area, the relative sequence of the cultural remains found associated with different climatic changes may be inferred.

In the study of fossilized remains, the analysis of nitrogen and fluorine contents can help establish relative sequences. Bones and teeth absorb fluorine and loose nitrogen in the course of time. Thus researchers can compare the quantities of nitrogen and fluorine contained by different skeletal fossils and calculates those that have been deposited longer and those that were there a shorter time - their relative age. This then reveals the relative ages of the cultural remains associated with the fossil specimens. Unfortunately, local environmental conditions greatly affect the speed at which this processes progress, limiting archaeologists to relative dates in very localized areas.

ABSOLUTE DATING

To date a specimen from a site in absolute terms means to establish a connection between it and a universal time scale, that is, a regular sequence of events that happens uniformly all over the world. The nature of the absolute and universal standard in terms of which a specimen may be dated varies according to the types of specimen and the dating technique used. The following means of absolute dating methods will illustrate what we mean by absolute and universal standards, and how archaeologists establish connections between them and their site specimens.

Radio Carbon Dating: J. R. Arnold and W. F. Libby invented this dating technique. Radio carbon dating is perhaps the best-known and most widely used absolute dating technique. It is based on the following chain of events: Solar radiation bombards the upper atmosphere where it collides with free-floating nitrogen atoms, converting them into radioactive carbon atoms - C14. Both the radioactive carbon and the stable carbon atoms C12 in the atmosphere link up with oxygen to form carbon dioxide, which enters all living things in the course of universal oxygen exchange process. The ratio of radioactive carbon 14 to stable carbon 12 in the atmosphere is presumably identical to the ratio of carbon 14 to 12 in anything living. C14 decomposes into C12 at a constant rate - every 5568 years, half of a given amount of C14 is converted into C12 (known as half-life). When an organism dies, it no longer takes in carbon 14 from the atmosphere, so the decomposing carbon 14 it contains is no longer replaced. Thus the ratio of carbon 14 to carbon 12 it contains diminishes. Since we know the rate of this decline, we can measure this ratio in the remains of any plant or animal, compare it to the ratio in living organisms, and compute the time it had been dead.

Potassium Argon Dating: Certain volcanic rocks contain radioactive potassium (K40) that decomposes into argon (Ar40) in a 1.3 billion year half-life. Because of the process of decomposition is much slower than that of carbon 14, Potassium Argon dating can be used to date much older remains - millions of years old, in fact, but cannot be used on remains younger than 400,000 years. To date fossil or cultural remains by this process, the volcanic rock must be deposited at the same time as the remains in question, a coincidence of events not too frequently found. Also, it has been demonstrated that the half-life has not been very accurately measured and statistical margins for error are large. Nevertheless, potassium argon dating has been helpful in certain cases, the most famous one being the dating of a Robust australopithecine skull found by Mary and Louis Leakey at the Olduvai George in East Africa.

Obsidian Dating: In this dating technique the standard of measurement is the fixed rate at which a freshly exposed obsidian surface (Obsidian is a dark volcanic glass) absorbs moisture from the environment. Not infrequently, archaeologists find stone tools made from obsidian. In the course of making the tools, people exposed fresh surface of rock. By measuring how deeply moisture has penetrated into the obsidian in the intervening period, researchers can date the length of time that has elapsed since the tool was made. Unfortunately, local environmental conditions such as temperature and humidity affect the rate of absorption, thus the hydration rate must be worked out independently for each area.

Archaeomagnetic Dating: When materials such as clay that contain iron molecules are heated beyond a certain temperature, the iron molecules rearrange themselves and lineup along the lines of force of the earth's magnetic field; in other words they line up pointing towards the earth's magnetic north pole. The magnetic pole of the earth has not remained in one place however and scientists have plotted its course back through time. Thus, when archaeologists find something like a brick ceramic kiln or a clay lined fire pit that is obviously in its original position, and also in the course of its use must have been heated beyond its critical temperature where the iron molecules realign themselves, they can establish the alignment of the molecules and measure the angle of divergence between that alignment and the direction of the magnetic pole today. Based on this, archaeologists can compute backwards to how long ago the kiln was last used. The standard in terms of which they measure is the movement of the pole; however, there are regional deviations in the earth's magnetic field that make Archaeomagnetic dating less than reliable.

Thermo-luminescent Dating: A new technique still very much in its developmental stage, thermo-luminescence is primarily used on ceramics. It makes use of the fact that heated materials can trap energy that is released when the materials are reheated. The trapped energy increases over time, providing the standard through which this dating technique works. A piece of pottery (heated in the course of its making) is heated again under laboratory conditions. The stored energy is released in the form of visible rays, and the strength of the rays indicates how long the energy has been trapped inside the pottery. Once again, however, things are complicated than we would like them to be. It is becoming increasingly clear that a wide range of factors other than time also affects the strength of the thermo-luminescent rays released. A great deal more work needs to be done before thermo-luminescence will be as reliable a dating technique as radio carbon dating.

Free Ring Dating Or Dendrochronology: Wherever this technique can be used, it gives dates that are accurate to the exact year. A. E. Douglas developed the method. The standard of measurement is the process whereby each year trees add a ring to their cross section. Some trees are very sensitive to rainfall, and the thickness of their rings will vary with the degree of wetness of a given year. Such trees can be used to recreate a sequence of varying ring thickness as long as specimens can be found that overlap at least somewhat in age. Of course, such sequences vary regionally - and in many regions are not available at all. Here too, the archaeologist must use caution. If the outer ring of the specimen is missing, it is impossible to know when the specimen actually died, since it is impossible to know how many rings are missing.

Varve Dating: Baron Gerard de Geer first developed it. This dating technique exploits the fact that in regions where glaciers once lay, their annual spring melts produced laminated layers of sediment called varves. Each varve consists of two layers: A thin, fine-grained dark layer on top and a coarse, thick-grained light layer beneath. Varves vary in thickness depending upon the degree of the glacial melt in any given year. This process is the standard through which banks of clay may be dated. However, archaeological remains are not frequently found in clay deposits, diminishing the usefulness of this dating method.

(B) CULTURAL EVOLUTION

BROAD OUTLINES OF PREHISTORIC CULTURES

Prehistory is a term used to describe the period before written history. Paul Tournal originally coined the term Pré-historique in describing the finds he had made in the caves of southern France. It came into use in French in the 1830s to describe the time before writing, and Daniel Wilson introduced the word "prehistoric" into English in 1851.

The term "prehistory" can be used to refer all time since the beginning of the universe, although the term is more often used to describe periods when there was life on Earth and even more commonly, to the time when human-like beings appear on Earth. Prehistorians typically use a Three-age system to divide up human prehistory; scholars of pre-human time period typically use the geologic time scale.

Because, by definition, there are no written records from prehistory, data about that time is provided by various natural and social sciences, such as paleontology, biology, archaeology, palynology, geology, archaeoastronomy, comparative linguistics, anthropology, molecular genetics and many others. Dating of prehistoric materials is particularly crucial to the enterprise. Clear techniques for dating were not well developed until the 19th century.

The primary researchers into Human prehistory are prehistoric archaeologists and physical anthropologists who use excavation, geologic and geographic surveys, and other scientific analysis to reveal and interpret the nature and behavior of pre-literate and non-literate peoples. Human population geneticists and historical linguists are also providing valuable insight for these questions. Cultural anthropologists help to provide context of marriage and trade, by which objects of human origin are passed among people, thereby allowing for a rich analysis of any article that arises in a human prehistoric context.

The date marking the end of prehistory, that is the date when written historical records become a useful academic resource, varies from region to region. For example, in Egypt it is generally accepted that prehistory ended around 3200 BC, whereas in New Guinea the end of the prehistoric era is set much more recently, at around 1900 AD.

The three-age system is the periodization of human prehistory into three consecutive time periods,

- The Stone Age
- The Bronze Age
- The Iron Age

The system is most apt in describing the progression of European and Mediterranean societies, although it has been used to describe other histories as well. The system has been criticized for being too technologically determinist. Its formal introduction is attributed to the Danish archaeologist Christian Jürgensen Thomsen in the 1820s in order to classify artifacts in the collection, which later became the National Museum of Denmark. Thomsen was not the first to use tool-making materials as a basis for classifying prehistoric cultures; the French antiquary Nicholas Mahudel had proposed a similar system in the early eighteenth century and the idea gathered supporters in the intervening hundred years. Such a system was revolutionary and a vast improvement on the disorganized nature of previous prehistoric archaeology.

Stone Age Subdivisions

In 1865 the Stone Age in Eurasia was first divided into the Paleolithic and the Neolithic after John Lubbock's use of the terms in his book, Prehistoric Times and further subdivisions were introduced to divide all the ages into early, mid or late (or lower, middle and upper in the case of the Paleolithic) sections. Amongst African archaeologists, the terms Old Stone Age, Middle Stone Age and Late Stone Age are preferred. In some cultures, archaeological evidence has made it necessary to add a Copper Age period between the Neolithic and the Bronze Age. The term Megalithic does not refer to a period of time and merely describes the use of large stones by ancient peoples from any period.

The three-age system has been difficult to apply fully outside Europe and the Mediterranean for which it was devised. Some societies skipped some of the stages or never developed them when their societies did not need them. Some Amazonian tribes in South America remain to date in the Neolithic for example, and while there was no Bronze Age in Sub-Saharan Africa, technological innovation there progressed from stone to iron working. It also soon became apparent that the switches from one age to another did not happen quickly or decisively. Flint tools remained in use in a limited fashion into the Iron Age in Europe and early metal items often appear in what should technically be the Neolithic.

Using the three-age system to measure the advancement of societies is often quite inaccurate, as some developments have appeared in different societies at vastly differing stages of their development. For example, Classic Period Maya society had mathematics and astronomy that rivaled early renaissance Europe, but were still technically a Stone Age culture. Some pre-Inca cultures had metalworking starting in 1500 BC. The Japanese had pottery as early as 10,000 BC but did not begin bronze work or rice farming until 1000 to 500 BC.

The *Paleolithic*, a term still commonly used by archaeologists (literally, the "Old Stone Age"), initially referred to the stage in which humans made chipped stone tools. Now, however, it stands for the period of cultural development that began during the late Pliocene Epoch and lasted through the glacial advances and retreats of the Pleistocene Epoch. Since this covers such a long time span, it is often divided into thirds: the Lower, Middle, and Upper Paleolithic. These have no connection with the geological subdivisions Lower, Middle, and Upper Pleistocene. Instead, the long Lower Paleolithic is defined as simply everything in cultural evolution that preceded the Middle Paleolithic. The Middle Paleolithic, in turn, refers to the state of human culture in Western Europe during Neanderthal times. And the Upper Paleolithic has additionally been defined as the time during which blades - long, thin stone tools with parallel sides and burins, tools used to cut and shape wood and bone, were used. It is difficult to date this sequence because cultural evolution proceeded at different rates in different areas. Consequently, the dates presented in this chapter will be area specific.

In this framework, the *Mesolithic* (the "Middle Stone Age") refers to the gap between the Paleolithic and

Paleolithic cultures and the first cultures having agriculture. In Europe and the Near East it is a very short period just before the emergence of agriculture. With the exception of the archaic period in North America, it is doubtful that a similar sequence appears elsewhere. Once again, the dates for this period vary. In Europe and the New World, it began about 8,000 to 10,000 years ago while in the Near East, it began somewhat earlier.

During the *Neolithic* (New Stone Age), humans began making tools by grinding and polishing rather than by chipping. A more recent definition of this cultural stage is the period from the invention of agriculture to the invention of metalworking. These stages, or ones like it, have been identified in Europe, Asia, Africa and the Americas. The Neolithic was followed, at least in Western Europe, by the *Bronze Age* and the *Iron Age*. Bronze and iron were the chief metals used in the art of metallurgy, which developed at this time. Towards the end of the Iron Age, people began to keep written records, ending millions of years of prehistory.

Various other frameworks have been suggested. One is based on the means of food procuring. This framework divides prehistory into two chunks: the **food-gathering stage** and the **food-producing stage**. During the first, hominid societies were organized to efficiently gather plants and to hunt animals. In the second major phase, humans began to assert more control over resources by domesticating plants and animals. The larger populations that could be supported by this process eventually led to the development of complex political structures. The question of which system is best to analyze cultural stages is subject to considerable debate. Many archaeologists switch back and forth, depending on the time and the archeological culture they are discussing. Both systems break up a continuous line of cultural evolution. Thus, as long as the types of cultures to which we refer are clear, it does not matter which system we use. In this topic, we use the traditional terms. The term *Paleolithic* will be used to mean that period during which humans hunted and gathered. It was during this long period that humans spread from their tropical origins to all parts of the world. The term *Neolithic* will be used to mean that period during which agriculture emerged. And *Mesolithic* will stand for the transitional episode between the Paleolithic and the Neolithic.

The Three-Age System

Age	Period	Tools	Economy	Dwelling	Society	Religion
Stone Age	Paleolithic	Handmade tools and objects found in nature – cudgel, club, sharpened stone, chopper, hand axe, scraper, spear, harpoon, needle, scratch awl	Hunting and gathering	Mobile lifestyle – caves, huts, tooth or skin hovels, mostly by rivers and lakes	A band of edible-plant gatherers and hunters (25–100 people)	Evidence for belief in the afterlife first appears in the Upper Paleolithic, marked by the appearance of burial rituals and ancestor worship. Priests and sanctuary servants appear in the prehistory.
	Mesolithic	Handmade tools and objects found in nature – bow and arrow, fish – basket, boats			Tribes and bands	
	Neolithic	Handmade tools and objects found in nature – chisel, hoe, plough, yoke, reaping-hook, grain pourer, barley, loom, earthenware (pottery) and weapons	Neolithic Revolution - transition to agriculture. Gathering, hunting, fishing and domestication	Farmsteads	Tribes and formation of chiefdoms in some Neolithic societies the end of the period	
Bronze Age		Copper and bronze tools, potter's wheel	Agriculture – cattle – breeding, agriculture, craft, trade			
Iron Age		Iron tools		Formation of cities	Formation of states	

1. PALEOLITHIC CULTURE

The Oldowan Culture

The Paleolithic period is by far the longest of the major tool working stages, for it lasted from about 2.6 million to 10,000 years B.P. in the Near East. It persisted even later in Europe and the New World. Its history can be seen as a tale of cultural diversification. At the earliest and simplest level, stone tool assemblages were remarkably similar at sites throughout Africa, Europe, and the Near East. In the next stage, there were two major tool making traditions. By the late Middle Paleolithic, traditions were still more diversified. And by the Upper Paleolithic, there were a large number of specialized local cultural traditions.

The first signs that primitive hominids had begun to shape their environment by learned patterns of behavior, rather than just adapting to it biologically, are the crude stone tools found at very ancient sites.

was preceded by finding and using stones whose edges were sharp enough to be better than human hands for certain chores. Just what these chores were is hard to say for sure, but it is widely assumed that they mostly involved food getting. Perhaps sharp stones were used in cutting up carcasses or splitting bones to get at the marrow: Perhaps they were used for making points on sticks so they could be used in digging. Whatever their use, the discovery that sharp stones made certain tasks easier, was important for the survival of early hominids.

Stones were not the only material aspects of early cultures. Sticks and bones must have been available too. But wood is rarely preserved, and crude bone tools are often hard to recognize as tools. The wood and bone tools that have lasted show that until rather recent times they were cruder than stone tools.

The earliest stone tools have been grouped together in the ***Oldowan tradition***, so named because tools of this type were first uncovered in the lower beds at Olduvai Gorge. These tools were made by striking one pebble against another rock to knock off enough flakes to form a single crude edge.

The Range of the Oldowan Culture: The earliest Oldowan tools known do not come from Olduvai. They were found in another part of the Great Rift Valley System of East Africa. Here 10 to 12 million years of prehistory have been preserved in natural basins by sedimentary deposits. Shifts in the tectonic plates below have since exposed them. Anthropologist Glynn Isaac recently discovered stone tools that may be 2.6 million years old at the Koobi Fora formation, a peninsula that cuts into Lake Turkana in the northeast corner of Kenya.

Tools found at Koobi Fora are similar to those found in sediments at Olduvai Gorge that date from 1.89 million to about 400,000 years BP. Early stone tool traditions probably spread from East Africa to southern and northern Africa, and then were carried to the tropical and subtropical zones of Asia as hominids moved out of Africa. Later these tools were used by early inhabitants of temperate zones in Europe. By about 700,000 years B.P., the same kind of crude tools appeared in Vallonet Cave on the shore of the Mediterranean in southern France.

Just who made these tools is not yet clear. There may have been several species of bipedal hominids on the African scene at the time the earliest tools appeared. Most anthropologists think the stone carriers and sharpeners were probably the East African gracile hominids, who may have been meat eaters. The unspecialized tooth pattern of the graciles is often cited in support of the notion that tools took over some dental functions, such as the preparation of food before eating it. Tools may also have expanded the number of different types of foods that could have been eaten. Their less advanced neighbors, the robusts, were probably highly specialized vegetarians and therefore less likely to have made tools. Their specializations suggest that the robusts were part of a separate evolutionary lineage that did not contribute to later hominid evolution. The presence of dental specialization suggests that cultural adaptations to the environment either were not made or were used in only a limited way. Although graciles seem to have been the stone toolmakers, the controversy over the number of gracile species and their names continues. It is therefore not possible to say for certain whether the toolmakers were gracile australopithecines or early members of the genus *Homo*.

Technology of the Oldowan Culture: We know that early hominids carried stones suitable for making tools rather than gathering them on the spot. Many have been found in places where the naturally occurring stones are no larger than peas. The favorite stones of these early hominids seem to have been water-worn pebbles about the size of a tennis ball. These were given a sharp cutting edge by knocking a few flakes off one part of the rock with another rock, called a ***hammer-stone***. Sometimes the stone being flaked was struck against another rock, called an *anvil*. Both methods of using one stone to strike off flakes from one or both sides of another are called *percussion flaking*.

The small flakes themselves make effective cutting or scraping tools if held between the thumb and fingers and were probably used this way. What is left of the pebble after the flakes have been removed is called a ***chopper***. We are not sure what they were used for, but modern researchers who have experimented with choppers find themselves effective in cutting up game animals. As the period progressed, tools of quartzite, such as hide-scrapers and burins, increasingly appeared in the Oldowan assemblages as well.

The Econiche of the Early Hominids: The hominids of the Oldowan culture seem to have been part of a savanna ecosystem. Although they did hunt animals that lived in the savanna-forest fringes and along watercourses, their diet included a large number of grassland plants and animals. These hominids usually camped near bodies of water-lakes, rivers, or streams. They may have preferred these sites for a number of reasons. For one thing, they offered a ready supply of water before anybody invented things to carry it in. Water would have drawn many animals that could be preyed upon when they came looking for water. And the trees around these areas would have provided shade, fruits, and a means of escape from predators. Isaac suggests that in using tree-lined streams for campsites, early hominids kept their ancestors' means of security in an arboreal environment even as they began exploiting the more varied resources of the open grasslands.

Food Resources: Our earliest ancestors were mainly vegetarians. They lacked the large flesh-ripping canines of other carnivorous animals. It was a cultural solution - tool-making rather than a biological change that allowed them to tear through the fur and skin of animals to get at the meat inside. The gradual switch from a diet of vegetation to one that included a variety of animals probably added to their success in making use of the food resources of tropical areas. It may also have made possible their later move to colder climates, where plant foods were only available in certain seasons.

Meat probably became part of the early hominid diet in a gradual way. When hominids first began to eat meat, they ate mostly small, easy-to-catch animals. The bones of creatures such as rodents, birds, bats, lizards, turtles, and fish are most common at their living sites. Judging from the diets of modern hunting and gathering tribes, vegetation probably continued to provide about two-thirds of what they ate. But occasionally they seemed to have fed on big game, such as hippopotamuses. Some of the remains suggest that they chased large animals into swamps and then clubbed or stoned them to death. They may also have taken meat from carcasses killed by other animals, a practice still present in some primitive tribes.

Social Patterns: Artifacts from the beginnings of hominid culture reveal very little about social behaviors. To help reconstruct such behaviors, archaeologists also draw on an awareness of the behaviors of modern primates and hunting and gathering groups. The evidence has convinced archaeologists that late Pliocene and early Pleistocene hominids must already have been diverging from nonhuman primates in social and biological ways.

Like some modern primates, early hominids probably lived in small bands. The members of the bands were probably fairly young, for the probability of surviving until adulthood was low. Food sharing and the cooperative behavior in food getting may have been the forces most responsible for group cohesion. There are growing signs in the fossil record that systematic hunting was an important part of this behavior. Thus, the hunting hypothesis put forth by S. Washburn and C. S. Lancaster seems more relevant than ever.

According to this hypothesis, hunting may have given rise to division of labor, a behavioral trait that is unique in the animal world: males probably left base camp to hunt in bands, while females gathered plants, shellfish, eggs, and the like. Care of the young, while probably still mainly a female activity, may also have been performed part-time by males. This is the case among many nonhuman-primates and human societies. It is true that open-country primates such as baboons do have a highly evolved division of labor for defense and social control. But the cooperation involved in splitting up to gather different kinds of food and then bring them back to the base camp to share would be something new. Food sharing is almost unknown among the other primates, for they forage as individuals and eat as they go. Only chimpanzees share food, and they do so rarely. When they have meat, they allow some scrounging by other members of the troop. The hypothesis that hominid hunters and gatherers brought food back to camp to share with one another is supported by sites that have piles of the remains of many different animals. According to Isaac, it is unlikely that they were all killed and eaten at the same spot. Instead, they

Some camps may have been built near lakes and rivers during the dry season when water elsewhere was scarce. While there, the hunters killed large numbers of turtles and grazing animals, the same kinds of animals hunted by modern Bushmen during the dry season. During the rainy season, Oldowan hominids moved on to other areas, about which we know little.

Hominids may have evolved permanent pair bonds between males and females to reduce aggression between males and to allow their integration into a co-bonding presumably would have lessened sexual jealousies by limiting promiscuity. Males would also help to protect and get food for mothers and their offspring.

Finally, to make all this cooperative behavior possible, hominids may have developed a communication system that was more advanced than those of the other primates. Although we have no way of knowing when language appeared, it seems logical that group planning called for some way of talking about objects, times, and places. By contrast, primate communication is largely limited to responses to objects in the immediate environment. Nonhuman primates cannot express abstractions well enough to communicate about the future or make plans.

Forces for Change: Although the cultural achievements these early hominids made were limited, they represent a landmark in our evolutionary history. At this time, hominids began to assert conscious control over their environment. They could begin to change the environment with their behavior or, if this was impossible, change their behavior to suit the conditions. Culture, in effect, created a new niche for the hominids, in which natural selection began to favor the best culture users. Smart hunters and tool users were the fit because of their better survival strategies.

These strategies in turn probably began to select for a more complex brain. Hunting depends for its success on the ability to remember the nature and location of environmental features, as well as the habits of animals. Refinements in the coordination of hand and eye facilitated the making and use of tools. And perhaps simple language was necessary for teaching the young the basics of culture, or to plan the hunt. All these activities required the culture bearer to process sensory data, to remember it, and to integrate new perceptions with those stored in the memory. Hominids with the best brains were probably also the most adept at using culture and therefore more likely to pass on their genes. Eventually these selective pressures produced the extremely complex brain of the members of the genus *Homo*.

Early Migrations from Africa: As we noted earlier, Oldowan tools have been found not only in Africa but in other tropical and subtropical areas of the Old World as well. It is possible that they were invented separately at each location. But since the tools found at Koobi Fora and Olduvai Gorge are older than any found elsewhere, most archaeologists believe that the earliest hominid toolmakers originated in East Africa.

The earliest hominids to exploit the plants and animals of grasslands outside Africa were probably *Homo erectus*. It is not yet clear what kind of pressure led to this expansion. One theory is that early hunters followed herds of savanna herbivores in their migrations to these new territories. Both in Africa and elsewhere this movement was accompanied by increases in technological sophistication. These, in turn, allowed hominids to move into colder and colder regions. Probably during the Gunz and during the Mindel glaciations of the Middle Pleistocene (from about 600,000 to about 400,000 years B.P.) some lived in temperate environments in Europe. And during the Riss glaciation (roughly 220,000-150,000 years B.P.) some populations seemed to have lived in perpetually cold areas of Europe.

During this time, the carriers of the Oldowan culture split into two different cultural and geographical groups. The two traditions were more or less separated by a mountain barrier made up of the Himalayas in the east, the Caucasus and Zagros Mountains in south west Asia, and the Carpathians in southeast Europe. To the east and north of this mountain barrier as an elaboration of the Oldowan tradition called the *chopper-tool culture*. People to the west and south of this string of mountain ranges evolved the life-style and way of making tools, specifically hand axes, known as *Acheulean culture*.

The Acheulean Tradition

The Acheulean tool making tradition first appeared about 1.2 million years B.P. at Olduvai Gorge, long before Oldowan technologies died out. It is also found throughout much of Africa, persisting until about 60,000 years B.P. at one Rhodesian site, Kalambo Falls. Acheulean tools have also been found in the Middle East, India, and Java. They were common in southern Europe as well, but were replaced there about 100,000 to 70,000 years B.P. by the beginnings of the next cultural tradition, the Mousterian.

Acheulean Technology: The tool most characteristic of Acheulean assemblages is the ***hand axe***. It is considered a logical improvement over the Oldowan chopping tool, for instead of one sharpened edge it has two. These edges meet to form a point that added to the usefulness of the tool. The base, or butt, is broad for easy gripping. We are not sure how H. *erectus* used the hand axe. Recent experiments show that these tools may have had a number of functions, such as skinning, butchering, and digging.

A variation on the hand axe, the ***cleaver***, is also bifacially worked, but instead of a point there is a third cutting edge. The cleaver could have been helpful in chopping, hacking, and prying apart carcasses. Retouched flake tools made from stone flakes chipped from a core, commonly appear in Acheulean assemblages.

The transition from Oldowan to Acheulean stone working technology seems to have happened in several stages. Some of the early Oldowan choppers had been worked on both sides. Gradually however, early hominids flaked more and more of the surface of the stone, making the tool more slender and symmetrical. By the end of the Acheulean tradition, the whole tool, including the butt, was shaped, often to the point that the original shape of the stone is unrecognizable.

At first this flaking was done with a hammer-stone, as in the Oldowan industries. But eventually Acheulean toolmakers discovered that they could control the size and shape of the flake better by using a bone or a stick as a hammer. This method is called the ***soft hammer*** technique. In this technique, a bone, antler, or piece of wood was used to strike off shallow flakes from the sides of core tools. The use of this technique is marked by thinner axes, from which many more flakes have been removed to create a sharper edge.

A further development was an increasing sophistication in the production of flakes. In Oldowan industries, flakes were merely useful byproducts of making choppers. Probably recognizing that a well-designed flake could be more functional than one randomly struck, later Acheulean toolmakers prepared some stones with an eye toward the shape of the flake, rather than the shape of the parent stone, or core. The chief intent in this aspect of tool making was to prepare the core in such a way that flakes of predictable size and shape could be struck from it.

Stone was not the only material Acheuleans used for their tools. Bone and wood artifacts occasionally appear in their assemblages as well, but they are much rarer than stone tools. Bones were shaped and trimmed for specific purposes. They have been used as picks, axes, and cleavers, or perhaps for activities that humans no longer carry on. Wood is occasionally preserved in the shape of what appears to be a spear. The Acheuleans may also have used wood as clubs, throwing sticks, and tools to dig for roots and bulbs, as primitive peoples do today.

Econiche: In the main, Acheulean sites seem to have been located within grassland environments. These grasslands probably provided an optimal environment for the large and medium sized animals that they regarded as food. Until the end of the middle Paleolithic, Acheulean groups avoided both the dense tropical rain forests of west-central Africa and the barren deserts elsewhere on that continent. For most of this time, they lived in tropical or subtropical latitudes, rarely venturing farther north than southern Europe, which had a warm temperate environment. But toward the end of the Acheulean period, particularly during the Riss glaciation (220,000-150,000 years B.P.), they moved into progressively colder regions. In some cases, the cold came to them in the form of advancing glaciers. For instance, instead of retreating southward ahead of the European ice sheets, as did the elephants they had been hunting, the Acheuleans in southern Europe stayed in place, culturally adapted to the cold, and started hunting the mammoths that thrived on the tundra.

One cultural innovation that would play an increasingly important part in humans' ability to survive in cold climates was the controlled use of fire for warmth and cooking. Fire clearly was used at a chopper-tool site, Vertesszollos, about 450,000 years B.P. It can also be seen in the bits of charcoal and charred bone at Torralba, in Spain. The use of fire spread slowly to warmer climates, not reaching Africa until the end of the Pleistocene.

Shelter, too, was becoming more important as another cultural adaptation to the cold weather. In Europe, signs of crude windbreakers and huts with stake walls reinforced by stone piles have been found. There is also evidence that caves were being occupied. But some sites seem to have no shelters at all, suggesting that people did not build them unless the weather was bad or a long stay was expected. Judging from the lack of debris at their campsites, the Acheuleans seem to have moved about a great deal, possibly because they followed the seasonal movements of animal herds. But a few of the sites seem to have been occupied for weeks or months by bands of about 20 to 30 adults plus children.

The dismembered carcasses and smashed animal bones that litter Acheulean sites leave little doubt that these bands were also becoming increasingly systematic hunters. Animal protein was probably very important in cold climates where vegetation was seasonally scarce. Although Acheulean hunters may have eaten scavenged meat, as the Oldowans did, they had more refined methods of downing large animals. For instance, stone bolas on hide thongs was probably hauled at the legs of running prey. Prey varied from elephants and rhinos to baboons and reptiles but some local populations seem to have concentrated on a single species.

The Chopper-Tool Culture

Another distinct cultural tradition seems to have existed during roughly the same period as the Acheulean. Dates for this chopper-tool culture are not as well determined, however. Chopper-tool assemblages lacked hand axes, and are found over a different geographical and environmental range than the Acheulean. Except for northern Europe, where they were intermixed somewhat with the Acheulean, chopper-tool culture sites are concentrated north and east of the Acheuleans in east Asia, southeast Asia and in India east of the Indus River.

Technology: Non-Acheulean tool kits are easier to define by what they lack - the hand axes that are so typical of Acheulean assemblages - than by what traits they have. Some assemblages seem to consist mostly of flakes removed by striking a stone held against an anvil. This was ***bipolar*** working, for it produced percussion effects at both ends of the flake. The edges of some of the flakes were then chipped to form a variety of rather refined tools, some with teeth and notches. Choppers and chopping tools (with cutting edges worked on both sides) were also present.

The origins and spread of this tool making tradition are obscure. But French archaeologist Francois Bordes suggests that it may have appeared first in Southeast Asia 475,000 to 425,000 years B.P. as an elaboration of the Oldowan tradition and then spread to the west as far as England. Chopper-tool sites have been dated to the Holstein Interglacial, which began about 425,000 years B.P.

Food Resources: Despite the relative crudeness of their tools, Eurasians of this period managed to kill and butcher a great variety of animals. The bones of deer are most common in their food debris, but elephants, rhinos, bison, water buffalos, and many other animals were eaten as well. They may even have enjoyed an occasional meal of their own species. At Choukoutien, near Peking cannibalism may have occurred. Some of the long bones of hominids found there were split, possibly so that the marrow could be reached. Some skulls seem to have been cracked open so that the brains could be removed.

Econiche: The chopper-tool complex is found at sites that are on the northern edge of the Euro-Asiatic mountain chain. Compared to Acheulean sites, they were located in more wooded and colder areas, farther from the ocean.

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Acheulean and chopper tool sites were for the most part, clearly separated. In northern Europe, however, they do overlap in time and in some cases, space. One explanation is that the sites attributed to the two different cultures simply represented different activities and therefore different types of tools of the same population. But a closer look at the environmental range and tool making technology of these two cultures shows that they were really quite different. Desmond Collins has suggested that the chopper-tool complex was organized to exploit wooded terrain and a greater variety of food resources than the Acheulean. The latter specialized in the sorts of game herds that lived in more open, grassland environments. Because of this difference, the chopper-tool culture was the first to colonize northwestern Europe sometime during the Holstein Interglacial (420,000-220,000 years B.P.) Until the Riss, the glacial period following the Holstein Interglacial, Acheulean populations may only have existed in open areas or during warmer periods in larger river valleys in the north. During the Riss, however, Acheulean populations seem to have adjusted to the tundra parkland near the glaciers particularly exploiting the large mammoth herds. But even at this time the types of environments exploited by the two cultures would have remained distinct. Because of this apparently distinct adaptive difference, it is likely that two separate culture types existed at this time.

Cultures of the Late Middle Paleolithic

upper plestocene

By the beginning of the Wurm glaciation, at about 80000 years B.P., and perhaps even a little before then, populations in many parts of the world began to make a greater variety of more specialized, more sophisticated tools. Hominids intensified their efforts to exploit the environment, managed to survive in extremely cold conditions, and showed many social features of modern human cultures.

This late middle Paleolithic cultural period is roughly contemporary with the archaic H. *sapien* (or Neanderthal) period of human biological evolution. In Europe, where the time sequence is best known, it lasted from 80,000 or 100,000 years B.P. to about 40,000 years B.P. The major tool tradition associated with this time period is the **Mousterian.** Its characteristic assemblages are found throughout Europe and in the Near East, western Russia, south Asia, and northern Africa.

Technology: Mousterian assemblages are not identified by a single tool as Acheulean sites are characterized by the presence of hand axes or even by a single tool making tradition. Different sites may have very different tool kits. Perhaps these differences represent increasingly sophisticated adaptations to differing environments. Or they may indicate different sets of cultural notions about how tools should be made, and what kind. In general, though, they are more complex than anything that existed before.

Mousterian artifacts are often ***composite tools,*** having several parts. Earlier tools were made in one part from a single piece of raw material. A Mousterian spear might have a wooden shaft, a stone point, and a bone handle. Another indication that the toolmaker's art was becoming more advanced was careful preparation of a core so that flakes could be struck in precise pre-shaped forms. This method, called the ***Levallois technique,*** produced longer, sharper cutting edges than previous methods.

There was considerable local variety in Mousterian assemblages. Bordes sees five distinct general tool making traditions in Mousterian France. They correspond to some extent to assemblages found in similar environments elsewhere in the world.

1. ***Typical Mousterian*** assemblages rarely contain hand axes. Tools probably used as scrapers are plentiful, and points on other tools are made with care.
2. *Quina-Ferrassie* (or Charentian) assemblages are dominated by scrapers. Some are apparently designed for extremely specialized functions.
3. ***Denticulate Mousterian*** assemblages are rich in fine-toothed (or "denticulate") tools. But hand axes, points, and scrapers are either altogether lacking or of poor quality.

4. The fourth tradition, ***Mousterian of the Acheulean tradition***, evolves from an earlier to a later form. Type A has numerous hand axes and varied flake fools, including a number of scrapers. Type B, on the other hand, has few hand axes or scrapers, bur many denticulates and knives.
5. The last tradition, ***Micoquian*** is characterized by lance-shaped hand axes, often with concave edges and thick bases.

Although Bordes interprets the differences among these assemblages as distinct cultural traditions, some archaeologists see them as the products of a single culture occupying varying environments and carrying on different activities.

Econiche: The Econiche occupied by the late archaics is best understood in Europe, which was densely settled during Mousterian times. Sites dating from the Wurm have been excavated intensively in modern times. Despite the cold weather that hominids must have faced in Europe during the peak of glacial activity, the number of plant and animal remains found there suggests that the area could support abundant life. Ample amounts of sunlight helped. In midsummer, there were probably 16 hours of light a day, and at least half that much in winter. Except in areas of perpetual snow, northern Europe was covered with a variety of plants that were adapted to the cold. Wooly mammoth, wooly rhinoceros, elk, bison, and many other animals were numerous. The environment must have been like the tundra meadow and forest areas of northern Canada and Alaska – a region that today supports large herds of elk and moose.

The European hominids of this time apparently took full advantage of the high biomass of the tundra. Although they seemed to be capable of bagging everything from cave bears to fish, they must have been very fond of - or good at following and killing - reindeer. At one open-air habitation site in northern Germany, for instance, almost three-fourths of the animal remains found are those of reindeer.

To make use of this rich ecosystem, humans continued to rely on traditional hunting tools such as spears and bolas. Bows and arrows, fishhooks and harpoons were still unknown. It is possible, though, that since Mousterians made graves with digging sticks they also probably used pits to trap game. And the increasing inventory of tools may have been used to fashion a variety of weapons made of wood, bone, and plant fibers.

Adaptations to the cold may have included anatomical changes (The larger noses of the Neanderthals may have helped them to bear better the bitterly cold air of the glacial period.) Cultural solutions included continued use of fire. Rock shelters and caves were now systematically used for dwellings for the first time, sometimes on a semi permanent basis. Branches or skins may have been draped across the openings to keep out the cold, and fires were burned for warmth. And even in open-air sites some groups seemed to have built weather-tight shelters covered with skins. The many scrapers found in Mousterian assemblages suggest that these people were also scraping animal hides, possibly for use as blankets or clothing, though we cannot be sure of this.

Another way in which some of these archaic humans adapted to the Wurm cold was to migrate with the seasons, as did the animals they hunted. In the summer they traveled north into the open tundras; in the winter they came south to take refuge in the forests. This kind of life continued to favor small group size. Campsites are not large enough to suggest any social organization more complex than a band.

Outside of Europe archaic H. *sapiens* populations were expanding into new ecosystems, from tropical rainforests to sub-arctic regions. They were also developing technologies more specifically aimed at making use of local food resources and building materials. In the African rainforest, for instance, there was a seeming emphasis on tools for working wood, for this material was abundantly available.

Glimmers of Modern Culture: At the same time that they were refining their tool-making arts and living in new ecosystems, some groups seemed to be developing a more modern capacity for self-awareness and symbolic thought. We know that their brains were large, at least as large as ours, though this trait

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must have been using some form of speech. Our only evidence of their ability to speak, however, is indirect. We know little of how their brain was structured, for only a few of their external features have been preserved in endocranial casts. Whether or not they had a localized "speech center" in their brains we cannot tell. Some researchers have noted that these hominids had plenty of room in which to move their tongues if they did try to speak, since the bony shelves had disappeared from the insides of their lower jaws. Philip Lieberman, a linguist, and Edmund Crelin, an anatomist, determined that the larynx and brain of these early people were better equipped for speech than those of other primates. The two scientists built a model of the vocal tract of a European fossil dated to the early part of the Wurm. They then designed a computer program to analyze what kinds of sounds it could have made. The result: although the late archaics could make more differentiated sounds than other primates could, they could produce only a few vowel sounds, and their consonants were limited to *bs*, *ds*, and a few others, Fascinating as this theory is however, it is based on very thin evidence - a single fossil of a very old male.

In some areas, the late archaics had begun to practice such uniquely human social customs as ritual burial. Sixty thousand years ago, in a cave located in modern-day Iraq, a child was buried on a bed of flowers. A youth round buried at Le Moustier, France, was buried with animal bones and stone tools. And at La Chapelle-aux-Saints, another individual was laid to rest in a small grave carved out of the rocky floor of the cave. The body was surrounded by bits of quartz, jasper and red ochre. Perhaps these were personal possessions; perhaps they were symbolically linked with a belief in an afterlife. We have no way of knowing. We do know, however, that ochre was increasingly used in burials and other rituals, suggesting that it carried some kind of symbolic meaning. One anthropologist thinks that the red of the ochre was linked to the life-giving connotations of blood.

Some of the earliest ornamental objects found may have been made by Mousterian groups. Most were things worn on the body-necklaces and beads made of animal teeth, bones, and even 50-million-year-old fossilized shells. Whether these were used as ornaments, symbols, or perhaps even as magical tokens is not clear. But strange groupings of cave bear skulls and bones have been interpreted as strong evidence for some kind of magical or religious beliefs. For some reason, the Mousterians also made symbolic marks such as zigzags on bone plaques and then covered them with red ochre.

Such rare discoveries are extremely exciting to contemporary archaeologists, for they push back by tens of thousands of years the possible beginnings of symbolic, rather than strictly functional behavior. And for all we know, Mousterians may have had elaborate myths, songs, and dances that will remain forever lost to us because they have left no material traces.

The Upper Paleolithic

Up to about 40,000 years ago, culture had evolved rather slowly. The Oldowan tradition lasted 1.5 million years, overlapped to some extent by the Acheulean, which persisted for over a million years. The pace of change increased somewhat during the Mousterian, which in Europe lasted only 40,000 to 60,000 years. By the Upper Paleolithic, people apparently had the technology and the background of accumulated knowledge to rapidly improve and specialize their toolmaking techniques. They organized themselves into larger groups and translated their perceptions of one another and the animals they hunted into surprisingly good works of art. And, exploiting many different environments, they crossed geographical barriers to enter the last frontiers of the habitable world: the Americas and Australia.

Technology: Upper Paleolithic tool making traditions are complex and confusing. The best-known sequences exist in Europe. But even there, they are poorly worked out except in France. Some archaeologists speculate that southeastern Europe and southwestern Asia may have been areas in which for some reason there were many cultural innovations. These traditions then spread to other regions. Others suspect that technological changes were taking place independently at many different locations, rapidly increasing cultural diversity throughout the world.

In France, deposits show a gradual transition from Mousterian to ***Perigordian*** Industries. This culture existed from about 35,000 to about 18,000 years B.P. It probably evolved from the Mousterian of

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seem to have originated there. This was the ***Aurignacian***, which lasted from about 33,000 to 25,000 years B.P. Its origins and spread are still a mystery, though some archaeologists suspect that it may have been introduced from the Middle East. During the third Wurm glaciation (Wurm III), these two cultures seem to have coexisted without affecting each other much more than the various Mousterian traditions of the earlier Wurm did.

Whatever the relationship between the Perigordian and Aurignacian, only the former existed between about 25,000 and 18,000 years B.P. After 18,000 years B.P. the late Perigordian was replaced in France by the short-lived ***Solutrean***. The Solutrean lasted only 2,000 years, but during that time flint- working techniques advanced to a new peak. The origin of the Solutrean is not at all clear. It may have been a holdover from some Mousterian tradition that had continued to evolve in an isolated region before it spread across a rather limited area of Europe.

Roughly 16,000 years ago, the Solutrean vanished as mysteriously as it had appeared. It was quickly replaced by the very different tools of the ***Magdalenian*** tradition. The Magdalenian lasted until about 10,000 years ago, when it was replaced by the so-called Mesolithic Period (or Middle Scone Age). As we shall see, the Mesolithic lasted until the onset of agriculture in Europe.

Despite their differences through time, Upper Paleolithic assemblages have one unique technological feature: They are rich in *blades*. These are long, thin flakes with parallel sides. Blades may have been produced in at least three different ways: (1) hammering a chisel-like instrument against a stone that was steadied on top of a large rock (2) punching vertical slices out of a prepared rock with a long pointed tool steadied against the toolmaker's chest, or (3) traditional stone-against-stone percussion flaking. The blades that resulted were predictable, standardized shapes. With a little retouching, they could readily be made into specialized tools. The keen edge of these tools probably made it possible to work material other than Stone, such as hides, wood, and bone.

Among the specialized Upper Paleolithic blade tools are what archaeologists call *borers*. Their sharp points were probably used to drill holes into wood, shell, bone, or skins. The flattened ends of burins may have been used to chisel grooves in wood, bone, and antlers. *End scrapers* were sharpened on both ends, rather than one side (as in the Mousterian side-scrapers). They were probably used in hollowing out bone and wood or removing bark, as well as in scraping skins. *Notched blades* may have been used to shave wood in fashioning the shafts of arrows or spears.

Upper Paleolithic assemblages also contain *backed blades*, with one purposely dulled edge and one sharpened one, useful in general cutting and scraping. Bows and arrows appear for the first time during this period. *Shouldered points* were probably affixed to spears or arrows for fighting *or* hunting. Laurel-leaf blades were so delicately chipped and thin that they may have been used as ceremonial items, rather than as weapons.

In addition to blade tools, Upper Paleolithic assemblages - especially the Magdalenian - contain elaborate tools made of bones and antlers. Magdalenian bone and antler spear-throwers, barbed fish-hooks, harpoon heads, thong or shaft straighteners, and needles testify to the specialized uses to which materials other than stone were put. These objects were not only efficient tools but also showed the artistic talent of their makers. Many are even handsomely decorated with engraved pictures.

Econiche of European Upper Paleolithic Populations: Upper Paleolithic tools made possible a more efficient use of food resources. In Europe Upper Paleolithic populations occupied roughly the same tundra and forest ecosystem in which Mousterian populations had lived. But there are far more Upper Paleolithic sites, some apparently the ruins of permanent or semi permanent camps of over a hundred people. This suggests that more successful adaptations to extreme cold allowed population density to increase greatly. Their more settled existence and larger group size probably called for some form of political authority, a theory that is borne out by evidence that some people were buried with greater ceremony than others. The informal political structure of small bands becomes a less effective way of organizing large groups of people. In larger groups, leadership roles were probably performed by persons

Like their predecessors, the Upper Paleolithic peoples of Europe continued to rely on tundra and forest game. There is no sound evidence that they were beginning to domesticate the herds that they followed, though herd management may have appeared at about this time in the Middle East with selective killing of the young. But their ways of capturing game were becoming far more effective than ever before. Spear throwers and bows and arrows increased the accuracy and speed with which projectile points could be directed at prey. Judging from large piles of bones at the base of some cliffs, herds apparently were driven over precipices to their death. Cave drawings show the use of various traps, pitfalls, and enclosures. And fishing was greatly improved by the invention of harpoons and primitive fishhooks. All these advances led to what was probably the highest standard of living ever known anywhere before the onset of agriculture.

For the first time, humans were having a significant effect on the environment. The increasing use of large game animals like the mammoth may have contributed to their extinction though climate changes undoubtedly played a part in this, too. Upper Paleolithic groups may have changed the vegetation as well. Frequent evidence of forest fires in layers of this age has been interpreted by some archaeologists as an indication of intentional burning by humans. Fires have made it easier to sight and trap game. Fires also caused plants eaten by game species to grow, and helped the growth of berries and other vegetation probably eaten by humans.

Art: Improved hunting-and-gathering techniques may have provided Upper Paleolithic peoples with enough free time to develop artworks of extraordinary quality. Especially in France and Spain, engraved bone and antler implements, low-relief clay sculptures, carved statuettes, cave drawings, and multicolored paintings reached a peak of sophistication during the Magdalenian.

Observers once tended to dismiss these pieces as bored cave dwellers' way of distracting themselves. But the current trend is to see the paintings as meaningful products of a patterned intelligence. Some of the realistic representations of game animals might have been used repeatedly in rituals designed to encourage the success of the hunt, cure sickness, mark births or deaths, or celebrate the onset of spring. Exquisite "Venus" statues of women - many of them apparently pregnant - might have been fertility symbols. Various abstract signs - such as rectangles, rows of dots, barbed lines, and ovals - might have symbolized males, females and their relationships. Some marks might be attempts to keep track of time, distance, or quantity. If so, they predated by thousands of years the first recognizable calendars, rulers, and systems of writing and arithmetic. Consistencies in the location of various animals in the cave paintings suggest that whatever the explanation, it was intentional and orderly rather than random. Many archaeologists are now excitedly studying them as symbolic traditions that, if deciphered, could provide a wealth of clues to how these early people lived, thought, and perhaps spoke.

Migration to the New World: Except for its bitterly cold climate, eastern Siberia was probably fairly attractive to Stone Age hunters. With open park vegetation feeding an abundance of animals, it probably supported more people than it does today. By late Paleolithic times, humans apparently had adjusted to cold by wearing warm, fitted clothing and shoes and by living in rather large heated dwellings.

Perhaps because of the increasingly successful adaptation to this environment, Upper Paleolithic groups may have increased in number beyond the ability of the area to support them. At any rate, about 30,000 years ago various groups began to migrate into the previously untapped ecosystems of *Beringia*, the land mass that connected eastern Siberia and western Alaska.

This continental land mass was temporarily exposed as expanding glaciers trapped normally circulating water as ice and caused sea levels to drop. The first human immigrants probably followed grazing herds onto Beringia and eastern Alaska not long after their ancestors reached Siberia, perhaps between 32,000 and 28,000 years ago. These migrations were cut off about 10,000 years B.P. as the last glacial maximum ended and sea levels rose, covering the land bridge.

Alaska and the Yukon were probably even richer in plant and animal life than Siberia. This new area had never been covered by glaciers. Instead, it was dotted with streams, lakes, and a variety of forest grassland and tundra ecosystems. A similarly rich and varied environment lay to the south, and when

animal herds down through these unglaciated corridors. They probably reached what is now the continental United States by at least 18,000 years B.P. and South America by at least 16,000 years B.P.

2. THE MESOLITHIC CULTURE

Between the end of the Paleolithic Age, with its Pleistocene big-game hunting and stone-tool traditions, and the beginning of the Neolithic Age, with its sedentary farming villages and pottery traditions, there was a transitional period. Archeologists have named this period the Mesolithic Age.

While not clearly defined in all areas of the world, there is evidence of the Mesolithic in Europe, the Near-East, and North America. In general, the Mesolithic Age coincided with the warming trend that followed the retreat of the last glaciation some 10,000 years ago.

Along with the post-Pleistocene warming trend came the extinction of the animals that had lived together in large herds on the tundras that had covered most of Europe. These game-rich tundras were gradually replaced with modern temperate forests. The new forest ecosystems supported a larger number of different species, but the density of each species was less than in the Pleistocene period.

Smaller, and in some cases less abundant, game animals caused people to live and hunt in smaller social groups, or bands, and to use new weapons and tools. A greater variety of food was consumed, and each source of food was exploited more fully. In the Near East, Mexico, and probably China, Mesolithic adaptations ultimately led to the domestication of plants and animals. Traditionally, the beginning of food production marks the end of the Mesolithic Age, so its length varies in different parts of the world. Perhaps the best- studied Mesolithic period is that from Europe.

In fact, the term *Mesolithic* was originally used to describe the European remains from the end of the Magdalenian, or "reindeer" period, about 10,000 years ago, until the adoption of agriculture about 6,000 years ago.

The game available to European Mesolithic peoples included elk, wild pig, bear, small mammals such as wild cat, fox, and marten, and wild fowl. These people also leaned heavily on fresh and salt water fish and shellfish. One unusually well-preserved site at Starr Carr in England includes a birch platform at the very edge of a lake. There, the inhabitants may have fished through holes cut in the ice while preying on the red deer that wintered not far from the site.

The tools of the European Mesolithic differed greatly from the long, fluted, leaf-shaped stone points of the Paleolithic. Small blades usually less than an inch long called ***microliths***, were used especially as tips and barbs for arrows. These weapons were well suited to hunting the small game of this time. Other tools included flint and polished stone adzes for breaking earth and chopping trees, antler and bone-headed spears and harpoons, bone fishhooks and needles, and nets, dugout canoes, and paddles. The artifacts left by different peoples in different environments show great variety and suggest to some archaeologists that Mesolithic peoples lived in very specific econiches.

Some experts see the Mesolithic as a "cultural degeneration when compared with the Upper Paleolithic". They cite the fact that there was no representational art as evidence. Others, however, remind us that the highly stylized drawings of humans and animals common in the art of this time are not inferior to representational art. Some, for example, suggest that the abstract drawings have been the forerunners of Neolithic pottery designs.

North America: In North America the Mesolithic Age has been divided into two parts, according to time and place: (1) the ***desert tradition***, which began about 9,000 years ago in the arid western regions of North America and lasted until European contact; and (2) the ***archaic tradition*** of the Eastern woodlands, which began about the same time and lasted until about 4,000 to 3,000 years ago.

The Desert Tradition: The desert tradition evolved in the extremely arid Great Basin, an area that includes Nevada and parts of Utah, California, Oregon, Idaho, and Wyoming. There, American aborigines, especially the Paiute, roamed while making use of seasonal resources such as nuts, seeds, and berries, as well as bison, deer, antelope, and other smaller animals.

The people of the desert tradition are considered Mesolithic because they depended on modern plants and animals, used microliths, and lived in bands. Small, semi nomadic bands were most effective in making use of scarce resources. At most, any one location could support only 25 to 30 people at a time. The wide variety of resources called for a variety of portable, easily made tools. These included microlith projectile points for hunting, and baskets and milling stones for collecting and grinding up plants.

The Archaic Tradition: The archaic tradition of the Eastern woodlands and river valleys arose in an environment more like that of Europe. Like the European people, the Indians of the archaic tradition also relied on fish, shellfish, small game, and wild plants. This tradition extended as far west as the Great Plains, where its remains are somewhat like the tool assemblages of the desert tradition. However, ground- and polished-stone tools, especially adzes, axes, and gouges for working wood, were specifically an archaic adaptation. Like members of the desert culture, archaic tradition peoples were semi-nomadic. But later, perhaps due to a greater wealth of resources, they gave up their seasonal wandering for a more settled existence.

In Europe, and in North America north of Mexico, the Mesolithic did not lead to the independent development of agriculture. It is likely that plants and animals that could be domesticated were absent in these areas. In addition, population densities may never have been so high as to make food production necessary.

3. THE NEOLITHIC CULTURE

The story of plant and animal domestication is the subject of the so-called ***Neolithic Revolution***. This term is used to describe the change from a hunting-and-gathering economy and a flaked-stone-tool technology to an economy based on farming and a technology that included polished stone tools, pottery, and weaving.

The Neolithic Revolution has been considered as important as the Industrial Revolution. Indeed it is probably more so, since without agriculture there never would have been an Industrial Revolution. But the use of the word "Revolution," while helping to show the importance of the change is misleading. The Industrial Revolution spanned about 100 years, but the Neolithic Revolution took at least 3,000-4,000 years. And although we associate the Industrial Revolution with specific inventions, such as the steam engine, the domestication of plants and animals was not an invention, but a very gradual process in which humans began to manipulate the traits of plants and animals for their own advantage. Unlike a political revolution, with its abrupt, often violent change the development of agriculture production was a slow, continuous change.

In what ways, then was the development of food production revolutionary? The answer lies in its profound impact on all other aspects of life. The domestication of plants and animals allowed people to produce more food on a given area of land and thus to support larger populations. Permanent settlements were formed near the fields, and people began to hold title to pieces of land and call them their own. Conflicts arose over property, territory, and resources. And some groups within a farming society came to have higher prestige and more property and benefits than other groups. Food production may have begun over 10,000 years ago, but we are still dealing with its effects today.

Not only did agriculture begin fairly recently, but it also spread very rapidly, compared to the rate of change in the Paleolithic and Mesolithic. Between about 10,000 and 2,000 years ago, agriculture had almost everywhere replaced hunting and gathering as the main way of life. Modern studies of living hunters and gatherers suggest that this change did not occur because agriculture provided a better standard of living than hunting and gathering. Despite old myths of half-starved hunters scrounging from day to day, anthropologists now know that contemporary hunting-and-gathering peoples frequently eat better, work less, and live more securely than farming people, to whom a blight or a drought spells

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hunting and gathering to agriculture? Before answering this question we shall first study the nature of domestication and its effects on wild plants and animals. Then we shall look at some of the cultures in which agriculture first arose.

The Domestication of Plants and Animals: When humans first began to cultivate wild plants and raise wild animals, they caused a kind of evolution, a change in gene frequencies over time, to occur. Perhaps the most potent force causing changes in genetic makeup is selection. In the case of domestication, humans were the selective agent.

Plants or animals with small chance of success in the wild but with features desirable to humans were often chosen for sowing or breeding by early domesticators, thus increasing their presence in the population. As a result, the frequency of genes responsible for these traits increased. Plants and animals whose traits were an advantage in the wild, but a liability under domestication, however, may have been less well protected by humans or purposely prevented from reproducing.

Human beings may have produced some of these changes without knowing it at first. Merely changing the environments of plants and animals by moving them to different areas or by protecting them from weeds, drought, or predators permits more mutants and variants to survive and reproduce. Deliberate saving of seed for future crops may have been a major step in domestication, since it probably led to planting in new environments and to further changes in the selective pressures acting on the crops' genetic composition. The soil of a new environment could differ in terms of moisture and nutrients. Such changed conditions might favor traits not previously selected for.

Theories of the Origins of Agriculture

Why did people start sowing wild plants and go to the trouble of subduing unruly animals in the first place? This is a hard question to answer, because to do so we must imagine the thoughts and motives of Neolithic humans.

Archaeologists have nevertheless developed a number of hypotheses explaining the kinds of pressures that may have motivated the earliest farmers. We shall discuss a few of the most prominent of these theories and then briefly review the evidence of agricultural development in the Near East, China, and Mesoamerica.

Childe's Oasis Model: V. Gordon Childe (1892-1957), one of the most distinguished British anthropologists of the early twentieth century, spent much of his life studying the Neolithic people of the Near East. In his *New Light on the Most Ancient East* (1952), he published a theory linking the drying trend that presumably affected much of the world as the glaciers withdrew at the close of the Pleistocene period to the domestication of plants and animals. His theory, unlike previous ideas, presented a series of hypotheses specific enough to be tested by archaeological data. According to Childe, as the Mesopotamian climate grew drier, already dry grasslands turned into deserts, dotted here and there with oases. People, animals, and plants were concentrated in these areas. This climatic crisis forced humans to domesticate plants and animals, since killing them would have left the oasis-dwellers with no sources of food. These inhabitants of the oases domesticated animals by (1) letting them eat the fodder remaining in their fields after harvest, (2) protecting them from predators, and (3) selecting for docility by killing aggressive animals for food.

docile - ready to learn

In the long run, archaeological data has not supported this theory. Rainfall and vegetation in such key early agricultural sites as Jarmo and Karim Shaher were at least as heavy at that rime as they are now. Moreover, these and many other early villages clustered not in Childe's alluvial oases, but in upland areas, where there was enough rainfall for cultivation.

Finally, Childe's theory has been attacked as being logically unsound. As Braidwood (1967) has remarked, "There had also been three earlier periods of great alpine glaciers, and long periods of warm weather in between. Thus, the forced neighborliness of men, plants, and animals in river valleys and oases must also

Braidwood's Nuclear Zone Theory: Braidwood believes that when people had acquired an in-depth knowledge of the environment they lived in, they were ready to begin food production. They were culturally receptive to domestication. The other prerequisite for food production was an area rich in animals and plants that could be domesticated. In such an area, called a *nuclear zone,* people worked out the techniques of domestication. Braidwood identified several possible nuclear zones in the hills of the Near East. Knowledge of agriculture later spread from these zones to surrounding areas.

Unlike Childe, Braidwood does not explain agriculture as a new adaptation in the face of environmental pressures. Instead, Braidwood believes that the ability to experiment with and manipulate the environment has long been part of human nature. These abilities were gradually being improved in the course of human evolution, and only the right environment, that of a nuclear zone, was needed to stimulate agriculture. As Braidwood admits, however, it is very difficult to see the archaeological traces of an "atmosphere of experimentation".

Braidwood's hypothesis has been attacked because it does not explain enough. He implies that the various events of cultural evolution were the natural expression of emerging human traits. The evolution of human qualities controlled the sequence of culture history. To explain why agriculture had not occurred in-between periods of glaciation in the Pleistocene, he said that "culture was not ready to achieve it". Thus the reason that agriculture developed is that culture was ready for it to develop. But, as archaeologist Lewis Binford has pointed out, "Trends which are observed in cultural evolution require explanation; they are certainly not explained by postulating emergent human traits which are said to account for the trend".

Population Models: Over the past 20 years several theorists have suggested that population growth beyond the land's ability to support the human biomass is responsible for the development and spread of agriculture. In other words, when there were not enough preferred foods, people were forced to experiment with and eat secondary (and probably less desirable) foods.

Archaeologists disagree as to the most likely source of disruption of pre-agricultural human ecosystems. Some think that environmental changes reduced food supplies, while others believe that an increase in human populations came first. Lewis Binford has suggested that the balance between the food resources of the land and the needs of a given population can only be disturbed by a change in the environment. He argues that long before people in a group whose numbers were expanding would have allowed themselves to starve for lack of food certain cultural restraints would have been placed on fertility. The killings of infants, abortion, and taboos on intercourse during lactation have all been used by twentieth-century hunter-gatherers as a brake on population growth.

If preagricultura1 groups did limit population growth to numbers below the carrying capacity of the environment, then outside conditions that could have led to food production are of two kinds: (1) a change in the physical environment that reduced the available food; and (2) an increase in population density beyond the environment's carrying capacity, as a result of immigration. The first condition is essentially Childe's oasis theory, with which Binford disagrees. In favoring the second option, Binford suggests that people from relatively sedentary, heavily populated areas in which fish and shellfish were very plentiful migrated to less favored inland areas already populated by more mobile groups. In this "tension zone," the balance would have been upset, and people would have had to use new methods of getting food, such as agriculture.

There are two main problems with Binford's theory: First, it is too specific in requiring sedentary forager-fishing villages as the "donor groups." Secondly, by specifying that the source of imbalance must be population pressure caused only by immigration, it seems too restrictive.

Another group of theorists believes that human populations naturally increase to the limit of the ability of the environment to support them. William Sanders and Barbara Price, for example, suggest that in the Tehuacan Valley of Mexico, *geographical circumscription* - the condition occurring when a population is surrounded by physical features of the land that make emigration difficult may have led to food

The growing population in the valley turned to farming to increase the food supply because the excess population could not leave.

Esther Boserup suggested that on a worldwide basis, human populations have grown steadily, and that growth has forced changes in technology and subsistence in particular, the development of agriculture. Anthropologist Mark Cohen offers detailed archaeological evidence from the Old World and North and South America to show that by the end of the Paleolithic, hunters and gatherers had spread to all parts of the world that could support them. In doing so they had expanded the number and variety of wild resources used for food in order to feed growing populations. As migration became more difficult, Paleolithic peoples had to gather a wider variety of less preferred foods.

In the period between 9,000 and 2,000 years ago, populations around the world were using nearly all the available edible foods. But their numbers continued to increase relentlessly. As a result, people were forced to increase the supply of those foods that could be domesticated. These were not necessarily the tastiest foods to be had. In fact, Cohen thinks that the earliest plants to be sown and harvested were generally undesirable foods. Hungry populations used them because other food sources were not enough.

The Development of Agriculture: Argument continues on the question of why agriculture began. Most archaeologists would agree, however, that some combination of population pressure, ecological change, and population movement is responsible for its origin. We shall look at three areas in which the archaeological sequences are well worked out: the Near East, China, and Mesoamerica. To a significant degree, archaeologists working on the origins of food production in these areas have oriented their research to test different aspects of the preceding hypotheses.

The Near East

We shall begin with the Near East, where agriculture first developed.

Environment: For the purposes of this discussion, we can limit the geographical extent of the Near East to modern day Iran, Iraq, Turkey, Syria, Lebanon, Israel and Jordan. Within this area, it is possible to distinguish several ecological slopes.

1. The *Levant,* the narrow eastern and southern coasts of the Mediterranean, containing evergreens and plants adapted to this warm, temperate environment.
2. *Mesopotamian alluvium,* the swamps, desert, and desert-steppe surrounding the Tigris-Euphrates river systems, much of which is unsuitable for agriculture.
3. *High mountains and the Iranian plateau,* the high Zagros Mountains, too rugged for normal farming; and, to the north and east, the central plateau of Iran, a desert basin.
4. Foothills and valleys in between mountains, *the oak and Pistachio woodland belt* of foothills and valleys that flank the Zagros Mountains to the Southwest. In this zone, with its ample streams, rivers, and rainfall, were present all plants and animals that could be domesticated, such as wild emmer wheat, barley, oat, and wild sheep, goats, pigs, cattle, and horses.
5. *Steppe-piedmont,* rolling hills and natural winter grasslands that lie between the Zagros foothills and the Mesopotamian alluvium. This zone includes wide, farmable floodplains and pastures that could have supported wild or domesticated herds.

old eurasian wheat

The Developmental sequence: In the Near East, there were both wild plants (emmer wheat and barley) and herd animals (sheep and goats) that could be domesticated. Near Eastern Mesolithic populations migrated from area to area as resources became available seasonally. As a result, they could make use of food resources of different habitats. Compared to the Paleolithic big-game hunters Near Eastern Mesolithic populations depended on smaller animals and more plants. These adaptations occurred at the same time as increasing population densities, a tendency to settle in one place, and, finally, about 9,000

Domesticated plants and animals did not develop at the same time in each of the Near East's major geographic zones. The earliest evidence of changing patterns comes from the Levant and from the Zagros highlands. As early as 13,000 years ago, populations seem to have been concentrating on a few animal resources. Wild goats and gazelles seem particularly favored at sites associated with the *Kebaran* culture in the Levant; wild cattle, goats, and sheep are associated with the *Zarzian* culture in the Zagros highlands. It is possible that this reflects a subtle shift toward herding-perhaps to ensure a constant source of food for a growing population. People still lived in caves or in on-air camps, with no sign of permanence.

***The Natufian Culture (12.000-10,000 Years* B.P.):** About 12,000 years ago in the Levant, the Kebaran culture gradually gave rise to the *Natufian* culture. The Natufians seem to have preferred to live in the belt of oak and pistachio forests that was bordered by the Mediterranean coast to the west and the desert to the east. This area of coastal foothills had more water than it does today and supported stands of wild emmer wheat and barley. As during the Kebaran culture, there is some evidence that herds were being kept. Natufian sites show a high proportion of bones from immature gazelle and goats. This is a sign that Natufians slaughtered young animals for food, while keeping the adults for breeding.

The Natufians seem to have lived in large settlements on cave terraces, near springs, or alongside lakes and rivers. Although there is evidence of growing *sedentism*, or settling in villages, archaeologists disagree about the extent to which this was happening. Clark (1977) regards their sites as base camps from which the Natufians migrated to follow seasonally available animal and plant resources. Perkins and Daly (1974), however, argue that the Natufians lived in permanent villages, with large populations supported by much wild grain and other crops.

Whoever is correct, the archaeological evidence makes it clear that the Natufians did harvest and grind grains, possibly wild barley and wheat. The many reaping-knife handles made of bone and antler, and flint sickle blades showing the sheen that comes from cutting stalks, indicate that cereal grasses were harvested. Stone mortars and pestles were used to grind these and possibly other plant foods. Other stone tools included many microliths, burins, borers, and scrapers. Antler and bone fishhooks suggest that the Natufians also fished.

***Pre-pottery Neolithic* A *and* B *(10,000-8,000 Years B.P.)*:** Between about 10,300 and 10,000 years ago in the Levant, experiments with plan domestication led to the first farming communities. Excavation of a number of Near Eastern sites shows that during the next 2,000 years humans came to depend almost entirely on domesticated plants as well as animals. By about 8,000 years ago, for example, the farming village of Jarmo depended on domestic sheep and goats for 95 percent of its meat.

Because it is used to prepare and store food, pottery generally appears in the same strata as the first signs of agriculture. In the Near East, however, early domestication of wild plants and animals occurred for at least 2,000 years before the appearance of pottery. Archaeologists break up this span into the pre-pottery Neolithic A and B.

Pre-pottery Neolithic peoples manufactured a large number of stone tools, especially of flint and obsidian. These included microliths and flaked and side-notched points. Barbed spearheads and projectiles tipped and barbed with microliths were used for hunting. Domesticated emmer wheat and barley appeared in the pre-pottery Neolithic A level of Jericho, and during the B period domesticated wheat and legumes such as lentils, peas, and horse beans were added. In Syria and Turkey the earliest evidence for farming villages occurs at dates contemporary with pre-pottery Neolithic B in the Levant. Here and in the Zagros Mountains, people began to grow many of the same crops at about the same time.

Fully Developed Village Farming: Beginning at about 8,000 years B.P., there were fully developed farming villages and small towns in the Near East. Most of these permanent communities held several hundred peasants a considerable increase over the approximately two dozen households that normally made up pre-pottery Neolithic settlements. The relative uniformity of house size, construction, and layout show an absence of social hierarchies, although there may have been some specialized crafts. In general,

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nearby mortar, and several small storage areas. Buildings were usually one story, although two-story kilns were used to fire the high-quality pottery that came out of this region. Passages, yards, and courtyards separated houses, but with the later building and rebuilding that occurred in these villages, such spaces tended to fill up.

The outstanding addition of this period to the Neolithic tool kit was pottery. The people of the pre-pottery Neolithic period had used clay in ritual cults to make figurines, and to coat skulls that were buried separately from bodies. But they did not use clay to take the place of their stone, wooden, and woven vessels. The appearance of pottery probably is linked to a fully sedentary lifestyle. Pottery is well suited to the storage and preparation of grains and vegetable foods. However, pottery is fragile, and thus is liable to break if moved from place to place. It is not surprising, then, that it first developed in various areas of the Near East, usually by 8,000 years B.P., when fully developed village farming arose.

Pottery is an especially useful clue for archaeologists, since they can trace the spread and sometimes origins of various cultures by the styles of pottery manufacture and especially decoration. The earliest Near Eastern pottery was both plain and decorated, and found at such sites as Jericho in the Levant, and Mersin in southwest Turkey, Jarmo in the foothill zone, and Hassuna in the steppe-piedmont zone. The earliest pottery included dishes, bowls, flasks, and some vessels with bucket-like handles

In this period there was less and less hunting as domesticated animals made more populations self-sufficient. Some sites, such as Erbaba in Turkey, show a complete absence of hunted animals such as pig or red deer. But at other sites, such as Djeitun in the then U.S.S.R., north of Iran, antelope and goat were still an important part of their diet. In areas with enough rainfall, such as northern Mesopotamia, grains were cultivated without irrigation. Primitive irrigation was used near the Zagros foothills, and, in the Sumerian south, elaborate irrigation projects were undertaken.

China

Archaeologists know much less about how agriculture began in China. Although it evolved about 2,000 years later in China (around 7,000 years B.P.) than in the Near East, archaeologists believe that it was an independent development. The idea of domestication probably was not imported from elsewhere.

Paleolithic people to the north in Siberia had hunted the mammoth, bison, rhinoceros, and other big-game animals common in the Pleistocene. By about 12,000 years B.P., however, much of the big game had become extinct, and human populations had begun to move south from the *steppes* (vast, level, treeless plains) into the *taiga* (a forest region dominated by spruce, and fir). Here they made use of a wide variety of food resources. Mesolithic people of China relied on fishing and the hunting of single forest animals. Vegetable foods also became important, and after about 7.000 years B.P. permanent settlements appeared, often near streams and bays. Tools from this pre-agricultural period include grindstones for vegetable foods, fishing equipment and stone spades.

The Yang-Shao Culture: The earliest Chinese farming took place on the fertile loess soil along the Yellow (or Huang Ho) River in the Chung-yuan region of north-central China. By about 6,000 years B.P., peasants of the Yang-Shao culture were raising millet (a hard, drought-resistant cereal grain) and brown corn. Rice was first domesticated in Thailand, and was not grown in China until several hundred years later, about *5,000* years ago. Archaeologists believe that the Yang-shao farmers engaged in slash-and-burn agriculture - a type of shifting agriculture involving the periodic clearing and burning of forest land to create new fields. Thus the terrain, the crops grown, and the agricultural techniques that arose in China were quite different from those in the Near East. However, like the Near Eastern agriculturalists, the Yang-shao peasants also kept dogs, hunted wild camel, horse, deer, and other animals, fished, and collected wild seeds and plants. Later Farmers also raised cattle, sheep, horses, and water buffalo.

Yang-shao villages consisted of some 50 round or rectangular dwellings. Often built, partly underground, these shelters had wattle-and-daub (woven twigs and plaster) walls, thatched, slanted roofs, stamped-earth or plastered floors, and hearths. As in the early Near Eastern Neolithic settlements, no sign of social hierarchy is evident from these structures. Yang-shao villages also lacked elaborate defensive works, suggesting that important village differences in wealth did not exist.

There is evidence from at least one site that pottery may have occurred before agriculture among settled hunting-and-fishing populations. By Neolithic times Chinese pottery was already impressive. The Yang-shao peasants made ceramic bowls, dishes, jars, and other vessels, and probably used them for cooking, serving, and storage. Yang-shao peasants also engaged in weaving, baskets, leather-work, and carpentry. Stone was worked into axes and adzes for cutting and shaping wood, and projectile heads and knives, especially reaping blades were made of polished stone. Fish-hooks, arrowheads, and a variety of craft tools were fashioned out of bone.

Mesoamerica

Domestication of plants and animals also arose independently in Mesoamerica - central and southern Mexico and the northern part of Central America. As in China, it occurred at least 2,000 years later than in the Near East. Domestication did not begin with one population in one area. Instead, it first appeared separately at various times and places in Mesoamerica.

As in the Old World, New World peoples domesticated local wild plants and animals. These were different from Old World types and included corn, squash, peanuts, potatoes, chili peppers, and kidney beans. In all, as many as 150 different kinds of plants may have been cultivated. Also unlike the Old World, the New World had far fewer animals that could be domesticated. Consequently, animals were much less important to farming in the New World. Only the Andean populations, which raised llamas and alpacas, made heavy use of animals. Four other species of animals were domesticated in the New World dogs, turkeys, guinea pigs, and ducks.

The Tehuacan Valley: Among the most important regions for early agriculture were the central highlands of Mexico. The Tehuacan Valley, located about 150 miles southeast of Mexico City, has provided vital data about the beginnings of agriculture in the highlands. Here archaeologists have painstakingly reconstructed the sequence of events leading to the development of agriculture and have provided detailed information about its origins.

The valley itself, at an elevation of about 6,000 feet above sea level, is surrounded by mountains rising about 5,000 feet above the valley floor. These peaks block precipitation and restrict annual rainfall to about 20 inches. The valley is not only dry but also quite warm; with temperatures ranging from 55 to 92°F. The floor of the valley is semiarid and spotted with scrub and cactus. Once it contained mesquite grassland inhabited by deer, jackrabbits, gophers, and quail. Along the edge of the valley, small side canyons extend in among the mountains. Here deer lived and wild avocados and maguey (a fleshy, spiny-leafed plant) flourished.

Archaeologists have been able to trace a sequence of continuous habitation in the Tehuacán Valley, from a Paleo-Indian hunting-and-gathering culture to full-fledged settled villages and ceremonial centers supported by irrigation agriculture. As in the Near East, agriculture developed very gradually in Mesoamerica.

The Consequences of Agriculture

Within a few thousand years after people first began to raise animals and crops, agriculture had set in motion a series of events that completely changed human culture and altered the natural environment. Much of this transformation can be traced to one fact: Agriculture supplied enough food to make it possible for larger groups of people to live in smaller areas. A hunting-and-gathering way of life had usually meant moving in small groups with the seasons in search of food. But when people evolved to a more settled existence in villages, more complex governments were required for social control. Trade and conflict grew, health worsened, and new technologies were invented.

Demographic Effects: During the Mesolithic Age, most environments could support only small people. It is true that some environments rich in resources have fed hunting-and-gathering settlements with large population with large populations. The best known examples are the large communities of the American Northwest coast, which thrived on fish and shellfish. But the carrying capacity of most environments kept human groups small. The population of the entire Tehuacan Valley before about 9,000 years ago, for instance, is thought to have been no more than 12 to 24 people. Twelve thousand years ago, the world population was perhaps 5 to 10 million. When seen against the background of the gradual increase throughout the 2 million years of the Pleistocene, the last 12,000 years represent a population explosion.

Agriculture led not only population growth but also, far more importantly, to increased population density. Hunter-gatherers generally needed a large range in which to draw on a variety of foods. Agriculture concentrated the food in nearby fields in the form of crop plants that were much more productive than wild varieties. This allowed settlements to become larger and closer together.

The adoption of agriculture not only raised the ceiling on population size, but also may have reduced the death rate among infants and the elderly. Soft foods such as animal milk and cereal must have added to the possible diet of the toothless. There is not, however, any firm evidence that life expectancies improved during the Neolithic. Men lived an average of 31 to 34 years, and women lived an average of 28 to 31 years.

Changes in Social Organization: The advantage of being able to store surplus food tended to lead, according to some theorists, to increasing inequality in agricultural societies. In early agricultural groups there was a change in the way food was gotten and surplus food redistributed among the members of the group. Hunter-gatherers tend to have less complex political systems- members of the group have more equal access to available material and social rewards. Among hunter-gatherers food sharing is based on kinship. But in agricultural groups some people, perhaps on the basis of their age or position within the kin group, began to take charge of food distribution. The more productive the society, the more complex the redistribution system, and the more control the leader(s) attained. As populations grew, the leadership, because of prestige and power associated with the role, became more powerful. The position also became institutionalized - that is, the leader became dependent for power not on personal traits, but on custom and the office itself.

With' agriculture came not only more complex governments and economies, and greater differences in power within a society; but also a change in the division of labor. In hunting-and-gathering societies, sex, age, and, natural ability were probably the only factors affecting how work was divided. In larger groups, however, other factors, such as inherited status, began to play a role. Some people in farming groups spent part of their time at crafts such as pottery making or woodworking. In more complex societies the most skilled workers became full-time specialists.

Agriculture ultimately influenced the role of the sexes in society, as well. At first the division of labor by sex was probably not much affected. Men continued to perform the most strenuous tasks such as hunting and adopted forest clearing, herding, and plowing. The women probably added weeding, harvesting, and food preparation to the task of plant collecting. But as population pressures increased the need for more intensive cultivation, the role of women in agriculture decreased. With it, status may have fallen as well. The status of women tends to be high when they do most of the agricultural work, as among the Iroquois Indians of the American Northeast before the European invasion. Where women are less active, they are valued as mothers only. One study suggests that when women's contribution to subsistence is about equal to that of men, their status is highest.

Conflict and Trade: As population densities increased, and people began to produce more food and goods, war and trade among different groups became more common. Although there was almost certainly conflict in pre-farming days, groups were too spread out for the violence to become systematized warfare. But the massive walls of Jericho, probably built soon after it became a farming settlement, and the cliff dwellings in the American Southwest show how much early farmers felt they needed to be defended. For warriors, the incentives to launch raids were greater than ever before. The spoils of war took the form of food, slaves, animals, and resources such as mines and irrigated land.

As the demand for the products of farming communities increased, so did peaceful means of obtaining them. Trade became more elaborate and, for the first time, institutionalized markets were set up and middlemen, who sold the goods carried by others, appeared on the scene. It was not long before flint, amber, obsidian, food, and manufactured goods such as pottery were traded between regions and communities.

War and trade both helped bring about radical changes in the distribution of the physical traits of the world's populations. More contact between people increased gene flow and began to break down group differences. The trend heightened as food producers grew in number and expanded their territory, displacing or intermingling with other culture.

Inventions and New Technologies

Continual population pressure resulting from the production of more and more food provided an incentive to find still more efficient ways of using the land and other resources. News of discoveries and breakthroughs spread relatively quickly because of the increased travel of this time due to trade and war. As a result the rate of innovation rose dramatically. Inventions of the age include the wheel and sails, both of which were present by at least 5,300 years B.P. in Mesopotamia. Animals were harnessed for transportation and for plowing the fields. And pottery allowed long-term storage of some foods. It also expanded the variety of foods that could be eaten, since they could now be prepared and cooked in a number of new ways.

Numerous new technologies were developed at this time, as well. Irrigation greatly improved crop yields. In canal irrigation, channels several feet deep brought water from rivers to the field. In pot irrigation, pots were used to draw water from shallow wells for use in watering the crops.

In some regions, new heavy cutting and chopping tools such as axes, adzes, hoes, and other tools used in felling trees and tilling the soil were developed. And just about everywhere, new ways of changing the properties of natural substances were found. Kilns transformed clay into wear-resistant pottery. Metals were produced after the basics of smelting were learned. And people discovered how to change fruit and grain into delightful drinks by allowing the raw materials to ferment.

All of these inventions and technologies, except possibly the last, contributed to an enormous increase in the efficiency with which humans could change their environment to support themselves. As this ability increased, so did population, thus redoubling the pressure to invent and to discover.

4. CHALCOLITHIC CULTURE

The Chalcolithic (Greek khalkos + lithos 'copper stone') period or Copper Age period [also known as the Eneolithic, is a phase in the development of human culture in which the use of early metal tools appeared alongside the use of stone tools.

The period is a transitional one outside of the traditional three-age system, and occurs between the Neolithic and Bronze Age. It appears that copper was not widely exploited at first and that efforts in alloying it with tin and other metals began quite soon, making distinguishing the distinct Chalcolithic cultures and later periods difficult.

The emergence of metallurgy occurred first in the Fertile Crescent, where it gave rise to the Bronze Age in the 4th millennium BC. There was an independent and limited invention of copper and bronze smelting by the Incas in South America and Mesoamerican civilization in West Mexico (see Metallurgy in pre-Columbian Mesoamerica).

The literature of European archaeology generally avoids the use of 'chalcolithic' (they prefer the term

and the Caucasus begins in the late 5th millennium BC and lasts for about a millennium before it gives rise to the Early Bronze Age. Transition from the European Copper Age to Bronze Age Europe occurs about a millennium later, between the late 4th and the late 3rd millennia BC.

According to Parpola, ceramic similarities between the Indus Civilization, southern Turkmenistan, and northern Iran during 4300–3300 BC of the Chalcolithic period (Copper Age) suggest considerable mobility and trade.

Europe: Ötzi the Iceman, found in the Ötztal Alps and whose remains dated about 3,300 BC was found with a copper axe, which indicates that copper mining existed in Europe at least 5,300 years ago (500 years earlier than previously believed). Knowledge of the use of copper was far wider spread than the metal itself. The European Battle Axe culture used stone axes modelled on copper axes, with imitation "mold marks" carved in the stone.

Examples of Chalcolithic cultures in Europe include Vila Nova de São Pedro and Los Millares on the Iberian Peninsula.[4] Pottery of the Beaker people has been found at both sites, dating to several centuries after copper-working began there. The Beaker culture appears to have spread copper and bronze technologies in Europe, along with Proto-Indo-European languages.

Egypt: Remarkably the copper age in Egypt lasted well into the Middle Kingdom with bronze only becoming popular during the Eighteenth Dynasty.

South Asia: The South Asian inhabitants of Mehrgarh fashioned tools with local copper ore between 7700–3300 BC.

East Asia: 5th millennia BC copper artifacts start to appear in East Asia, such as Jiangzhai and Hongshan culture, but those metal artifacts were not widely used.

Mesoamerica: Less commonly, the term is also applied to American civilizations which already used copper and copper alloys at the time of European conquest. The Old Copper Complex, located in present day Michigan and Wisconsin in the United States used copper for tools, weapons and other implements. Artifacts from these sites have been dated from 4000 to 1000 BC, making them some of the oldest Chalcolithic sites in the world.

5. COPPER - BRONZE AGE

The Bronze Age is, with respect to a given prehistoric society, the period in that society when the most advanced metalworking (at least in systematic and widespread use) included smelting copper and tin from naturally-occurring outcroppings of copper and tin ores, creating a bronze alloy by melting those metals together, and casting them into bronze artifacts. The Bronze Age also included the domestication of the horse.

As regard to metalworking, the naturally occurring ores typically included arsenic as a common impurity. Copper/tin ores are rare, as reflected in the fact that there were no tin bronzes in western Asia before 3000 BC. The Bronze Age is regarded as the second part of a three-age system for prehistoric societies, though there are some cultures that have extensive written records during their Bronze Age. In this system, in some areas of the world the Bronze Age followed the Neolithic age. On the other hand, in many parts of sub-Saharan Africa, the Neolithic age is directly followed by the Iron Age. In some parts of the world, a Copper Age follows the Neolithic Age and precedes the Bronze Age.

The place and time of the invention of bronze are controversial. It is possible that bronzing was invented independently in the Maykop culture in the North Caucasus as far back as the mid 4th millennium BC, which would make them the makers of the oldest known bronze; but others date the same Maykop artifacts to the mid 3rd millennium BC. However, the Maykop culture only had arsenic bronze, which is a naturally occurring alloy. Tin bronze, which developed later, requires more sophisticated production techniques; tin has to be mined (mainly as the tin ore cassiterite) and smelted separately, then added to

In Mesopotamia, the Bronze Age begins at about 2900 BC in the late Uruk period, spanning the Early Dynastic period of Sumer, the Akkadian Empire, the Old Babylonian and Old Assyrian periods and the period of Kassite hegemony. In Ancient Egypt, the Bronze Age begins in the Protodynastic period, c. 3150 BC. Levant (eastern Mediterranean), Anatolia (Western Asia), Persian Plateau are some classic examples of Bronze Age.

The Altai Mountains in what is now southern Russia and central China have been identified as the point of origin of a cultural enigma termed the Seima-Turbino Phenomenon. It is conjectured that climatic problems in this region around the start of the second millennium BC created ecological, economic and political changes which triggered a rapid and massive migration of peoples westward into northeast Europe and eastward into southeast China, Vietnam and Thailand across a frontier of some 4,000 miles. This migration took place in just five to six generations and led to peoples from Finland in the west to Thailand in the east employing the same metal working technology and, in some areas, horse breeding and riding. It is further conjectured that this phenomenon may have been the medium through which the Uralic group of languages spread across Europe and Asia, ultimately producing 39 modern languages including Hungarian, Finnish, Estonian and Lappish.

The Bronze Age on the Indian subcontinent began around 3300 BC with the beginning of the Indus Valley civilization. Inhabitants of the ancient Indus Valley, the Harappans, developed new techniques in metallurgy and produced copper, bronze, lead and tin.

The Indian Bronze Age ends at the start of the Iron Age Vedic Period (1500–500 BC). This is during the Harappan culture, which dates from 1700 BC to 1300 BC, that overlaps the transition period between the Bronze Age, and the Iron Age period. As a result, it is difficult to pinpoint the true end of the Indian Bronze Age.

Historians disagree about the dates that should be attached to a "Bronze Age" in China. The difficulty lies in the term "Bronze Age" itself, as it has been applied to signify a period in European and Middle Eastern history when bronze tools replaced stone tools, and were later replaced by iron ones. In those places, the medium of the new "Age" made that of the old obsolete. In China, however, any attempt to establish a definite set of dates for a Bronze Age is complicated by two factors: the early arrival of iron smelting technology and the persistence of bronze in tools, weapons and sacred vessels. The earliest bronze artifacts are found in the Majiayao culture site (between 3100 and 2700 BC), and from then on the society gradually grew into the Bronze Age

Bronze metallurgy in China originated in what is referred to as the Erlitou (also Erh-li-t'ou) period, which some historians argue places it within the range of dates controlled by the Shang dynasty. Others believe the Erlitou sites belong to the preceding Xia (also Shia) dynasty. The U.S. National Gallery of Art defines the Chinese Bronze Age as the "period between about 2000 BC and 771 BC," a period that begins with Erlitou culture and ends abruptly with the disintegration of Western Zhou rule. Though this provides a concise frame of reference, it overlooks the continued importance of bronze in Chinese metallurgy and culture. Since this is significantly later than the discovery of bronze in Mesopotamia, bronze technology could have been imported rather than discovered independently in China.

Iron is found in the Zhou period, but its use is minimal. Chinese literature dating to the 6th century BC attests a knowledge of iron smelting, possibly making iron a Chinese invention, yet bronze continues to occupy the seat of significance in the archaeological and historical record for some time after this. Historian W. C. White argues that iron did not supplant bronze "at any period before the end of the Zhou dynasty (481 BC)" and that bronze vessels make up the majority of metal vessels all the way through the Later Han period, or through AD 221.

The Chinese bronze artifacts generally are either utilitarian, like spear points or adze heads, or ritualistic, like the numerous large sacrificial tripods. However, even some of the most utilitarian objects bear the markings of more sacred items. The Chinese inscribed all kinds of bronze items with three main motif types: demons, symbolic animals, and abstract symbols. Some large bronzes also bear inscriptions that

have helped historians and archaeologists piece together the history of China, especially during the Zhou period.

The bronzes of the Western Zhou period document large portions of history not found in the extant texts, and often were composed by persons of varying rank and possibly even social class. Further, the medium of cast bronze lends the record they preserve a permanence not enjoyed by manuscripts. These inscriptions can commonly be subdivided into four parts: a reference to the date and place, the naming of the event commemorated, the list of gifts given to the artisan in exchange for the bronze, and a dedication. The relative points of reference these vessels provide have enabled historians to place most of the vessels within a certain time frame of the Western Zhou period, allowing them to trace the evolution of the vessels and the events they record.

Dating back to the Neolithic Age,the first bronze drums, called the Dong Son drums have been uncovered in and around the Red River Delta regions of Vietnam and Southern China. These relate to the prehistoric Dong Son Culture of Vietnam. Song Da bronze drum's surface, Dong Son culture, Vietnam. In Ban Chiang, Thailand, (Southeast Asia) bronze artifacts have been discovered dating to 2100 BC. In Nyaunggan, Burma bronze tools have been excavated along with ceramics and stone artefacts. Dating is still currently broad (3500–500 BC).

In Central Europe, the early Bronze Age Unetice culture (1800–1600 BC) includes numerous smaller groups like the Straubing, Adlerberg and Hatvan cultures. Some very rich burials, such as the one located at Leubingen with grave gifts crafted from gold, point to an increase of social stratification already present in the Unetice culture. All in all, cemeteries of this period are rare and of small size. The Unetice culture is followed by the middle Bronze Age (1600–1200 BC) Tumulus culture, which is characterised by inhumation burials in tumuli (barrows). In the eastern Hungarian Körös tributaries, the early Bronze Age first saw the introduction of the Mako culture, followed by the Ottomany and Gyulavarsand cultures.

The late Bronze Age Urnfield culture, (1300–700 BC) is characterized by cremation burials. It includes the Lusatian culture in eastern Germany and Poland (1300–500 BC) that continues into the Iron Age. The Central European Bronze Age is followed by the Iron Age Hallstatt culture (700–450 BC).

Important sites include:

- Biskupin (Poland)
- Nebra (Germany)
- Vráble (Slovakia)
- Zug-Sumpf, Zug, Switzerland

The Bronze Age in Central Europe has been described in the chronological schema of German prehistorian Paul Reinecke. He described Bronze A1 (Bz A1) period (2300-2000 BC : triangular daggers, flat axes, stone wrist-guards, flint arrowheads) and Bronze A2 (Bz A2) period (1950-1700 BC : daggers with metal hilt, flanged axes, halberds, pins with perforated spherical heads, solid bracelets) and phases Hallstatt A and B (Ha A and B).

The Aegean Bronze Age begins around 3000 BC when civilizations first established a far-ranging trade network. This network imported tin and charcoal to Cyprus, where copper was mined and alloyed with the tin to produce bronze. Bronze objects were then exported far and wide, and supported the trade. Isotopic analysis of the tin in some Mediterranean bronze objects indicates it came from as far away as Great Britain.

Knowledge of navigation was well developed at this time, and reached a peak of skill not exceeded until a method was discovered (or perhaps rediscovered) to determine longitude around AD 1750, with the notable exception of the Polynesian sailors. The Minoan civilization based from Knossos appears to have coordinated and defended its Bronze Age trade. Illyrians are also believed to have roots in the early Bronze Age.

One crucial lack in this period was that modern methods of accounting were not available. Numerous authorities believe that ancient empires were prone to disvalue staples in favor of luxuries, and thereby perish by famines created by uneconomic trading.

In Great Britain, the Bronze Age is considered to have been the period from around 2100 to 750 BC. Migration brought new people to the islands from the continent. Recent tooth enamel isotope research on bodies found in early Bronze Age graves around Stonehenge indicate that at least some of the migrants came from the area of modern Switzerland. The Beaker culture displayed different behaviors from the earlier Neolithic people and cultural change was significant. Integration is thought to have been peaceful as many of the early henge sites were seemingly adopted by the newcomers. The rich Wessex culture developed in southern Britain at this time. Additionally, the climate was deteriorating, where once the weather was warm and dry it became much wetter as the Bronze Age continued, forcing the population away from easily-defended sites in the hills and into the fertile valleys. Large livestock farms developed in the lowlands that appear to have contributed to economic growth and inspired increasing forest clearances. The Deverel-Rimbury culture began to emerge in the second half of the Middle Bronze Age (c. 1400–1100 BC) to exploit these conditions. Devon and Cornwall were major sources of tin for much of Western Europe and copper was extracted from sites such as the Great Orme mine in northern Wales. Social groups appear to have been tribal but with growing complexity and hierarchies becoming apparent. Also, the burial of dead (which until this period had usually been communal) became more individual. For example, whereas in the Neolithic a large chambered cairn or long barrow was used to house the dead, the Early Bronze Age saw people buried in individual barrows (also commonly known and marked on modern British Ordnance Survey maps as Tumuli), or sometimes in cists covered with cairns.

The greatest quantities of bronze objects found in England were discovered in East Cambridgeshire, where the most important finds were recovered in Isleham (more than 6500 pieces).

The Inca civilization of South America independently discovered and developed bronze smelting. Later appearance of limited bronze smelting in West Mexico suggests either contact of that region with the Incas or separate discovery of the technology.

6. IRON AGE

In archaeology, the Iron Age was the stage in the development of any people in which tools and weapons whose main ingredient was iron were prominent. The adoption of this material often coincided with other changes in society, including differing agricultural practices, religious beliefs and artistic styles.

In history, the Iron Age is the last principal period in the three-age system for classifying prehistoric societies, preceded by the Bronze Age. Its date and context vary depending on the country or geographical region.

No firm ending date is set for the Iron Age in any particular society; there is simply a point where archaeology becomes less important than surviving history and traditions. Iron alloys remain popular as the steels in most metallic objects.

The term "Iron Age" is originally derived from the "Ages of Man", i.e. the ages of human existence on the Earth according to Classical mythology. While modern historians assume earlier ages in this scheme to be completely mythical ("The Golden Age" and the "Silver Age"), the later Bronze Age and Iron Age of classical mythology are assumed to have preserved the memory of actual periods when the metals mentioned dominated human life.

Dates: Classically, the Iron Age is taken to begin in the 12th century BC in the ancient Near East, ancient

Ages). In other regions of Europe, it started much later. The Iron Age began in the 8th century BC in Central Europe and the 6th century BC in Northern Europe. Iron use, in smelting and forging for tools, appears in West Africa by 1200 BC, making it one of the first places for the birth of the Iron Age. (It is believed that meteoric iron, or iron-nickel alloy, was used by various ancient peoples thousands of years before the Iron Age. This iron, being in its native metallic state, required no smelting of ores.)

The Iron Age is divided into two subsections, Iron I and Iron II. Iron I (1200–1000 BC) illustrates both continuity and discontinuity with the previous Late Bronze Age. There is no definitive cultural break between the thirteenth and twelfth century throughout the entire region, although certain new features in the hill country, Transjordan and coastal region may suggest the appearance of the Aramaean and Sea People groups. There is evidence, however, that shows strong continuity with Bronze Age culture, although as one moves later into Iron I the culture begins to diverge more significantly from that of the late second millennium.

The Iron Age is usually said to end in the Mediterranean with the onset of historical tradition during Hellenism and the Roman Empire, in India with the onset of Buddhism and Jainism, in China with the onset of Confucianism, and in Northern Europe with the early Middle Ages.

Iron Use in Bronze Age: By the Middle Bronze Age, increasing numbers of smelted iron objects (distinguishable from meteoric iron by the lack of nickel in the product) appeared throughout Anatolia, Mesopotamia, the Indian subcontinent, the Levant, the Mediterranean, and Egypt. Some sources suggest that iron was being created in some places then as a byproduct of copper refining, as sponge iron, and was not reproducible by the metallurgy of the time.

The earliest systematic production and use of iron implements originates in Anatolia. African production of iron has been suggested to have begun at around the same time, and possibly even before Anatolia, but recent discoveries suggest that iron working appeared in Anatolia since 2000 BC. Recent archaeological research at Ganges Valley, India showed early iron working by 1800 BC. By 1200 BC, iron was widely used in the Middle East but did not supplant the dominant use of bronze for some time.

Transition from Bronze to Iron: Bronze was previously used to make tools because its melting point is lower than that of iron. The Iron Age began with the development of higher temperature smelting techniques. During the Iron Age, the best tools and weapons were made from steel, an alloy consisting of iron with a carbon content between 0.02% and 1.7% by weight. Steel weapons and tools were nearly the same weight as those of bronze, but stronger. However, steel was difficult to produce with the methods available. Therefore, many Iron Age tools were fashioned of wrought iron. Wrought iron is weaker than bronze, but because it was less expensive, and more easily sharpened, people used it anyway. Iron is by itself an adequately strong metal without additional alloys (although it could be further strengthened by case-hardening or forge welding small amounts of steel to areas subject to wear such as edges). Bronze, on the other hand, requires copper and tin, which are less common than iron. Additionally, iron can be sharpened by grinding whereas bronze must be reforged.

Around 1800 BC, for reasons yet unknown to archaeologists, tin became scarce in the Levant, causing a decline in bronze production. Copper, also, came to be in short supply. As a result, pirate groups around the Mediterranean, from around 1800–1700 BC onward, began to attack fortified cities in search of bronze, to remelt into weaponry.

Bronze was much more abundant in the period before the 12th to 10th century and Snodgrass suggests that a shortage of tin, as a result of the trade disruptions in the Mediterranean at this time, forced peoples to seek an alternative to bronze. That many bronze items were recycled and made from implements into weapons during this time, is evidence of this.

The Iron Age in the Ancient Near East is believed to have begun with the discovery of iron smelting and smithing techniques in Anatolia or the Caucasus in the late 2nd millennium BC (circa 1300 BC).

The use of iron weapons instead of bronze weapons spread rapidly throughout the Near East by the beginning of the 1st millennium BC. Anatolians had begun forging weapons out of iron, which was a superior metal to bronze, by 1500 BC at the latest.

The use of iron weapons by the Hittites was believed to have been a major factor in the rapid rise of the Hittite Empire.[citation needed] Because the area in which iron technology first developed was near the Aegean, the technology expanded into both Asia and Europe simultaneously, aided by Hittite expansion. The Sea Peoples and the related Philistines are often associated with the introduction of iron technology into Asia, as are the Dorians with respect to Greece.

As stated in the Bible, the Philistines maintained a monopoly on iron working, keeping their Israelite neighbors in military inferiority and economic dependance. A major objective of the Hebrews' prolonged wars with the Philistines, recounted in the Book of Samuel, was to obtain the iron-working technology - an aim achieved by the later time of King David.

Inhabitants at Termit, in eastern Niger became the first iron smelting people in West Africa and among the first in the world around 1500 BC. Iron and copper working then continued to spread southward through the continent, reaching the Cape around AD 200. The widespread use of iron revolutionized the Bantu-speaking farming communities who adopted it, driving out and absorbing the rock tool using hunter-gatherer societies they encountered as they expanded to farm wider areas of savannah. The technologically superior Bantu-speakers spread across southern Africa and became wealthy and powerful, producing iron for tools and weapons in large, industrial quantities. In addition to wrought iron, very early instances of carbon steel were found to be in production around 2000 years before present in northwest Tanzania, based on complex preheating principles. These discoveries, according to Schmidt and Avery (archaeologists credited with the discovery) are significant for the history of metallurgy.

Archaeological sites in India, such as Malhar, Dadupur, Raja Nala Ka Tila and Lahuradewa in present day Uttar Pradesh show iron implements in the period 1800 BC – 1200 BC. Some scholars believe that by the early 13th century BC, iron smelting was practiced on a bigger scale in India, suggesting that the date the technology's inception may be earlier. The beginning of the 1st millennium BC saw extensive developments in iron metallurgy in India. Technological advancement and mastery of iron metallurgy was achieved during this period of peaceful settlements. An iron working centre in east India is dated to the first millennium BC.

In Southern India (present day Mysore) iron appeared as early as 11th to 12th centuries BC; these developments were too early for any significant close contact with the northwest of the country. The Indian Upanishads mention weaving, pottery, and metallurgy.mThe Indian Mauryan period saw advances in metallurgy.

As early as 300 BC, certainly by AD 200, high quality steel was produced in southern India, by what would later be called the crucible technique. In this system, high-purity wrought iron, charcoal, and glass were mixed in crucible and heated until the iron melted and absorbed the carbon.

The early 1st millennium BC marks the Iron Age in Eastern Europe. In the Pontic steppe and the Caucasus region, the Iron Age begins with the Koban and the Chernogorovka and Novocherkassk cultures from ca. 900 BC. By 800 BC, it was spreading to Hallstatt C via the alleged "Thraco-Cimmerian" migrations.

Along with Chernogorovka and Novocherkassk cultures, on the territory of ancient Russia and Ukraine the Iron Age is to a significant extent associated with Scythians, who developed iron culture since the 7th century BC. The majority of remains of their iron producing and blacksmith's industries from 5th to 3rd century BC was found near Nikopol in Kamenskoe Gorodishche, which is believed to be the specialized metallurgic region of the ancient Scythia.

From the Hallstatt culture, the Iron Age spreads west with the Celtic expansion from the 6th century BC. In Poland, the Iron Age reaches the late Lusatian culture in about the 6th century, followed in some areas by the Pomeranian culture.

The Iron Age is divided into the Pre-Roman Iron Age and the Roman Iron Age. This is followed by the migration period. Northern Germany and Denmark was dominated by the Jastorf culture, whereas the culture of the southern half of the Scandinavia was dominated by the very similar Gregan Iron Age.

Early Scandinavian iron production typically involved the harvesting of bog iron. Scandinavian peninsula, Finland and Estonia show sophisticated iron production very early, but further dating is currently impossible. The range varies from 3000–2000 BP. This knowledge is associated with the non-Germanic part of Scandinavia. Metalworking and Asbestos-Ceramic pottery are somewhat synonymous in Scandinavia due to the latter's capacity to resist and retain heat. The iron ore used is believed to have been iron sand (such as red soil), because its high phosphorus content can be identified in slag. They are sometimes found together with asbestos ware axes belonging to the Ananjino Culture. The Asbestos-Ceramic ware remains a mystery, because there are other adiabatic vessels with unknown usage.

THE METAL AGES

EMERGENCE OF CITIES, STATES AND CIVILIZATONS

For more than 99 percent of our history, humans have lived in simple egalitarian societies (societies whose members were nearly equal in prestige and access to resources). As the population of agricultural societies grew, increasingly complex political structures evolved to coordinate the activities of a larger number of people. The first societies in which some groups had more power than others appeared in the Near East about 5,500 years ago. In some parts of the world the change from a egalitarian social structure to more complex forms is still occurring, spurred by pressures from more advanced states.

Before we begin to explore where, how, and why complex societies emerged, we must define three basic terms: *city, state,* and *civilization.*

The City: A *city* can be defined as a central place that performs economic and political functions for the surrounding area. The first cities probably developed around political bureaucracies that became the seat of political power in a region. When the bureaucracies begin to attract people who performed special services for rulers and people who wanted to become part of the ruling structure, the first true cities probably were formed. The process by which cities are formed is called *Urbanization.* As urbanization progresses, cities become composed of new people with more diverse talents and cultural backgrounds. Not everyone, however, agrees to this reconstruction of how cities arose. Jane Jacobs (1970) holds that cities emerged before rural settlements, and that they in fact stimulated the development of agriculture. The first cities, she believes, were trading centers. The basic techniques of agriculture arose as city dwellers experimented with wild plants and animals brought in by traders in return for obsidian or other valuable items. The techniques that came out of such experimenting later diffused to nearby farming villages, which exchanged food for the goods of the city. Jacobs' theory is considerably weakened, however by traces of agricultural activity that have been dated back to between 10,000 and 9,000 years B.P., well before the earliest cities.

The State: A *state* can be defined as an independent political unit that includes many communities in its territory, with a centralized government, that has the power to collect taxes, draft citizens for work and for war, and enact and enforce laws. States are socially *stratified* - some groups of citizens have greater access either to wealth, status, or both than do other groups. States are also economically diversified, which means that only a part of the population produces food - other members may be artisans, traders, priests, rulers, or other specialists. In early states, organized religion merged with the state and its leadership, making both objects of worship.

Civilizations: *Civilization* is the most difficult of the three concepts to define, partly because it is used in accurately used to mean that the society was characterized by the presence of cities or large towns and that the inhabitants were citizens of some kind of legal commonwealth." But civilization carries with it many connotations other than that of cities of people bound together in a government based on laws. Some think of civilization as a flourishing of the arts. Others associate it with the development of philosophical concepts to a very high level. Others have identified writing as the distinguishing feature of civilization.

Perhaps the best-known list of criteria for civilization is that of V. Gordon Childe. It is presented here in Service's summary (1975):

1. Urban centers (of between 7 ,000 to 20,000 people)
2. A class of full-time specialists working in the cities
3. A ruling class of religious, civil, and military leaders
4. A surplus of food produced by the peasants for use by the government
5. Monumental public buildings, symbolizing the concentration of the surplus
6. Use of numbers and writing
7. Arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy
8. Sophisticated art.
9. Long-distance trade
10. An institutionalized form of political organization based on force, called the *state*

Excavation has turned up evidence against Childe's list. Seldom have all of these traits appeared together in the earliest cultures that we think of as civilizations. It is often argued, for instance, that cities do not have to exist for there to be civilization. Most people would agree that the Maya were a civilization, in spite of the fact that cities did not exist. And while the Inca culture did display most of Childe's characteristics, there was no system of writing. The term *civilization* has become more and more vague as it has been applied to societies that have different characteristics Because *state* can be more clearly defined, we shall treat this concept as the center of our discussion. Nevertheless, *civilization* is often useful as a word meaning a society with sophisticated artistic, architectural, philosophical, economic, and political features.

From Bands to States

States did not spring fully formed from anarchy. Archaeologists have identified several stages through which human societies passed before states appeared. Our knowledge of these stages comes from the archaeological record and from observations of present-day societies. Unfortunately, in trying to distinguish the earliest states from less complex societies such as chiefdoms, we must arbitrarily break up what was a continuous process of evolution. But with this in mind, the contrasts between three different levels of pre-state social organization can be seen.

The Bands: Before about 12,000 years B.P., the basic unit of human social organization was a small, egalitarian society called a *band*. The only subunit of the band was the family, or a group of related families held together by kinship and marriage bonds. Leadership was informal, probably not resting for very long with any one person. The leader's power came from force of personality rather than from laws or traditions defining the role and naming the person to assume it. Bands were and are the usual form of society among hunting-and-gathering people, who do not have a strong sense of territoriality (that is, the need to define and defend one's own land). Owning and defending land would not make sense for people who were often moving from one area to another.

The Tribes: About 9,000 years B.P., a slightly larger, more complicated form of social organization called the *tribe* can be inferred from the archaeological record in the Near East. It appeared in Peru about 5,000 years B.P. and in Mesoamerica by 3,300 years B.P. The *tribe* was larger than a band; it was made up of groups of families related by common descent or by membership in a variety of kinship-based groups such as clans or lineages. The power of leaders was weak, with individual family heads being more important than anyone leader. Kinship groups seem to have been bound together for different reasons in different cultures. Among primitive farmers, the kin group probably held land in common. Farming brought with it territoriality, since land was now an important resource. Lines of ancestral descent were becoming an important part of tribal life -evidence includes the skulls of many generations found buried under the floors of their descendant's houses in Near Eastern villages. There was little or no stratification, and division of labor was still largely by age and sex.

The Chiefdom: A third stage of pre-state organization, the *chiefdom*, first appeared in the Near East around 7,500 B.P. Chiefdoms were probably theocracies, with the ruler or a member of his family serving as a high religious official. For the first time, the position of leader existed apart from the person who occupied. That is, his power came not from his personality, but from his position or role as leader. When a chief died, the role was filled by someone from a particular line of descent.

No longer were all family groups or lineages of equal rank. There is further evidence that some kin groups may have owned the best farm land or enjoyed other marks of status. Perhaps the best evidence that certain groups enjoyed higher status from birth is the discovery of the remains of children who had been buried much more elaborately than most other people at the time. At Tell es Sawwan, Iraq, from about 7,500 to *7,000* years B.P., children were buried with alabaster statues and turquoise and copper ornaments. At La Venta, Mexico, from about 800 B.C., children were buried with jade articles in basalt-columned tombs. These children, having died so young, could not have achieved a status worthy of such attention. Their status had to be inherited.

Chiefdoms were characterized by large villages, among which some craft specialization existed. Some villages in the Near East, for example, worked only on pottery; others produced large amounts of copper goods. In Mesoamerica, some villages made magnetite mirrors, while others made shell ornaments. But within each village, there were no groups of people who worked only on these goods. All villagers seem to have worked part-time at crafts as well as at farming. Signs of both activities can be found in the remains of houses whose members were part of a chiefdom.

Chiefdoms exist today in many parts of Africa, as well as in South Pacific Islands such as Fiji and Tahiti. Until they were disturbed by Europeans, the Hawaiians and the Kwakiutl and Nootka of the Pacific Northwest were also chiefdoms.

The Emergence of States

Why some bands developed into tribes and others did not, or why some tribes became chiefdoms and others did not are questions that concern many anthropologists. In this part of the chapter we shall limit our discussion to the transition from chiefdoms to states. Along the way, we shall examine the role the formation of cities has played in this transition.

The first question we must ask is what features allow us to distinguish chiefdom from a state. The answer lies partly in the types of changes that occur as states emerge. Most anthropologists would agree that the following events mark the transition from chiefdom to state.

1. Complex chiefdoms break up and collapse.
2. Regulatory organizations change, and a formal, centralized, legal apparatus for governing emerges.
3. Specialized economic activities become the function of particular groups.
4. Territorial expansion follows the

This list may tell us what happens in the state formation and provide clues that archeologists can look for. But it cannot tell us why the process occurs in the first place. Since we were not present to observe these causes, their nature can only be approached by hypothesis. Two basic types of hypothesis exist. Some experts have proposed universal causes of state formation. These so-called *prime mover* theories tend to focus on single causes. Others have decided that such a complex evolution cannot be explained in terms of a single cause. They look to a combination of factors. We shall examine some of the most important theories of state formation.

Irrigation: In his *hydraulic theory,* Karl Wittfogel has suggested that states first arose in dry areas when large-scale irrigation became a necessity. The body of officials needed to manage the building of canals and to operate them evolved into the strong government of the state. Wittfogel assumes that village farmers saw the advantages of large-scale irrigation and chose to join in a larger political unit to get them. The state grew larger as it took over the functions of smaller administrative units.

The hydraulic theory has been weakened by evidence uncovered since it was put forth. Excavations in China, Mesopotamia, and Mexico – three areas originally cited in support of the theory – have shown that these states arose long before there was large-scale irrigation. Furthermore, some states, such as the ancient Mayan, grew in areas where irrigation was always of minor importance.

Trade: In some areas of the world, they lack of certain vital raw materials that communities trade with one another. For example, southern Mesopotamia needed building stone, wood, and metal. The Peten region of Guatemala lacked salt, obsidian, and stone for maize-grinding tools. To get such goods, these communities had to trade with people outside their immediate areas. This trade called for a way to organize the production of the resources traded, as well as communication and record keeping. All of these activities are thought to be important in the formation of states.

Unfortunately not all emerging states depended on trade. Raw materials were abundant in the valley of Mexico, for example. There trade began after the state had already developed.

Population Growth: Population growth had been a prime mover that gave rise to farming and to complex societies. Excavation has clearly shown that population increases are linked with

1. The beginnings of food production and
2. The appearance of complex societies.

There is a great deal of disagreement, however, as to whether population growth preceded or followed the other two trends. Some authorities hold that the development of agricultural techniques caused population growth. Knowledge of how to produce food led to food surpluses, which made possible concentrations of people and gave some time to specialize in non-farming pursuits. One such pursuit was government. Full-time administrators dependent on the food produced by others supervised the activities of an increasingly powerful central government in the emerging state.

In the 1960s another group of experts, foremost among who was Esther Boserup, proposed in 1965 that population growth itself forced humans to look for more and more efficient means of supplying food. Population growth preceded farming, in their view. The class of officials who oversaw food production and other activities formed the basis of the state's bureaucracy. It remains to be shown, however, why population increased in the first place. Studies have revealed that many human groups behave in such a way as to keep their number below the resource limits of their environment. This is especially true of hunter-gatherers. This is especially true of hunter-gatherers. Sexual abstinence and socially prescribed killing of the young and old may have occurred during periods of environmental stress. But these may only have proved effective within limited periods. Over the longer periods archeologists deal with, some gradual population increase may have occurred.

Circumscription and Warfare

Robert Carneiro's *circumscription theory* can be seen as a modification of the idea that population pressure acted as a prime mover in the rise of the state. According to him, there is evidence of war during the early stages of the formation of all the major states. Growing populations fought one another for land, and in some cases states were formed. But, because war does not necessarily lead to the birth of a state, it must do so only under certain conditions. To define these conditions, Carneiro sought factors common to the times and places in which states have formed.

The one common condition he found is *circumscription.* In *geographical circumscription* an area is set off by mountains, seas, or deserts, which severely limit the land that people can occupy and farm. In Egypt, for instance, the state arose in the narrow strips of fertile land that flank the Nile River. The river valley was virtually isolated by deserts and other geographical features.

Similarly, in *social circumscription* people may be prevented from moving by the surrounding populations. Napoleon Chagnon found social circumscription in a study of Yanamamo of the Amazon River Basin. He observed that the center of Yanamamo territory, villages are much closer together than elsewhere in the territory. Migration from these central villages is difficult, because to do so would mean encroachment on another village's territory.

According to Carneiro, war produces greater centralization and, eventually, states. As populations in the circumscribed Nile River Valley increased, crop-producing land became more scarce and valuable. Consequently, villages began to war with one another for land. Because defeated villages could not move, they had to choose between death and political subordination. As chiefdoms collected taxes, drafted armies, and administered more and more villages, they grew stronger. Warfare among the two great chiefdoms of the upper and lower Nile ultimately led to state formation.

At the same time, war need not inevitably lead to state formation. Though the Yanamamo are socially circumscribed and have probably engaged in warfare for many generations, they are clearly not a state.

It should be clear that each of these prime-mover theories explains more in some areas than in others. This fact is not lost on many archeologists, who feel that different combinations of factors caused state formation in different areas.

2.1 NATURE OF CULTURE AND SOCIETY

Meaning of Culture

Culture is the key concept of anthropology and is central to all the sub-divisions of this discipline. The anthropological meaning of culture is different from its popular meaning .In every day use the term 'culture' signifies a desirable quality such as polished behavior, refinement, intellectual excellence, human creativity and the finer things of life. Popular meanings are expressed in phrases like "a man of culture", "a cultured man" etc. Rude attitude is often expressed as "uncultured" attitude. Thus in popular usage different individuals, different groups of people and different societies have "a greater or lesser amount of culture". Some individuals, groups and societies have "no culture at all" and are termed "uncultured".

In an anthropological perspective, there is no such thing as "an uncultured person" since all humans have culture. Every society has a culture but some are simple, others are complex. Likewise, every human being is cultured, but some participate in complex cultures. Culture is an attribute of the genus Homo. It is a design for living. It is the basis of human life. It rests on biology but is not biological. It is human biology such as a developed brain, nimble hands, and freely moving tongue which helped humans to acquire a design for living. What has been acquired as a design for living is not biological. It is a totality of mental, rational, and material, technological processes and products. This totality is what anthropologists call culture.

Human living is not possible without a minimum of material objects. Human life is impracticable without a network of relations between fellow beings. Human existence is impossible without ideas, rules, ideals, and patterns of thinking. Symbols, ideas, ideals, rules, patterns of thinking, network of relations and material objects together comprise the mental, rational and material, technological processes and products. They are integrated into a whole, the design for living. This design for living is culture. It is the total life way of the human beings. It serves as a potential guide for human living. As a guide, it aids the human being to know what is good and bad, desirable, important and unimportant, rational, irrational and non-rational. With its help, humans are able to get along with one another well enough to maintain their social relations and to satisfy their survival needs. Culture provides the frame work for solving the human problems.

NATURE OF CULTURE

1. **Culture is a historically created design for living:** This implies that culture was created almost five million years ago. In every generation something new is added to it and this is responsible for the growth and change in culture. The culture we have today combines what has been first created by our original ancestors with what has been added to it by subsequent generations. To be precise, culture is cumulative in that, as time goes by, new items are added to those already existing.

2. **Culture is unique to the human species:** Human species is the only member of the animal kingdom using symbolism and culture. Our nearest relatives like the chimpanzees share with us at least the basic abilities like learning from experience and fashion tools with specific purpose in mind. They also share the ability to learn systems of symbolic communications based on language and symbol. However, they have only rudimentary pre-cultural or proto-cultural ability. To have a cultural ability, there must be a capacity to create and use language and symbols. Our nearest relatives do not possess these two capabilities. Language is strictly a human capacity. Similarly, symbol making is a unique human ability. Although our nearest relatives appear to have at least a rudimentary pre-cultural ability, no genus has a cultural ability like man in its complexity, i.e., to learn, to communicate and to store, process and use information to the same extent as that of man. Culture has moral elements in the form of understanding what is good, what is bad, what must or ought to be done and what must not or ought not to be done. Moral force in culture serves as a guide for human action rather than simply as information about how one might behave. Proto-culture does not contain even traces of moral force. Neither monkeys nor apes have moral force in their life. Morality is a part of culture. By moral force, humans learn how things ought to be done, not just how they can be done. Therefore, human culture has a moral foundation, but primate life has no moral basis.

3. **Culture is non-genetic:** Culture is a product of social learning rater than biological heredity. It cannot be inherited by offspring from parents, but it can be transmitted from parents to children. Like animals, humans cannot inherit behavior. Animal behavior is inborn. Animals inherit behavior or at most, proto-culture, but humans *acquire* culture. Kroeber gives an interesting case to illustrate this distinction between the inborn behavior of animals and the acquired culture of human beings. Suppose we hatch some ant eggs on a deserted island. The resulting ant colony will be an exact reproduction of the previous generation of ants, including their social behavior. Ants have a set of rules which they follow in acting together as a group, but these rules are not learned as a result of interaction with other ants of the previous generation. They are instinctive and part of the heredity of the ants in each new generation. That is why, we can be sure that the newly hatched ants will be and will act exactly like their parents' generation, even though they had never seen any members of the generation. Suppose we do the same with a group of infants from our own society. Certainly we would not expect the same results from a generation of children as we would from their parents. Rather, the result would be a horde of people essentially without culture. If they were somehow able to survive, which would also be impossible, they might develop their own culture, different from any other way of life on earth. They would not speak a language that was intelligible to anyone else and reflecting their parents' culture. Although born of people from our culture, there is no way that such individuals would acquire our culture, without being taught.

4. **Culture has unity as well as diversity:** All humans have culture. This aspect of culture refers to cultural unity. Different groups of humans or societies have different cultures. This shows cultural diversity. All humans have culture, but all cultures are not alike. In this context, it is necessary to draw a distinction between "a culture" and "culture". The term "culture" signifies the way of life of human societies as a whole and the term "a culture" signifies the way of life of specific part of human society which is technically called a society. All cultures are composed of the same general categories of phenomena. All of them have items that can be classified as technological, economic, social, political, legal, religious, aesthetic, recreational or educational. In this sense there is a unity among all cultures. The obvious reason cultures every where have items of these kinds is that all people are born with similar biological characteristics but into different portions of the same planet. The same species have to cope with different portions of the same planet – the earth. As a sequel, the technological, economic, social, political, legal, religious, aesthetic, recreational or educational items of human species differ from one portion of earth to another. In this sense there is a diversity of cultures. Each society came to possess a particular culture. Particular cultures vary, some slightly, others profoundly. No matter what these differences may be, all humans have culture. There is thus cultural unity and diversity.

Socio-cultural anthropologists are concerned of the investigation of cultural unity and diversity. Such an investigation helps us to understand how culture works as the basis of human life and the human society. In this context, socio-cultural anthropology studies distinct cultures in every possible place and at every time and level, dissects them, describes their details, then compares them, delineates similarities and differences among them, then from such information derives what is common to all societies, generalizes what is common to a group of societies, identifies what is unique to every society and thereby explains cultural unity as well as diversity. In socio-cultural anthropology this descriptive, comparative and explanative orientation takes the form of a cross-cultural approach or the comparison of cultures from various times and places as the basis for understanding human life. In this attempt, the concept of culture is basic. It provides the basis for most of our knowledge about different designs for human living and thereby supports the understanding of human life and human society, and contributing to the understanding of human species. Anthropology has made a notable contribution to human knowledge in the form of scientific concept of culture. It is hence central to any analysis of man and also to anthropology. It is in fact the hallmark of every anthropological inquiry.

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Definitions of Culture

The term Culture is actually a biological term. In Latin, the term *"Colere"* means a "tending" or to "cherish". This kind of earlier usage of the term is still used in the words like "cultivate".

Sir Edward Bunnet Tylor in 1871 gave the first definition to the concept of culture. Since then hundreds of definitions have been put forth and are continuing. Today more than 250 definitions to the term "culture" exist.

Tylor defined culture as "a complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, moral, law, custom and any other capabilities acquired by man as a member of the society". This definition reflects the cultural complexity. Later the increased knowledge of the concept of culture led to the refinement of the definition given by Tylor.

Brownislaw Malinowski defined culture as a "handiwork of man and the medium through which he achieves his ends".

Ralph Linton defined culture as "the sum total of the knowledge, attitudes and habitual behavior patterns, shared and transmitted by the members of a particular society.

Herskovitz says culture is the "Man made part of the environment".

Kluckhom and Kelly defined culture as "all that historical designs for living, explicit and implicit, rational and irrational and non-rational, which exist at any given time as potential guides for the behavior of man".

Bidney says "culture is a product of A (Products of civilization), Artifacts (Products of industry), Sociofacts (Social organization) and Mentifacts (language, religion, art and so on)".

Irrespective of the various conceptions and approaches to the understanding of the concept of culture, it is however agreed that culture is a way of life and morality is a part of culture.

Characteristics of Culture

1. **Culture is learned:** Culture is not instinctive and is not biologically transmitted. It is through social interaction that culture is learned. The human beings have a great capacity for learning and they depend on this learned knowledge for their survival. This feature is characteristic to the Homo sapiens and no other animal does so for its survival.
2. **Culture is inculcated:** Humans alone have a capacity to transmit acquired habits to their children and this transmission of culture is not done biologically. This characteristic makes it possible for the parents to transmit the various lessons of survival they have learnt to their respective children.
3. **Culture is social:** This characteristic of culture is well understood in two ways. One way is that the human beings learn culture in the society i.e., culture can only be acquired by an individual as a member of a society by leading an organized life and social experience. Another way to understand this characteristic is to view culture as a group phenomenon. Culture in this context is differentially shared by the people. It includes different organizations like kinship, economic organization and political organization etc., with different statuses and roles to every individual. All the categories of the people share culture.
4. **Culture is adaptive:** Socially transmitted knowledge is the major adaptive mechanism for human species, i.e., a major way to adapt to the environment. Maladaptive parts of culture die out all together. Culture being adaptive implies that it is a design for living which enables people to survive and reproduce in a particular environment.
5. **Culture is gratifying:** Culture satisfies the basic biological and secondary needs of man. The cultural elements may change to satisfy the needs. This is how the cultural elements are subjected to change or development of new cultural elements happens. Gratification of the needs reinforces, strengthens and perpetuates cultural elements.

6. **Culture is structured:** Culture has a definite and proper structure. This implies that there is a definite arrangement of its components and units. The structural components of culture are called **Traits** and **Complexes.** The cultural trait is analogous to the unit of the body, the cell. Trait, like a cell in the body, is the smallest identifiable unit of culture like for e.g., any cultural artifact, an alphabet or a custom or practice. Each of a cultural trait has a form, use, function and meaning. As several cells form a tissue, several traits form a complex. Each cultural complex is transmitted as a unit though it has several traits. For e.g., Alphabetical complex or even a plough complex, though the latter has an animal, harness instrument and operator are all transmitted over the world as a single unit. A given culture has many traits and these traits form into complexes, each of these complexes acts as a unit. These traits and complexes are arranged in a systematic manner. This arrangement is the plan or structure of a culture.
7. **Culture is ideational:** This character refers to the cultural knowledge of the members of a society. This implies the shared notions which are the knowledge of ideals, norms, musts, shoulds, dos and don'ts.
8. **Culture is integrative:** Culture tends to be integrative. Integration implies a tendency of mutual adjustment among cultural elements. Culture is not a list of traits, complexes, norms etc., but they are integrated and interrelated to form a system. It is only a tendency but no culture is completely integrated.
9. **Culture is dynamic:** Culture exhibits stability and change. It may be stable for few to hundreds of years. Certain cultural items like temples and rituals have had stability since last 2000 years. But is the culture same as it was 2000 years ago? No. This is because culture changes. Since culture is a system like a spider's web, changes in one part leads to change in the other part of the culture for total adjustment. The rate of change of the culture differs from culture to culture and it depends upon the factors like level of technology, innovative capacity, environment, war, migration, diffusion etc.

Attributes of Culture

Attributes of culture implies the qualities of culture. The following are the various attributes of culture.

1. **Overtness and Covertness:** Overtness and Covertness refer to the qualities of culture as detected by an observer. The observer may be an anthropologist, or a member of a society who is unfamiliar with certain parts of the culture. Overt means easily detectable qualities of a culture. These include artifacts, actions, utterances, which can be perceived directly. Artifacts include houses, clothes, books, tools etc. Actions imply postures in various situations, curing practices, sports, externally manifested signs of respect etc. Utterances include speech, songs, proverbs etc. An observer can easily detect these qualities because he has plenty of opportunities to see them, experience them and record them.

   Covert implies those qualities of a culture which are not easily detected by an outsider. Sentiments, beliefs, fears and values are some of the cultural items which cannot be easily detectable i.e., they are covert. They are not amenable to direct observation and moreover people cannot always explain what they feel. It is generally difficult to express these abstract ideas.
2. **Explicit and Implicit:** Explicit means the people's awareness of existence of the cultural items. Implicit implies the people's dim awareness or unawareness of certain cultural items. Explicitness and implicitness concern the experience of people possessing the culture, while overtness and covertness refer to the views of the observer.

Explicit cultural items can be verbalized or criticized readily by the persons who possess them. But there are certain items of culture about which people are only dimly aware of or unaware of. Hence they cannot give any clear accounts on such cultural items. These are implicit items of the culture.

3. **Ideality and Reality:** Ideality of culture refers to how people say they should behave, or the way they would like to live. Reality is the actual way people behave. There is generally a discrepancy between ideality and reality.

4. **Ethos and Eidos:** Ethos refers to the affective or emotional quality of a culture expressed in series of beliefs, thoughts and behavior. It acts as a central force, interest theme or pattern and colors every item of culture. As it determines what people should have, do, think and feel it, prepares all the people in a culture to express the same emotional tone in all acts, thoughts and feelings. According to its nature, ethos may be classified into two types: the **Apollonian ethos** and the **Dionysian ethos.**

   Apollo and Dionysus are ancient Greek Gods with contrasting emotional qualities. Apollo was poised, serene, restrained and well balanced but Dionysus was violent, impulsive, exotic and imbalanced. Cultures whose emotional qualities resemble those of Apollo and Dionysus are identified as having Apollonian ethos and Dionysian ethos respectively. The behavior of the people possessing Apollonian ethos will be calm, moderate, well-balanced and appreciative of aesthetics, but the behavior of those possessing the culture with Dionysian ethos will be exuberant, aggressive, imbalanced and savage.

   Eidos is the formal appearance of a culture derived from its constituents. Through cognitive processes operating within, a culture acquires its formal appearance or eidos. Eidos is the totality of items of culture. On the contrary ethos is the emotional quality coloring this totality. Ethos is affective but eidos is cognitive.

5. **Organic and Superorganic:** Culture is organic in the sense that it is ultimately rooted in the biological nature of human organism. Without humans to act, to think, to feel, or to make and use things, there would be no culture. Thus culture is organic. Culture is super organic while it is organic. Once created, culture acquires a superorganic quality or the quality by virtue of which culture exists on a level above that of the individuals who create and carry it. According to Kroeber, culture becomes a phenomenon in its own right, with its own laws and processed apart from the human carriers who sustain it. Culture is superorganic to the extent that it outlines the particular generation of people who carry it and so persists from one generation to other. This does not mean that its origin is other than biological. Culture is created by humans and it is dependent on human choice for its continuity. Culture can be altered through the decisions of human beings. But this does not mean it is easy to change culture.

   The superorganic may be injurious to the organic. Some cultural traits, for example, are definitely harmful to the organic life of the humans. The superorganic is an order of phenomenon different from the organic and goes its way with a certain amount of independence from the organic.

6. **Universal and Unique:** Culture is universal in the sense that every man experiences it and uniqueness of culture implies its regional variations.

Cultural Universals, Specialties and Alternatives

Some cultural traits are necessary to all members of the society. These cultural traits are called Cultural Universals, like for e.g., Incest taboo.

Cultural Alternatives imply that different activities are allowed and accepted for achieving the same end. A person may choose among a number of religious beliefs, i.e., he is allowed a number of choices, to reach the same end.

Cultural Specialties are the elements of culture which are shared by some but not all the groups within a society.

Contra cultures and Sub Cultures

The groups which not only differ from the prevailing cultural patterns, but also sharply challenge them are called as the Contra cultures. Sub-cultures are the particular group or categories of cultural traits. They are of course related to the general culture of the society, but can be different from it. Thus, cultures of occupations, caste, social class etc., are sub-cultures. The cultural specialties lead to sub-cultures.

Cultural Processes

A cultural process implies a specific continuous action by which culture produces a situation or a change. A cultural process includes:

1. An action that promotes human survival
2. An action that promotes human adjustment
3. Action that changes the way of life or resists change in the way of life.

Now a question arises as to what do we mean by the cultural process that promotes Human survival and adjustment? As it was explained earlier, culture is a design for living. It guides the members in behaving, feeling, responding, thinking and making survival possible. Therefore, cultural processes are containing processes or actions that promote the human survival. Cultural processes promote adjustment of people to environment and adjustment among themselves.

Cultural processes also bring changes in a specific part of a culture or in all the parts. Specific changes can be anything like change in technological skills, economic life, social organization and political life etc. The cultural processes may set a chain reaction of change in a society. This is because culture is a system like a web, if any change in a part occurs, changes happen also in the entire structure of the culture.

The various types of cultural processes are discussed here.

Cultural Evolution

Evolution is a process of social and cultural change in a definite direction, particularly from a simple to complex state. This can be from a state of homogeneity to a state of heterogeneity. Evolution of a culture refers to development of culture and society through progressively more complex stages.

Evolution is a continuous process of diversification and integration. It shows onward and upward movement generating progress and even increasing complexity. It involves a change in the form, structure and organization of a culture or a society. When we speak of evolution of an organism we refer to the emergence of certain organism from other organisms. Likewise when we speak of evolution of a culture or evolution of a society, we refer to the transformation of one culture or society into a different one. Unless a culture or society undergoes change in its form, structure and organization and acquires a new form, a new structure and a new organization, we cannot say that a culture or a society has evolved.

Evolution describes a series of changes in all parts of culture or society. As a culture or society evolves, more and more proliferation and diversification of parts takes place. But all the different parts become adjusted or integrated. This implies that as a culture or a society evolves from simple type to complex type, it is not just the proliferation and diversification of the parts that takes place, but also an integration of these different parts also occurs simultaneously. The diversity of the new items in the culture can be seen not only in the number but also in the form, structure and organization.

Cultural Diffusion

Diffusion is a type of cultural process where the cultural elements, cultural complexes or cultural aspects pass from one group to another, from one society to another. Here one group or society borrows elements from another. A particular item or a complex developed in one society passes to another because the latter borrows it from the culture in which it has developed.

Evolution and diffusion differ with reference to their nature and complexity. Evolution is more complicated a process than diffusion. Cultures or societies evolve by means of invention and discovery of new items, by alteration of existing items and by diffusion or borrowing of items from other cultures and societies. Diffusion is simpler than evolution. Diffusion occurs when people in one society borrow some cultural items which they do not possess from other cultures which posses them. Diffusion may aid evolution. Cultures at simple levels may borrow items from those at complex levels so as to transform themselves into complex types.

There is a difference in the nature of evolution and diffusion. The nature of diffusion is to spread or transmit ideas, tools and other cultural traits from the place of their origin in one society to other places in different societies. If a particular society does not have certain cultural items it may borrow them from other cultures. Diffusion adds new items to a culture or a society. But the nature of evolution is to change the existing items, complexes, institutions and groups in the culture of a society to a more complex order.

Acculturation

Acculturation results when societies having different cultures come into intensive, direct or mediated contact, with subsequent major changes in original culture of one of the two societies involved. Acculturation includes all that action that brings a major change in a particular culture as a result of direct or mediated contact between that culture and a different culture. Acculturation involves direct or mediated firsthand continuous contact between two cultures and societies, but diffusion involves direct or indirect or intermittent contact. Direct contact occurs when missionaries, immigration laborers, colonial administrators or refugees with a distinct culture settle down near a society with another type of culture. Mediated culture contact occurs when the print, radio, cinema and other mass media come into contact with the society. Indirect contact occurs when one society receives cultural items from another society through a number of other intermediary societies. In acculturation two cultures A and B are in direct or mediated continuous contact with one another. In diffusion, culture `A' may transmit its items intermittently to culture `B' either directly or through a series of intermediary communities.

Acculturation does not exist until contact between two cultures is relatively continuous. Diffusion of traits from one culture to another occurs without continuous contact between these cultures. If two different societies A and B exist side by side, naturally they talk to each other, pick up some words from each other's speech and observe each other's dress, ornaments, and decorations, economic, religious, political and other patterns of life. As a result, A in continuous contact with B may change its whole culture. Similarly, society A in direct continuous contact with B may change its whole culture and acquire the culture of B. On the contrary, in diffusion, society A acquires the cultural elements of society B either directly from B or indirectly from B through a number of intermediate societies like C, D, and E. But the contact between societies A and B is not continuous, rather intermittent. Thus no continuous contact between cultures is necessary for diffusion of cultural traits but continuous contact is essential for the process of acculturation. In acculturation the whole culture of one society is being displaced by the culture of another society. But in diffusion, traits and complexes from one society spread to another society. The whole culture of a society does not spread to other societies.

Transculturation

Transculturation is a type of culture process which involves exchange of cultural items when two formerly different cultures come into continuous first hand contact with one another. Transculturation comes into existence when two societies in continuous direct contact experience subsequent major changes in their cultures. Transculturation as well as acculturation occurs if two societies are in continuous contact with one another. However in acculturation, the culture of one society is totally replaced by the culture of another society but in transculturation there is an exchange of cultural traits and complexes between two different societies.

Transculturation and diffusion also differ in their nature. In diffusion, cultural items spread from one culture to another. This implies that culture A receives cultural elements and complexes from culture B

and vice versa. Both the cultures are not in continuous contact. But in transculturation culture A and culture B are in continuous contact and both the cultures exchange their traits and complexes.

Enculturation

Enculturation is a process by which a growing child learns the culture of its society. It is a learning process by which culture is passed from one generation to the other. It refers to how a person is influenced and learns to participate in the culture of a society. While most enculturation goes on during the early stages of life, it remains a lifelong process. Enculturation always involves interaction between individuals, with the result that the ideas and other traits of a culturally inexperienced person become similar to those of the culturally more experienced persons of the society. Ideas, beliefs, traditions, morals, codes, rules, regulations, values and others are parts of culture. They are learned. They exist in the minds of the individuals who comprise a society. The individuals comprising the society regularly express their traits by means of utterances, actions and the various objects and tools that are products of actions. Unless they express their ideas, beliefs and other traits through words, actions and objects and tools, the child can hardly know of their existence, since the ideas and other traits do not move directly from the mind of one person to that of another. Enculturation is thus an ongoing process in every culture whereby culturally inexperienced members learn traits from the culturally experienced persons of the society and develop the personality traits which are important to the survival in a society.

Enculturation and diffusion show differences. In enculturation all the traits and complexes of a culture are passed on from one generation to another. But in diffusion several traits and complexes of a culture spread from one culture to another. When the circulation of traits and complexes is inside a society, it is enculturation but when the traits and complexes circulate from one society to another it is diffusion.

Functions of Culture

1. **Culture makes man a human being:** It is the culture which prepares man for group life. It provides him a complete design for living. For man to survive he should live within the frame work of culture.
2. **Culture provides solutions for complicated situations:** Culture provides a set of behavior for complicated situations. It influences him to such an extent that he does not look for any other external force to keep himself in conformity with social requirements. In the absence of culture, trial and error would have been the only alternative to take care of the situations.
3. **Culture provides traditional interpretations to certain situations:** Through the traditional interpretations to certain situations man justifies the behavior of humans in a society.
4. **Culture keeps social relationships intact:** Culture is the design and prescription, the composite of guiding values and ideals. By regulating the behavior of people and satisfying their primary drives, it has been able to maintain group life. It also contributes to social cohesion by presenting a sense of likeliness or commonality in the way of life among people in a society. In short, group solidarity rests on the foundation of culture.
5. **Culture broadens the vision of individual:** It gives a new vision to the individual and compels him to think not only in terms of his own self but the society as a whole. This leads to co-operation among members in a society and the perpetuation of the society itself. It creates in him "espirit de corps".
6. **Culture creates and satisfies new needs:** Culture creates new needs and drives and these in turn are satisfied by it.

Components of Culture

According to **Clark Wissler**, the universal components of culture include Language, concrete apparatuses like food, house, means of conveyance, dress, weapons, utensils, arms, industries and occupations, arts, legendary and scientific knowledge, rituals and blind beliefs, family and marriage, social control, games and other social institutions of the kind, property value, exchange and trade, government and law and war.

These universal components are found in all cultures but their forms are different. The components of culture also include what are known as non-material culture in sociological studies like abstract things, such as different customs, conventions, methods, arts, knowledge, religion of a society etc.

Patterns of Culture

Culture is not merely a loose accumulation of parts. It is a holistic phenomenon and the whole is greater than the sum of the parts of culture. The awesome complexity of culture cannot be explained by merely investigating the different components of culture. Culture is a coherent system which is integrated and is not a random accumulation of bits of traits and complexes. This integrated arrangement of parts of culture gives each culture its unique configuration. This configuration of culture, with its systems of internal relationships, is called the **pattern of culture.**

One of the pioneers of research in the field of patterns of culture is **A.L. Krober.** His publication **"Configurations of Culture"** carries an elaborate description of the growth and spread of cultures and in this work he identifies two patterns of culture – Basic or Systemic Patterns and Secondary Patterns.

According to Krober, the **Basic or Systemic Patterns of Culture** are the most stable and persistent forms of culture which do not change randomly and show consistency as coherent organizations of different traits and have a functional significance. The examples of this form of patterns are the alphabet complex, the plough complex, religious forms etc.

The **Secondary Patterns of Culture**, compared to the Basic forms, is relatively unstable and hence is subjected to change and these patterns show a greater variety in the world. The examples of this form of cultural patterns are the systems of social organization.

Another major researcher in the domain of cultural patterns is **Ruth Benedict.** Her work **"Patterns of Culture"** is influenced by Kroeber's work in this field. However, Benedict goes a step further and added a new dimension to the concept given by Krober. She has identified "qualities" of culture which, according to her, pervades every system of organization within the culture. She calls these qualities **"Apollonian and Dyonisian Ethos".** For further information on these ethos, refer to the topic on "Attributes of Culture" in preceding pages.

The cultural pattern consists of four dimensions according to **Ralph Linton.** These dimensions are the **Form** – of a trait or a complex, which can be perceived by the senses and objectively described; **Meaning** – of associations within culture, which can be implicit or explicit; **Use** – of the cultural traits and complexes to thing outside the environment of society and finally **Function** – the relationship of traits and complexes within the society.

Clyde Kluckhohn classified the cultural patterns into five categories.

1. **Compulsory,** where culture provides only one choice to individuals in certain situations without providing any alternative to them;
2. **Preferred,** where culture provides several ways of behavior, whereas only one of them is accepted;
3. **Typical,** where several alternatives of behavior are more or less accepted but one of the behavior patterns is expressed more than the rest;
4. **Alternative,** where culture accepts several ways of behavior but there is no difference either in the value the culture places on this pattern of behavior or its frequency of expression within the peoples;

5. **Restricted,** where certain patterns of behavior are acceptable only for some members of the society and not for everyone.

NATURE OF CIVILIZATION

Meaning of Civilization

Sir Henry Morgan attempts to trace the evolution of culture in three stages – Savagery, Barbarism and Civilization. Savagery is the state of society characterized by absence of agriculture and language. Man was a hunter-gatherer. Gordon Childe used this term to denote the earliest form of human organization. During this stage, man was supposedly cruel and wild (hence the name savagery) and lived in groups as it was necessary for the purpose of survival and security. The institutions of marriage and family were absent. There was no evidence of houses and the people used to live in the caves. The concept of God and any other form of religion was absent. Incestuous relationships predominated.

The broad trends of savagery continued in the second stage i.e., barbarism. However, this stage was also characterized by some changes. Domestication of animals like dogs, etc., for hunting purposes began in this phase. Tools to facilitate hunting developed during this phase. Group hunting resulted in a sense of collectivism. This phase saw the rise of totemism, the earliest form of religion. Family and clan system evolved.

Civilization is considered as the most advanced stage of the culture. This phase is characterized by the development of cities, language, metallurgy, science and other advancements. Civilization can be considered as a particular type of culture, but German idealists and American sociologists like McIver differentiate between culture and civilization.

In contrast to the non-material nature of culture, civilization is material. It includes material or concrete things used by man such as house, household commodities, different kinds of apparatus, instruments, weapons, pots and means of conveyance etc. According to J. L. Gillin and J. P. Gillin, civilization is a more complex, and evolved from of culture. To quote A. W. Green, "A culture becomes a civilization only when it possesses written language, science, philosophy, a specialized division of labor and a complex economy and political system". Ancient cultures did not posses all these elements and would consequently be considered as having no civilization. Franz Boas, William Ogburn and Nimkoff also treat civilization as a state that follows culture. Ogburn has written "Civilization may be defined as the latter phase of super organic culture". According to Weber, civilization includes useful material objects and the methods of producing and using them whereas culture consists of the ideals, values and the mental and emotional aspects of a group. R. K. Merton, Richard Thurnwald and many other sociologists have subscribed to this opinion.

Components of Civilization

The components of the civilization are generally physical and technological. Technique is a part of civilization. Civilization attempts at attaining physical adjustment with the environment. It represents the external structure. It involves techniques of human adjustment with nature. It is the result of processes of natural selection and social selection. The components of civilization are thus external and objective. The study of civilization includes the study of housing, means of communication, dress, industries, weapons and etc.

Relationship Between Culture and Civilization

While studying any group, anthropologists study both the material civilization and non-material culture. Since the two are closely related, such an approach is inevitable. Both culture and civilization have been developed by the same human processes. Both are complementary to each other. Culture needs a civilization for further growth. Civilization needs culture even for its vital force and survival. The two are therefore interdependent. Civilization cannot survive without strong stimulus and motive, however high

Culture and civilization are interdependent: Though we could highlight certain differences between culture and civilization, these two aspects are interdependent. Culture and civilization hardly exist without each other. The articles of civilization called "artifacts" are influenced by culture called "mentifacts". Products of civilization in turn influence culture.

The objects of civilization after a period of time acquire a cultural significance. Civilization on the other hand tries to put certain limitations on culture. It determines the degree to which cultural activity can be pursued.

Culture and civilization are interactive: Culture and civilization are not only interdependent but are also interactive. Culture responds to the stages of technological development. Civilization is a vehicle of culture. Though the influence of civilization was to some extent less in the past, today it is at its peak.

Civilization on other hand is effected by culture. Civilization cannot escape from the influence of the standards and style of the people. In case of a clash between culture and civilization, the former succeeds. Every change in culture and its valuations has its repercussions on the civilization structure. In short, civilization is the driving force of the society and culture is its steering wheel.

Difference between Culture and Civilization

In spite of the close relationship between culture and civilization, the two are very much different. This difference has been particularly pointed out in the field of literature and philosophy. For example, consider the notion of culture of T. S. Eliot. According to him, *"Culture is the product of a variety of more or less harmonious activities each pursued for its own sake, the artist must concentrate upon his canvas, the poet upon his typewriter, the civil servant upon the just settlement of particular problems as they present themselves upon his desk, each according to the situation in which he finds himself".* Such kinds of characteristics are not found in the civilization. Culture is a "causal meaningful system". Civilization on the other hand, involves techniques. Techniques are differentiations of instinctive behavior utilized to answer the challenge of nature. Most of the scientific growth is the growth of technology aimed at achieving man's adjustment with the environment. However, as A. L. Kroeber has pointed out, *"culture is different from mere physical equilibrium; it is a higher unity which should not be subjected to the categories of the inconsistent ".* Thus civilization implies a physical and animal adjustment whereas culture has much more high orientation. Thus, while technology may be a condition of the advancement of culture, it is not its fulfillment.

Civilization is concerned with the physical and external equipment of a community to ensure physical requirements. Culture, on the other hand, is concerned with internal growth. While civilization is external and objective, culture is internal and subjective. It is not mere stimulus response. It is an expression of creativity, a response of an individual and a group. This distinction between culture and civilization can be summed up in the explanation of culture richness is given by Toynbee, *"...the process which we are examining involves not merely a simplification of apparatus but a consequent transfer of energy or shift of emphasis, from some lower sphere of being or sphere of action to a higher sphere. Perhaps we shall be describing it in a more illuminating way if we call it not simplification but etherealization".* Thus cultures are born of spiritual necessities, the challenges of circumstances. Therefore, culture is particularly spiritual in nature. Civilization, on the other hand, is particularly physical, based on science and technology.

While civilization involves the efforts of the masses, cultural advance is the function of a creative minority of artists, poets, philosophers and the like. In the words of McIver and Page, "Civilization includes all those things by means of which some other objective is attained, such as a typewriter, press, lathes, motors etc. In civilization are included both basic technology, which means the authority of man over natural phenomenon, as well as special technology and modes which controls man's behavior. On the other hand, culture comprehends such elements as religion, art, philosophy, literature, music etc."

Culture and civilization are different in the following respects.

1. **Civilization has a precise standard of measurement but not culture:** The universal standard of civilization is utility because civilization is a means. Culture has no similar qualitative or quantitative standard of measurement because culture is an end in itself. The elements, ideals, values and thoughts etc., of culture change in accordance with the time and space.

   When comparing the products of civilization, we can prove which is superior and which is inferior. For example, a car runs faster than a bullock cart. None can dispute this fact. On the contrary, there is no measuring rod by which we can assess the cultural objects. Thus the paintings of Picasso may appear to some an abomination while to others they are invaluable pieces of art.

2. **Civilization is always advancing, but not culture:** The various constituents of civilization e.g., machines, means of transportation and communication etc., are constantly progressing. But concerning culture, it cannot be asserted that art, literature, thoughts or ideals of today are superior to those of the past.

3. **Civilization is transmitted without effort, but not culture:** Objects comprehended by civilization have utility and are connected with the external life of man. Hence, they can be easily adapted from one generation to another or from one country to another but culture is not communicated and adapted with equal facility because it is related to an inner tendency and can be adapted only after the appropriate inner development. It is communicated only to the likeminded. One cannot appreciate art without the quality of an artist nor can any one enjoy music without the sensitivity of a musician. In contrast to culture, civilization does not make any such demand. One may enjoy the products of civilization without sharing the capacity which creates them. Civilization may be adopted without efforts. The adoption of culture depends upon personality and nature.

4. **Civilization is borrowed without change or loss, but not culture:** When civilization is borrowed by a country or a generation other than its originator, it does not suffer any deterioration, loss or change. Railway, motor cars, airplanes, machines etc., are borrowed as they are, but the elements of culture such as religion, art, literature, thought, ideals etc., can never be borrowed in their original character.

5. **Culture is internal and an end while civilization is external and a means:** Civilization is inclusive of external things while culture is related to internal thoughts, feelings, ideals and values. Civilization is the means for the expression and manifestation of culture. Civilization is the body while culture is the soul. This implies that civilization is what we have and culture is what we are.

ETHNOCENTRISM

In order to clearly understand the concept of Ethnocentrism, we should first look at the classification of social groups into In-groups and, out-groups. William Graham Sumner elaborated this classification, along with the concept of Ethnocentrism, in his book "Folkways".

In-Groups and Out-Groups

Every individual belongs to a number of groups that are his in-groups; all other groups to which he does not belong are his out-groups. Thus the family, the college or the tribe to which a person belongs is his in-groups. In-groups call for similar attitudes and reactions in their members. Members of in-groups identify themselves with one another, they have a sense of belonging together and between them there is always a considerable degree of sympathy. In their relationships, they always display considerable amount of co-operation, mutual help, and goodwill and respect one another's rights. Group solidarity is highly placed, along with loyalty and friendliness.

These characteristics of in-groups set them apart from all other groups. All the other groups constitute for the in-groups, their out-groups. The organization of an in-group operates upon the principles of inclusion and exclusion. The members of in-group reflect their solidarity by the term "we" and project their distinctiveness through the term "they". The attitude of an individual towards out-group members is one of antipathy.

The Concept of Ethnocentrism

The fundamental principle underlying the in-group feeling, as exemplified above, is ethnocentrism. This, according to Sumner, is a characteristic of in-groups. He defines ethnocentrism as "that view of things in which one's own group is the centre of everything and others are scaled and rated with reference to it". It is an assumption that the values, the ways of life and the attitudes of one's own group are superior to those of others. The culture of the out-group is looked upon with hatred and even contempt.

According to Sumner, ethnocentrism involves a double moral standard. He says, "there are two codes of morals and two sets of mores, one for the comrade inside and other for the stranger outside. When outsiders are involved, it is meritorious to kill, plunder, practice blood revenge and to steal women and slaves, but inside none of these things could be allowed because they would produce discord and weakness".

Ethnocentrism, Sumner elaborates, is a universal phenomenon. Every group, past or present, small or large, is ethnocentric. Every group thinks of itself as best, as possessing the highest values and as having accomplished the most. This is an attitude of superiority that exists in all groups of all times and all societies.

Roots of Ethnocentrism

The roots of Ethnocentrism lie in a primordial feeling of an individual's identification with his group. This identification of an individual with his group is termed 'syngenism' by Gumplowicz.

Ethnocentrism in Primitive and Modern Societies

According to Sumner, ethnocentrism of primitive peoples differs from that of the civilized peoples. Ethnocentrism is less wide and assumes more peaceful form of expression among civilized people. To quote Sumner, "ethnocentrism in modern nations is really the sentiment of patriotism in all its philosophical fullness; that is, in its rationality and its extravagance and exaggeration".

There are three levels of ethnocentrism – Positive, Negative and Extreme Negative.

1. According to positive definition, one's own way of life is to be preferred to all others. It characterizes the way most individuals feel about their own cultures. It is, this form of ethnocentrism that gives people their sense of people-hood, group identity and place in history.
2. Ethnocentrism becomes negative when one's won group becomes the centre of everything and all others are scaled and rated with reference to it.
3. It reaches its extreme negative form when a more powerful group not only imposes its rule on another group, but also actively depreciates the things they hold to be of value.

All the human societies are ethnocentric to some extent. But the anthropologists strive to be as non-ethnocentric as possible. Franz Boaz's concept of Cultural Relativism and Malinowski's Functionalism act as guides for producing non-ethnocentric studies of different cultures.

Ethnocentrism means an exalted opinion that people have of themselves whereby they feel superior to other groups of people. It is ever-present in in-group relations. It arises out of intense "we-feeling", which unites the members of an in-group. This "we-feeling" is not inherently bad but it becomes so when it grows to such proportions that we bear hatred towards others and attempt to impose our will upon

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CULTURAL RELATIVISM

Meaning

Cultural Relativism is described as a method whereby social and cultural phenomena are perceived and described in terms of scientific analysis and detachment. It is a way through which the cultural phenomena are evaluated in terms of their significance in a given socio-cultural context.

Definition

Cultural Relativism can be defined as a method whereby different societies or cultures are analyzed objectively without using the values of one culture to judge the worth of another.

A favored way of achieving this aim is to describe the practices of a society from the point of view of its members. It contributes to objective and rational description and analysis of social phenomena in a more scientific and positivist manner.

Cultural Relativism implies that beliefs are relative to society and are not comparable between societies. It implies that the function and meaning of a trait is relative to its cultural setting. A trait is neither good nor bad in itself and it is good or bad only with reference to the culture in which it functions.

The concept of Cultural Relativism is based on the assumption that there are only few universally true absolutes that men should do, think and believe. Instead, there are historically and socially bound customs that are relative to a particular situation. The central point in the concept of Cultural Relativism is that in a particular cultural setting, something is right because it works well in that setting and others are wrong because they would clash painfully with other parts of culture.

Franz Boas established this principle as axiomatic. Cultural Relativism involves specific epistemological and methodological claims. According to the principle of cultural relativism by Melville Herskovits: "Judgments are based on experience and experience is interpreted by each individual in terms of his own enculturation"

The principle of cultural relativism does not mean that because the members of some savage tribe are allowed to behave in a certain way that this fact gives intellectual warrant for such behavior in all groups. On contrary, it means that the appropriateness of any positive or negative custom must be evaluated with regard to how this habit fits with other group habits.

The epistemological claims that led to the development of cultural relativism have their origins in the German Enlightenment. The philosopher Immanuel Kant argued that human beings are not capable of direct, unmediated knowledge of the world. All of our experiences of the world are mediated through the human mind, which universally structures perceptions according to sensibilities concerning time and space.

Cultural Relativism Vs Ethnocentrism

Cultural relativism was in part a response to Western ethnocentrism. Ethnocentrism may take obvious forms, in which one consciously believes that one's people's arts are the most beautiful, values the most virtuous, and beliefs the most truthful. Franz Boas, originally trained in physics and geography, and heavily influenced by the thought of Kant, Herder, and von Humboldt, argued that one's culture may mediate and thus limit one's perceptions in less obvious ways. He understood "culture" to include not only certain tastes in food, art, and music, or beliefs about religion. He assumed a much broader notion of culture, defined as "the totality of the mental and physical reactions and activities that characterize the behavior of the individuals composing a social group collectively and individually in relation to their natural environment, to other groups, to members of the group itself, and of each individual to himself". This understanding of culture confronts anthropologists with two problems: first, how to escape the unconscious bonds of one's own culture, which inevitably bias our perceptions of and reactions to the world, and second, how to make sense of an unfamiliar culture. The principle of cultural relativism thus forced anthropologists to develop innovative methods and heuristic strategies.

Both the concepts of ethnocentrism and cultural relativism can be placed on polar ends of a continuum, each reflecting a different approach.

Ethnocentrism	**Cultural Relativism**
1. Exclusive	1. Inclusive
2. Closed Mind	2. Open Mind
3. Culturally Insensitive	3. Culturally Sensitive

2.2 NATURE OF SOCIETY

Meaning of Society

In common parlance the word "society" is usually used to designate the members of specific in-group, persons rather than the social relationships of those persons. Sometimes the word is used to designate institutions like Arya Samaj (society) or Brahmo Samaj. Thus used, it refers to tangibles rather than observations, to specifics rather than norms. In Sociology and Anthropology, the term "society" refers not to a group of people but to a complex pattern of norms of interaction that arise among them. People are valuable only as agencies of social relationships. They are "things". A society is intangible; it is "a process rather than a thing, motion rather than structure". The important aspect of society is the system of relationships, the pattern of the norms of interaction by which the members of the society maintain themselves. Some writers include in society only those relations between men which have been embodied in associations, possessed of definite structure and organization. Thus, the relations which are not organized in definite associations are excluded from the definition of society. Such a conception of society however is incomplete since unorganized personal relations, that constitute the cavity out of which organizations emerge, cannot be ignored in the study of Sociological studies.

Some social anthropologists say that society exists only when the members know each other and possess common interests or objects. Thus if two persons are traveling in a train, their relationship of coexistence in the same compartment, of being at the same time in the same place, does not constitute society. But as soon as they come to know each other, the element of society is created. This idea of reciprocal awareness is implied in **Giddings'** definition of society as *"a number of like-minded individuals, who know and enjoy their like-mindedness, and are, therefore, able to work together for common ends"*. But this restriction of reciprocal awareness appears to be inconvenient since indirect and unconscious relations are of very great importance in social life.

Some Definitions of Society

1. "Society is a system of usages and procedures, authority and mutual aid, of many groupings and divisions, of controls of human behavior and of liberties". - McIver and Page.
2. "Society is the union itself, the organization, the sum of formal relations in which associating individuals are bound together." - Giddings.
3. "A society is a collection of individuals united by certain relations or modes of behavior which mark them off from others who do not enter into these relations or who differ from them in behavior." - Ginsberg.
4. "A society may be defined as a group of people who have lived together long enough to become organized and to consider themselves and be considered as a unit more or less distinct from other human units." - John F. Cuber.
5. "The term society refers not to group of people but to the complex pattern of the norms of

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6. "Society may be defined as the total complex of human relationship in so far as they grow out of action in terms of mean-end relationship, intrinsic or symbolic." - Parsons.
7. "Society is a complex of forms or processes each of which is living and growing by interaction with the others, the whole being so unified that what takes place in one part affects all the rest." - Cooley.
8. "Society is the complex of organized associations and instructions within the community." - G. D. H. Cole.
9. "Society includes not only the political relations by which men are bound together but the whole range of human relations and collective activities". - Leacock.

Thus, there are two types of definitions of society - the **functional definition** and the **structural definition.**

From the functional point of view, society is defined as a complex of groups in reciprocal relationships, interacting upon one another, enabling human organisms to carry on their life-activities and helping each person to fulfill his wishes and accomplish his interests in association with his fellows. From the structural point of view, society is the total social heritage of folkways, mores and institutions; of habits, sentiments and ideals. Ginsberg, Giddings, Cole and Cuber take a structural view of society while McIver, Parsons, Lapiere, Cooley and Leacock have given functional definition of society. The latter include in it different activities of the individuals and their relations with one another.

Thus, society is to be interpreted in a wider sense. It is both a structural and functional organization. It consists of the mutual interactions and mutual interrelations of the individuals but it is also a structure formed by these relations. It is a pattern, a system and not the people. Those who define it as a group of people interpret it in terms of "A society" as distinguished from "Society".

Characteristics of Society

1. **Society is a web of Social Relationship:** According to **McIver** *"Society is a web of social relationships"* which may be hundreds or thousands of types. To formulate a catalogue of social relationships would be an uphill task. The family alone is said to have as many as fifteen relationships based on age, sex and generation. Outside the family there is no limit to the number of possible relationships. **Wright** says, *"Society in essence means a state or condition, a relationship and is, therefore, necessarily an abstraction"*. In the words of Reuter, "just as life is not a thing but a process of living, so society is not a thing but a process of associating." But what is meant by a social relationship? Can the relationship existing between fire and smoke, between pen and ink, between a duplicator and a desk be called social relationship? - Obviously not, because psychical awareness of the presence of one another is lacking. Without this awareness, there can be no social relationship, and therefore no Society. A social relationship thus implies reciprocal awareness. Society, as **F. H. Giddings** expressed it, rests on *"consciousness of the kind"*. This reciprocal recognition may be the "we-feeling" of Cooley or a "common propensity" of W. I. Thomas.

2. **Society means likeness:** Likeness, therefore, is an essential pre-requisite of society. As McIver says, "Society means likeness". The sense of likeness was focused in early society on kinship, that is, real or supposed blood relationships. In modern societies the conditions of social likeness have broadened out in the principle of nationality of one world. "Comradeship, intimacy, association of any kind or degree would be impossible without some understanding of each by the other, and that understanding depends on the likeness which each apprehends in the other."

3. **Society also implies difference:** But this sense of likeness does not exclude diversity or variation. Society also implies difference and it depends on the latter as much as on likeness. A society based exclusively on likeness and uniformity is bound to be loose in socialites. If people were all exactly alike, their social relationships would become very much limited. They would contribute very little to one another. There would be little reciprocity, little give and take. All our social systems involve

relationships in which differences complement one another, for example, family rests upon the biological difference between the sexes. Besides the difference in sex there are other natural differences of aptitude, of interest, of capacity. In social life there is an indefinite interplay of likeness and difference, of cooperation and conflict, of agreement and dissent. Thus difference also is necessary to society.

4. **Difference subordinate to likeness:** It may also be borne in mind that while society means likeness, the converse of the statement is not true. Likeness may exist without giving birth to society. Similarly, while difference is necessary to society, difference by itself does not create society. Difference is subordinate to likeness. "For, it is because people have like wants that they associate in the performance of unlike functions...The likeness of men's wants is necessarily prior to the differentiation of social organization". As **McIver** observes, *"Primary likeness and secondary difference create the greatest of all social institutions - the division of labor."*

5. **Inter-dependence:** In addition to likeness, interdependence is another essential element to constitute society. Family, the first society with which we all are closely associated, is based on the biological inter-dependence of the sexes. None of the two sexes is complete by itself and therefore each seeks fulfillment by the aid of the other. This fact of interdependence is very much visible in the present world. "The history of man," as McIver has observed, "is in one aspect the history of the growth of an organization which diversifies the work of each, making each more dependent on others, in order that by the surrender of self sufficiency he may receive back thousand fold in fullness of life". This interdependence is both extensive as well as intensive. With the growth of the area of interdependence, it's forms also multiply manifold.

6. **Co-operation:** Lastly, cooperation is also essential to constitute society. Without cooperation no society can exist. Unless people cooperate with each other, they cannot live a happy life. Family rests on cooperation. The members of the family cooperate with one another to live happily and joyfully. Cooperation avoids mutual destructiveness and results in economy. For want of cooperation the entire fabric of society may collapse.

Thus likeness, interdependence and cooperation are the essential elements to constitute society. Besides these elements, McIver has also mentioned some other elements of society when he defines it as a system of usages and procedures, authority and mutual aid, of many groupings and divisions, of controls of human behavior and of liberties. This definition contains seven elements of society firstly, in every society there are some usages concerned with marriage, education, religion, food and speech etc., which differ from society to society. Secondly, there are procedures i.e., the modes of action in every society which maintain its unity and organization. Thirdly, the presence of an authority is necessary to maintain order in a society. Fourthly, no society can be stable unless there is a feeling of mutual aid among its members. Fifthly, in a society there are several groupings and divisions such as family, village, city etc. Sixthly, liberty and control go together in a society. Without liberty man cannot develop his personality. Control upon an individual's behavior is not meant to destroy his liberty but to promote and protect it.

It may however be noted that society involves more a state or quality of mind than a mere structure. People who constitute society must realize their likeness and their interdependence. They must have a commonality of feeling. Society is not a mere agency for the comfort of the beings but is the whole system of social relationships. The social relation of mother and child, for instance, is revealed in their attitude towards each other. It is this social fact and not the biological fact which constitute society. The true nature of society consists not in the external factors of interdependence of likeness or authority but in the state of mind of the beings which compose society. It is the pattern, not the people, which is termed society. It is not a group but a process of relationships. *"Society is then revealed as the extension of individuality, the transcendence of self-closedness, the vehicle of personal identity, the means of the continuation of personality through the generations, the nurse of youth, the arena of manhood and womanhood, the organization of the human conquest of nature and the refuse of the human spirit against its unpitying law, the repository of the gathered customs and filtered tradition of men, the summed experience of life, the sphere of thousand lesser conflicts and unities within the embracing purpose of one community".*

Society, Aggregation and Organism: All societies, as is clear from the above discussion, involve a certain level of association, a level closer and less complex than an organism. Before we proceed further to know about society, it is necessary to distinguish it from an aggregation on one hand and organism on the other.

An aggregation "consists of individuals collected together merely because of their passive subjection to the same external conditions". It is an accidental collection brought about by some external factors like flood, or any natural condition; for example, if the people living in a village collect outside it because flood water has entered in, it is an aggregation. In such an aggregation the individuals collected are responsive to the external stimulus and not to one another. Similarly, the insects swarming around an outdoor light form an aggregation. What is missing from such aggregation to constitute society is "mutual responsiveness" without which there can be no society. It is only when the individuals in the aggregate help each other that the basis for a society is laid. Without the element of social relationship there can be no society. The aggregation dissolves as soon as the external stimulus disappears but society will hardly dissolve itself since man is a social animal. It may however be possible that sometimes the exact line between society and aggregation may be difficult to draw when the society may be of exceedingly low grade, i.e., the element of mutual awareness may be weak.

An organism is a system of relationships, between "cells". Though dependent on the cells for its existence, it has a unity and structure of its own. The cells live and die while the organism continues. It has a life history running through the stages of growth, maturity, decay and death. It has two primary needs of nutrition and protection so that it may have the energy and the chance to live. There is, however, another fundamental need which is built with in its structure and this is the need for reproduction. After reproduction has been fully accomplished, the organism decays and disappears.

Like an organism a society also is a system of relations, but in the society this relation exists between organisms rather than between "cells". The constituent parts of society give to it a continuity and structure of its own so that the study of society cannot be reduced merely to a study of its individual members. Society is like a house which, though composed of bricks, rails, mortar and pieces of lumber, cannot be understood purely in terms of these materials, it has a form and function as a complete house.

Some thinkers like Spencer have sought to compare society to an organism. The analogy was helpful but not perfect. The cells of the organism are too rigidly fixed in their mutual relations, too completely subordinated to the organism, and too specialized to be called members of a society. They are not so spatially detached and independently mobile as are the latter. The organism is not strictly speaking a "society of cells". The "fixity", a particular characteristic of organism is not characteristic of society. The analogy between organism and society is at best an analogy and not an identity.

Nature of Society

The question of the nature of society is closely connected with the question of the relationship between man and society. Long ago Aristotle had said that man was a social animal by nature and who does not live in a society was either a beast or a God. But in what sense is a man a social animal? What is the nature of our dependence upon society? In other words, what types of relations exist between the individual and the social system?

There are mainly two theories of the relationship of man and society - the **Social Contract Theory** and the **Organic Theory.**

The Social Contract Theory views society as a contrivance deliberately set up by men for certain ends. According to this theory, all men were born for certain ends, and were born free and equal. Individual precedes society. Individuals made a mutual agreement and created society. According to **Hobbes**, man in the state of nature was in perpetual conflict with his neighbors on account of his essentially selfish attitude. In his own words, the life of man was "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short". Every man was an enemy to every man. To protect himself against the evil consequences, man organized himself in the nature was not a state of war. It was a state of "peace, good will, mutual assistance, and preservation". The only disadvantage of the state of nature was that there was no recognized system of law and justice in it. To make good this deficiency and ensure the exercise of his liberty man entered into a contract by which certain powers were conferred upon the community. **J. J. Rousseau** in his **Contract Social (1762)** held that men in the state of nature were equal, self-sufficient, and contented. They lived a life of idyllic happiness and primitive simplicity. But growth in numbers of men and the quarrels arising among them necessitated the establishment of civil society. Consequently men entered into a contract "in virtue of which everyone, while uniting himself to all, remains as free as before". According to **Adam Smith**, society is an artificial device created to foster a mutual economy.

The Organic Theory is as old as Plato and Aristotle. Plato compared society or state to a magnified human being. He divided society into three classes of the rulers, the warriors and artisans based upon the three faculties of the human soul, i.e., wisdom, courage and desire. Aristotle drew a comparison between the symmetry of the state and symmetry of the body and firmly held that the individual is an intrinsic part of society. In more recent time Bluntshli and Herbert Spencer have worked out to the minutest possible extent the parallelism between an individual organism and social organism. Bluntschli went so far as to attribute qualities of sex to the state. The state, according to him, was masculine in character, while the church was feminine. According to Spencer the state is subject to the same laws of growth and decay to which the human body is. It has its youth, its prime, its old age and death. Like the human organism it has subsidiary mines and factories, and workshops are the alimentary organs of a society. The wholesalers, retailers, bankers, railway and steamship men may correspond to the vascular system of an organism. The professional men - doctors, lawyers, engineers, rulers, priests - the thinkers, in short, perform the functions of the brain and the nervous system. Murray sums up the points of resemblance between a society and an individual organism as noted by Spencer as follows:

1. Starting as small aggregates both grow in size.
2. As they grow their initial relative simplicity is replaced by increasing complexity of structure.
3. With increasing differentiation there comes about an increasing mutual dependence of the component parts; the life and normal functioning of each becomes dependent on the life of the whole.
4. The life of the whole becomes independent with a far more prolonged nature than the life of the component parts.

On the basis of the above resemblance Spencer concluded that society is an organism; it is a social organism. The individuals are the limbs of the society that behave as the cells of the body whose activity and life is meant for the sake of the whole. Just as the limbs separated from the body have no life, similarly individuals separated from society have no life. The individuals exist in and within society.

There are, to be sure, significant resemblances between society and an organism, but there also are very significant differences. Herbert Spencer himself took note of these differences and on their basis he built up his individualistic theory of the state. He noted the following points of difference between a society and an individual organism.

1. A society has no specific form comparable to the body of an individual.
2. The units of a society are not fixed in their respective positions like those of an individual organism.
3. The units of a society are dispersed persons and are not physically contiguous like cells of the individual.
4. Society has no common sensorium, no central organ of perception and thought as an individual has.

In addition to the above points of difference, society differs from human organism in other respects as well. It is not true to say that society is born in the same way as an individual. As we know, an individual

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said of society. The union of individuals in society is not of the same types as the union of the two cells in the female body. Similarly, society does not die in the manner the individual dies. The truth is that the concept of organism can be applied to society only metaphorically, but not literally. The society is not, and cannot be an organism. Society has no body; it is a mental structure, an organization of minds for a common purpose.

SOCIETY, CULTURE AND MAN

The theories just presented above fail to explain adequately the relationship between the individual and society. The Social Contract theory puts undue emphasis upon the individual minimizing thereby the value of society which is said to be a mere instrument devised for the satisfaction of certain human needs. The organic theory almost entirely discounts the role of individual in social life. The relationship between individual and society is not one-sided as these theories seem to indicate.

Before we proceed to examine the true relationship between individual and society, we may just see in what sense man can be called a social animal. Man can be called a social animal on the following bases:

Man is social by nature: Firstly, man is a social animal by nature. Man's nature is such that he cannot afford to live alone. No human being is known to have normally developed in isolation. McIver has cited three cases in which infants were isolated from social relationships to make experiments about man's social nature. The first case was of Kaspar Hauser, who, from his childhood until his seventeenth year was brought up in the woods of Nuremberg. In his case it was found that at the age of seventeen he could hardly walk, had the mind of an infant and could mutter only a few meaningless phrases. In spite of his subsequent education he could never make himself a normal man.

The second case was of two Hindu children who in 1920 were discovered in a wolf den. One of the children died soon after discovery. The other child could walk only on all fours, possessed no language except wolf-like growls. She was shy of human beings and afraid of them. It was only after careful and sympathetic training that she could learn some social habit.

The third case was of Anna, an illegitimate American child who had been placed in a room at the age of six months and discovered five years later. On discovery it was found that she could not walk or speak and was indifferent to people around her.

These cases prove that human being is social by nature. Human nature develops in man only when he lives in society, only when he shares with his fellow beings a common life. The children cited above had a capacity to learn but failed to develop their human traits in the absence of human contacts. All this tends to show that society is something that fulfills a vital need in man's constitution. It is not something accidentally added to or superimposed on human nature. Indeed, man is social by nature.

Necessity makes a man social: Secondly, man lives in a society because necessity compels him to. Many of his needs will remain unsatisfied if he does not have the cooperation of his fellow being. Every individual is the offspring of a social relationship established between a man and a woman. The child is brought up under the care of his parents and learns the lessons of citizenship in their company. He is totally dependent for his survival upon the existence of some sort of society. If the newborn baby does not receive protection and attention by the society, he would not survive even for a day. There is no authenticated instance of a human infant who has survived on his own or has been brought up by wolves, apes, or any other lower animals. The human infant is so completely helpless that he must be given care by society. The importance of society for physical and mental development is obvious. No one can become a human being unless he lives with human beings. Fear of wild animals makes some seek cooperation of others; the satisfaction of food-hunger, etc., through exchange or barter may bring some into relation; joint action and division of labor may be found necessary for the achievement of some common end which the individual alone may not be able to secure. The need for self-preservation, which is felt by every being, makes a man social. Therefore, it is not due to his nature alone but also due to his necessities that man lives in society.

Society determines personality: Lastly, man lives in society for his mental and intellectual development. Society preserves our culture and transmits it to succeeding generations. It both liberates and limits our potentialities as individuals and moulds our attitudes, our beliefs, our morals and ideals. The mind of a man without society, as feral cases show, remains the mind of an infant at the age of adulthood. The cultural heritage directs our personality. Thus society fulfills not only our physical needs but also determines our mental equipment.

It stands beyond doubt that man is a social animal. Man requires society as a "sine qua non" condition for his life as a human being. It is not one or a few particular needs or tendencies of man that compel him to live in society but without it his personality cannot come into being.

Although the individual is a product of his society, sometimes more or less serious opposition between him and some aspects of his society may arise. He may have acquired personality which is incompatible with the circumstances in which he finds himself. Opposition between the individual and society may come from the deterioration of the social system. An individual brought up in political freedom will find the status of a slave irksome and repressive. Under compulsion he may play the role but he will resent it and come in conflict with the society producing tensions in him, which in time may release them in sudden and unprecedented acting.

On the basis of the above discussion, it may be concluded that individual and society are inter-dependent. The relationship between them is not one-sided; both are essential for the comprehension of either. Neither the individuals belong to the society or the society a mere contrivance to satisfy an individual's needs. The society itself has a value beyond the service that it renders to its members, and the individuals can thrive without society. Neither the society is inimical to the development of individuality, nor does it exist in its own right. All discussion about the question "is the individual prior to the society or is the society prior to the individual" is equivalent to the futile debate over the priority of the hen or egg. The fact is that all human beings have been born and inducted into some sort of society. In the words of McIver, "No one can really be an absolute individualist, any more than anyone can be an absolute socialist. For the individual and society interact on one another and depend on one another." Both are complementary and supplementary to each other.

Explaining the relationship between individual and society McIver observes. "Society with all the traditions, the institutions, the equipment it provides, is a great changeful order of social life, arising from the psychical as well as the physical needs of the individual, an order wherein human beings are born and fulfill themselves, with whatever limitations and wherein they transmit to coming generations, the requirements of living. We must reject any view of this pattern that sees the relationship between individual and society from merely the one or the other side.

SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

In common parlance people often use the word "Institution" to mean an organization with some specific purpose, as public or charitable institution. Sometimes it is used to denote any set of people in organized interaction as a family or club or government. In anthropology, a more precise definition is required.

McIver defined an institution as the "established forms or conditions of procedure characteristic of group activity".

According to **Woodward** and **Maxwell**, "an institution is a set or web of interrelated folkways, mores and laws which enter in some function or functions".

According to **Ginsberg**, "Institutions are definite and sanctioned forms or modes of relationship between social beings in respect to one another or to some external object".

M. T. Majumdar defines an institution as "that collective mode of response or behavior which has outlasted a generation, which prescribes a well defined way of doing things and which binds the members of the group together into an association by means of rituals, symbols, procedures and officers possessed of regulatory power".

Social institutions are integrated around a principal function of the society. An institution is an organized form of customs, dogmas, rituals and procedures. Every organization is depended upon certain recognized and established set of rules, traditions and usages. These usages and rules may be given the name of institutions. They are the forms of procedures which are recognized and accepted by society and govern the relations between individual and groups. Marriage, education and religion are important institutions.

Characteristics of Institutions

1. Every institution is characterized by some definite objectives.
2. Every institution is characterized by certain rules which it enjoins upon every individual in the society.
3. Every institution is characterized by certain definite procedures. These procedures are formulated on the basis of customs and dogmas in the society which every individual shares.
4. Collective activities of people in the society are responsible for the persistence of an institution.
5. Institutions are a means of controlling people in the society.
6. Institution is usually symbolic - the institutional aspect is not concrete but works through symbolism in any society.
7. Compared to other means of social control, an institution is more stable.
8. The primary needs of every individual are fulfilled by institution. In fact, every institution in a society is formed to fulfill these needs.

Importance of Institutions

Any human society in the world, whether primitive or modern, is characterized by culture. The survival of the society depends largely on the proper working of culture. Institutions are the media through which the culture works and the working of the culture in a proper manner is ensured by them.

It is through the medium of an institution that in any society the moral ideals, knowledge and modes of behavior are transferred from one generation to the other. This implies that the younger generations turn to the institution for answers to various problems they confront in their lives.

An institution entertains unity of human behavior because it is the institution which indicates the right path every individual has to follow in the society and it also imposes control over human behavior. Through the media of institution, a society compels its people to work collectively in conformity with social culture. Institutions are collective modes of behavior. They bind the members of a group together.

Some thinkers have distinguished between "institutions" and "institutional agencies". According to them, the term "institution" refers to the normative patterns of behavior, whereas institutional agencies are the social systems through which these normative patterns express themselves. But since there is a close integration of these normative complexes and the systems through which they are made effective, most of the writers do not distinguish between them. The common practice is to refer to social systems like family, marriage, school, church and the state as institutions.

Primary and Secondary Institutions

In every society, there are five primary kinds of institutions. However there can be differences structurally depending upon the level of society. These are the family, economy, religion, education and

Thus the secondary institutions derived from family would be the marriage, divorce, monogamy, polygamy etc. The secondary institutions of economy can be property, trade and banking. The secondary institutions of religion are church, temple, totem and taboo. The secondary institutions of education are school etc. Democracy can be cited as a secondary institution of state. Institutions may grow as do the folkways or they may be created just as laws. An important feature in the growth of institutions is the extension of power of the state over the other four primary institutions. The state exercises more power and authority through enactment of laws and coercion. An institution never becomes extinct. New institutional norms may replace the old norms, but the institution goes on, at least in the minds of the people.

SOCIAL GROUPS

It is a well known fact that man is a social animal. Any human being has an inherent tendency to live in the groups. The survival of man largely depends upon his social life. In order to survive and to satisfy his various kinds of needs, human being develops or lives in various types of assemblages. These assemblages or aggregates can be classified differently depending upon the criteria like function, structure and organization.

Meaning of Social Group

A social group is a collection of human beings. It is any collection of human beings who are brought into social relationships with one another. Some of the important definitions for the social groups are quoted here.

According to **Sheriff** and **Sheriff**, "a group is a social unit which consists of a number of individuals who stand in definite status and role relationships to one another and which possesses a set of values or norms of its own, regulating the behavior of individual members at least in matters of consequence to the group".

Bogardus defines a group "as a number of persons who have some common objects of attention, who are stimulating to each other, who have common loyalty and participate in similar activities".

According to **A. Williams**, "a social group is a given aggregate of people, playing interrelated roles and, recognized by themselves or others, as a unit of interaction".

Michael Oemsted defines a group as a "plurality of individuals who are in contact with one another, who take one another into account, and who are aware of some significant commonality".

Social relationships involve some degree of reciprocity between the individuals. It also involves some degree of awareness. A social group is a collection of individuals, who are interacting, who have common objectives of attention and participate in similar activities. The number of people who constitute a group may range from a couple to a few millions. The essence of a social group is not just closeness or living together, but there is an obvious interaction between the members who constitute it. It is this aspect of human interaction at various levels - cultural, social, economic or political - which interests an anthropologist.

Characteristics of a Social Group

1. **Reciprocal Relations:** The members of a group are inter-related to each other. An aggregate of individuals can constitute a social group only when they are interrelated to each other. This inter relations are reciprocal in nature and it constitutes a very important feature of any social group.
2. **Sense of Unity:** A feeling of sympathy and a sense of unity binds the members of any social group together. It is this characteristic feature that is responsible for the prolonged cohesiveness of any social group.

3. **We-feeling:** Defending the interests collectively and a sense of belonging together is another important characteristic feature of the social group.
4. **Common Interests:** All the members of a group share common ideals and interests. A group is constituted in order to meet these common interests and ideals.
5. **Similar Behavior:** In order to pursue the common interests, the members of a group behave in a common way and share a common behavior.
6. **Group Norms:** Every group is characterized by norms which are applicable equally to all the members of the group. Though the degree of application of these norms differs amongst members in some types of groups, group norms as a characteristic feature, is a universal phenomenon.

A social group is dynamic and not static. It may change its form and expand its activities from time to time. Sometimes the change may be swift and sudden, while at other times it may occur so gradually that its members are unaware of it. A group may give up one function after another until it finally ceases to exist or may settle down to a routine and limit its activities to a mere holding of annual meetings. It may expand its organization or may die of disorganization.

Classification of Groups

Social groups have been classified in various ways. Some scholars have given their classifications based on the simple factors like the type of memberships while the others have done it considering complex factors like the dynamics of relationships and the goals of the groups.

Simmel, a German social anthropologist, classified the groups based on the number of individuals who constitute a social group. Since the individual is the basic and elementary unit of any social group, he started with a **monad**, a single person as a unit of a group and continued to name the **dyad**, **triad** etc.

Dwight Sanderson classified the social groups on the basis of membership. He classified them into three basic types: Voluntary groups, Involuntary groups and Delegate groups.

A **voluntary group** is the one which a man joins of his own wish and will. He agrees to be a member of it and is free to withdraw his membership at any time. An **involuntary group** is usually based on kinship, and a man has no choice to what group he will belong. A **delegate group** is a group in which a man joins as a representative of a number of people either elected or nominated by them.

Ferdinand Tonnies classifies the groups into **Gemeinschaft** and **Gesellschaft** (Communities and Associations, respectively). Both of these types of the human groupings are discussed later in this chapter.

On the basis of a social group's relationship to other groups, **George Hassen** classified them into four types - Unsocial groups, Pseudo-social groups, Anti-social groups and Pro-social groups. An **unsocial group** is one which largely lives to itself and for itself and does not participate in the larger society of which is a part. It does not interact with other groups and remains aloof from them. A **pseudo social group** participates in the larger social life but mainly for its own gain and not for greater good. An **anti-social group** is one that acts against the interests of the society in which it is a unit. A **pro-social group** is the reverse of the anti-social group. It works for the larger interests of the society. It is engaged in constructive tasks and welfare of the people.

One of the most important classifications to the social groups is given by **Cooley**. He classifies the groups into two types - **Primary Groups** and **Secondary Groups**.

PRIMARY GROUPS

A primary group, according to Cooley, is the nucleus of any social organization. It is a group in which a small number of persons come into direct contact with one another. There is a mutual face to face relationship between the members and is characterized by mutual help and companionship. According to him, these groups are primary in several senses. They are fundamental in framing the social nature and ideals of an individual. The sense of "we" is highly placed in these groups. This intimate association brings about a kind of psychological fusion between the individuals and sympathy and mutual identification. These relationships are informal and personal. Such primary groups are characterized by the sense of recognition, wantedness and acceptance. These feelings contribute to the growth and reinforcement of an individual's ambitions.

Characteristics of Primary Groups

1. **Physical proximity:** Though this is a characteristic feature of a primary group, the degree of physical proximity may be defined by the culture. This feature enables to have close intimate relations between the members. Communications of ideas and needs are ensured without any disturbances.
2. **Stability:** The intimacy between the people makes a primary group a stable human grouping.
3. **Similarity of background:** The members of the primary group will and should hail from a similar background. Otherwise, as McIver says, *"There is always a level on which every group must dwell, a person who is too far above or below it, disturbs the process of group participation".*
4. **Limited self-interest:** Though members join the group to satisfy their individual interests, yet they should subordinate their interests to the central interests of the group. They must be bounded by the spirit of cooperativeness. Common interests should predominate in their minds. Such a feature is fully expressed in a primary group.

A group may be called a primary group because it exerts its influence on the individual before other groups could influence him. Family in this sense is a primary group.

Importance of Primary groups for the individual and society

One of the most important reasons for which humans join groups is that it is in a group that they get acquainted with the society by learning its rules and regulations and most importantly the culture of his society. A group is an important factor in shaping the personality of the individuals. Obviously some of the primary groups are formed to secure advantages other than those illustrated above. The most important of these inducements is the realization of the human need for spontaneous living and the provision of stimulus to each member in the pursuit of interest.

With regards to the spontaneous living, the members in a primary group come freely together. A family, a play group, a group of friends, a study group or a tribal council, comes out of its own initiative. The members of these groups do not come as representatives to any group or any quarter of the society. The interrelationships between the people who constitute a primary group are informal and the spontaneity of the relationships is more widely pronounced in these groups compared to other types of groups which demand formal interactions amongst the members. It is in these groups that all the individual's aspirations, tastes and ideas strike a harmonious note. It is in the primary group that any individual is given a fullest opportunity to express his aspirations and personality. The feelings of recognition, wantedness and acceptance which are loudly pronounced amongst the members of the primary group provide a viable and harmonious environment for a complete development of the human personality. This means that the primary groups play an important role not only in the satisfaction of the human needs but also a deliberate role in providing a proper stimulus to each of its members to develop their interests. To quote McIver in this context, *"Through participation, the interest gains a new objectivity. We see it through the eyes of others and thus it is in some measure freed from irrelevant personal implications".* It also ensures an ardent pursuit of the interests when it is widely supported.

In addition to providing an environment for a devoted pursuit of the interests, a primary group also ensures a keener participation of the rest of the members of the group for the fulfillment of an individual's goals. There is a direct cooperation and participation of other members, which makes an

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individual survive from situations of despondency. In this sense, a primary group is essentially a mode of sharing a common experience and this unity of performance is one of the most important features of the primary group.

It is important to note that the importance of a primary group is equal when it comes to a society also. Society is an organic entity. For its success and persistence it has to be continuously replenished. This replenishment is in the form of fully socialized individuals. This socialization of the individuals is undertaken at the primary group level. In this sense, primary groups are called the **"nurseries of the human nature"**. They are the chief sources of social control and are the media through which a society persists in accordance with the institutional mechanisms. Primary groups constitute the nuclei of human social organizations. The human ideals of sacrifice, kindness, sympathy, tolerance and mutual help, which are the watch words of the societal continuance, are introduced into the human psychology at a primary group level. It is not an exaggeration to say that the society's persistence and disintegration depends upon the similar conditions of the primary groups.

SECONDARY GROUPS

In the present day modern social organizations the role of the secondary groups in influencing the human personality is noteworthy. In a secondary group the human inter-relationships become more and more superficial and the human contacts literally undefined. Compared to a primary group, the human interactions are limited in scope and to a majority of extent calculated in terms of self-interests. Any member's influence over the other's personality is indirect. The relations are not face to face and not characterized by any impersonality and intimacy compared to that of a primary group.

According to **William F. Ogborn** the groups which provide experience lacking in intimacy are the secondary groups. The relationships in a secondary group, says **Landis**, are those that are relatively casual and impersonal. These relationships are more competitive rather than mutually helpful.

Characteristics of the Secondary Groups

1. **Formal and impersonal relationships:** The relationships of members in a secondary group are characterized by having impersonal and formal overtones. Due to this reason, a secondary group fails to have a personal impact on an individual and the relationships are never face to face. Intimacy is far from reality between the members. Superficiality in the group dynamics is obvious in any analysis of a secondary group.
2. **Large in size:** Majority of the characteristics highlighted for a secondary group are because of its large size compared to a primary group.
3. **Voluntary membership:** The membership in a secondary group is not mandatory or compulsory. An individual is always free to leave from the membership of the secondary group.
4. **Formalization of the rules and regulations:** One of the chief features of secondary groups is the formalization of its rules. These rules and regulations define a clear program of action with necessary division of labor. The stability of the secondary group in fact depends upon the way these rules organize the interpersonal relationships and structure.

In addition to these features, a secondary group is usually goal oriented. Moreover, an individual's status in a secondary group depends upon the nature of role he is pursuing.

Importance of the Secondary Groups

Like the primary groups, the secondary groups also have dynamic roles to play in the society. For instance, the character of division of labor of a secondary group is important to increase the efficiency of the individual and the organization. Moreover a secondary group acts as a channel for every individual of opportunity to prove his efficiency and talent. The competitive spirit acts as a catalyst for an individual to develop his natural tendencies and capabilities to their fullest level. The secondary group also helps in broadening the outlook of its members.

It can be highlighted that the primary as well as the secondary groups have an equal role to play in an individual's social life. But both these groups differ in size, kind of cooperation, structures and the relational dynamics. There is one school of thought which views this classification of the groups as irrational. Some scholars are of opinion that there cannot exist completely primary or a completely secondary group. They try to limit this classification only on the basis of relationships and not the structure and size.

REFERENCE GROUPS

In addition to the above classifications to the social groups, another important classification which is important in anthropological investigations is the one given by **Hayman**. Hayman introduced the concept of **Reference Groups** in sociology. It was later elaborated by scholars like **Linton, Turner, Merton** and **Sheriff**. According to Hayman, usually many individuals in a society have standards or values of those of others. It means that people try to imitate the standards of values and life of the others. According to Linton, there are two reasons for reference group behavior. One is the socio-economic condition and the second is the psychological level of the individual or group. According to Sheriff, a reference group is *"that group to which an individual relates himself as a part or to which he relates himself psychologically"*. According to him, in the context of reference group behavior, there are three types of members: (1) Actual members, (2) Aspiring members and (3) Potential members. There are some individuals who aspire to enter a reference group but lack the ability or capacity to so enter. Their position is one of a non-member. There are some individuals who do not have any desire to enter the other group. There are other individuals who do desire to enter a reference group but cannot enter it on account of some personal ideals.

Characteristics of Reference Groups Behavior

1. The individuals or group considers the behavior of the other individual or group as ideal behavior and imitate it.
2. The individual or group compares himself or itself with the other individual or group.
3. In reference group behavior, the individual or group desires to rise higher in the social scale and as such the group or individual comes to feel its or his defects or weakness.
4. The feeling of relative weaknesses or defects leads to the feeling of relative deprivation in the individual or group.

The concept of reference group behavior is significant, especially in the context of understanding how human behavior manifests in different social environments.

KINSHIP-BASED GROUPS AND NON-KINSHIP-BASED GROUPS

KINSHIP BASED GROUPS

The groups which are formed on the principles of kinship are the Kinship based groups. Lineage, Clan, Phratry and Moiety are the examples of kinship based groups. Kinship based groups are the ones which constitute kinsmen. The members of a kinship based group can be related to each other through birth or marriage. These are also called as **Consanguineal kin** or **Affinal kin.** The kinship based groups listed above are the ones which constitute people who are related to each other through parentage i.e., consanguineal kin. These are also called as **Descent Groups.** The membership in the descent groups is determined by rules of descent. (The rules of descent are discussed in the chapter on Kinship). Allocation of individuals to a descent group is technically known as **Filiation.** Filiation can be through the father's

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be classified into **unilineal descent groups**, **ambilineal descent groups**, **double unilineal descent groups** and **mixed descent groups.**

A **Unilineal descent group** is a kinship based group whose members reckon their descent or trace their descent through one sex only. Thus unilineal descent groups may be **Patrilineal** or **Matrilineal**; the former constituting the members who trace their descent through the male line and the latter with those who trace their descent through the female line. A patrilineal or matrilineal descent group can be a lineage, clan, phratry or moiety.

An **Ambilineal descent group** is a kinship based group whose members believe to have descended from only one person in each generation. That means, an individual traces his/her ancestry through the father in one generation but through the mother in another generation. In each generation an individual has an option regarding the lineage to which he filiates.

A **Double Unilineal descent group** is also called as double descent group. Here the members believe themselves to have descended from both the father's patrilineal group and the mother's matrilineal group.

Kin groups based on different forms of mixed descent may be of several varieties. In **parallel descent groups,** sons filiate themselves with their father's kin and daughters filiate themselves with mother's kin. In **cross-sex descent groups,** sons filiate themselves with mother's kin group and vice-versa.

NON-KINSHIP BASED GROUPS

The groups that are based on the principles other than kinship constitute non kinship based groups. The various non-kinship based groups are Band, Tribe, Age-groups and Dormitories.

BAND

The band is a simplest type of social organization. People who usually have a Hunting-gathering type of economy have a band type of social organization. The population of the band usually ranges from 25 to 300. The concentration of a band is usually small because they are predominantly nomadic. They also show a kind of seasonal migration. The band members generally camp together and also move together. The bands are generally self sufficient and are autonomous.

Bands are in a subsistent level of economy. This implies that their economy is not characterized by production of any surplus. This feature of being self-sufficient in their economy is a contributing factor for the band organization to be autonomous. Lack of surplus production contributes to an egalitarian social organization. Egalitarianism is reflected in all the members of the group having an equal status in the society, and all the members of the group show a kind of sharing and reciprocity of the goods they collect and the food they gather and hunt.

Leadership in bands is informal in the sense that there is no formal leadership and it is only situational. Any person who is an elder and experienced is made a leader and the leadership is attenuated after the purpose is fulfilled. It is this efficient leader who leads the expeditions.

One important feature to note in the band organization is that the members of this particular group establish rights over a demarcated area. Rituals are conducted by experienced and proficient old men. Usually, bands are exogamous and this would help in establishing inter-band relationship which is necessary for existence amongst the hunter gatherers.

TRIBE

George Peter Murdock defines a tribe as *"a social group in which there are many clans, nomadic bands, villages or other sub-groups which usually have a definite geographical area, a separate language, a singular and distinct culture and either a common political organization or at least a feeling of common*

The Imperial Gazette of India defines a tribe as *"a collection of families bearing a common name, speaking a common dialect, occupying or professing to occupy a common territory and is not usually endogamous, though originally it might have been so".*

According to **Bogardus**, *"The tribal group is based on the need for protection, on ties of blood relationships and on the strength of a common religion".*

The tribe is a primitive group which is pre-literate and a simple society. However there is no commonly accepted definition of a tribal group today. But it is accepted that the tribes constitute a small scale grouping that displays cultural homogeneity, uses an unwritten common language, contains segmentary social groups, and possesses a self perpetuating political organization and exhibits unity and coherence in values and world view.

Characteristics of a Tribe

1. Tribes are always characterized by having a common territory.
2. The members of the tribe are always bound by a sense of unity.
3. The members of the tribe always speak a common language or a dialect.
4. A tribe is an endogamous group.
5. Each tribe has its own political organization. There is a chief of the tribe who exercises authority over all the members of the tribe. The tribal leaders occupy an eminent place in the social organization of the tribe.
6. Religion plays an important part in the tribal social organization.
7. Tribes are characterized by having a common name.

Compared to the bands, the tribal groups are larger groups. Though hunter-gatherers are found among the tribes, these groups are predominantly sedentary. Sedentary life can be attributed to the kind of economy the tribes usually are associated with. They are involved in agriculture, animal husbandry and other types of economies. This situation leads to affiliation of the tribes to their territory and their kind of economy, social activities and also the common cultural consciousness brings a kind of integration among them, irrespective of the place they live in.

A tribe is a homogeneous group. Homogeneity can be seen in technology and also the economy. They have a simple technology and also show subsistence in their economy. They have a limited range of items for consumption, freedom for economic control of a large area and direct dependence on the environment. The social organization of the tribe is usually kinship oriented. Activity and interaction are governed by family, lineage and clan etc.

A tribal society is usually autonomous and its political organization is self-perpetuating and relies strongly on customs and influence of powerful and influential individuals in the society. A vast number of tribal societies are segmentary and egalitarian.

A tribal society mostly remains in a common territory and has a common name, speaks a common language, shares a common culture, practices endogamy and possesses a sense of mutual unity among its members.

AGE-GROUPS

All societies utilize a vocabulary of age terms just as they utilize for kinship terms. For instance, we distinguish between a "brother", "father" and "mother", so we also differentiate "infant", "adolescent" and an "adult". Age terms refer to categories based on age, or age grades. An **age grade** is simply a category of persons who happen to fall within a particular culturally distinguished age range.

Age set, on the other hand, is the term used to describe the group of persons of similar age, and sex, who move through some or all of life's stages together. In the societies with an age set system, entry into the system is based upon the universally ascribed characteristics of age and sex.

In most non-commercial societies, kinship forms the basis of organization and administration of society. However, there are some societies in which age sets cross cut kinship ties and form strong supplementary bonds.

A society showing this kind of a hierarchical organization serves the purpose of dividing, differentiating and distinguishing the population of the society by a system where a gradation of seniority and juniority is practiced. Though it is a hierarchical organization, it is also equalitarian in its nature, because the members belonging to one age set are equal in age, rank and status, passing through the stages of progressive development together. This equality is emphasized in the common dressing and uniform symbols to every age set. A distinctive status, characteristic form of behavior and a specific occupation is characterized to every age set.

A ritual called the initiation ceremony is performed in every age-set, which is the ceremonial that marks the beginning of the next higher age-set for the individual. According to the tribal or societal customs and law, special instructions are given to the individual who is undergoing this initiation rite. Physical initiations like circumcision in the boys and cliterodectomy in the females at the time of puberty are performed in some societies. These rites of purification are of great importance to the tribal organization. The initiation also involves the isolation of the individual and the adherence to strict food habits, tattooing, knocking of teeth etc.

Socialization and an orderly maintenance of the tribal way of life are the primary functions of the age groups. Socialization involves a systematic transmission of the tribal tradition from the older age groups to the younger people.

DORMITORIES

In a majority of the tribal societies there are youth organizations called Dormitories. Dormitories are usually named. The members of the dormitory usually fall in the age group of five to twenty five years. Dormitories in majority of the societies are bisexual. A very few tribal societies can be found where the dormitories are unisexual. The membership in a dormitory usually terminates with an individual's marriage. In a majority of the tribal societies membership in the dormitories is compulsory and the attendance is obligatory. Like the age groups, the membership in a dormitory is usually after elaborate initiation rituals. Usually the houses which are isolated and constructed away from the regular residential quarters of the tribal people act as dormitories.

Dormitories are the places where the youth assemble and involve in a lot of recreational activities. It is to be noted here that the life in a dormitory is not just fun and frolic, but these youth organizations have very important functions with educational implications. The members within a dormitory, by virtue of belonging to different age groups, are usually divided into seniors and juniors. The seniors are the people who are well acquainted with the tribal tradition and societal norms. This experience in the tribal lore vests in them a responsibility to impart this very knowledge to their juniors. A dormitory is the place where such enculturation and socialization of the juniors takes place. There is no proper scope for the training imparted in the dormitories. It is very broad and general, in the sense that it includes each and every aspect of the tribal life. Practical demonstrations by the seniors help in imparting education in the actual environments to the juniors. In a variety of communal endeavors, the seniors lend a helping hand to the juniors.

The dormitories are the organizations which the tribal societies have evolved to assist the families in their effort to enculturate and socialize the child and make him a sound adult, who can impart his duties without any difficulty. This is mainly because, while the family is a place where an individual is given primary socialization and informal education, the dormitories impart secondary socialization and formal education. In the Trobriand Islands, the dormitories are called Bukumatala, among the Oraon, the dormitories are named as Dhumkuria and the Gonds named theirs as Gotul.

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN AN INSTITUTION AND A GROUP

1. Group is a collection of human beings whereas an institution is a set of folkways and mores.
2. If group has an artificial creation, institution has a natural growth.
3. A group may be temporary whereas institutions are permanent.

THE COMMUNITY

Community is an area of social living marked by some degree of social coherence (McIver). An individual rarely exists alone. He is linked in many ways to his fellows who form a group. We cannot, however, expect man to become the member of all the groups existing in the world. He can establish his relations only with the groups of people who reside near him in a definite part of the territory. It is inevitable that people, who over any length of time reside in a particular locality, should develop social likeness, should have common social ideas, common traditions and the sense of belonging together. This fact of social living and common specific area gives birth to a community.

Many scholars have variedly defined a community. According to **Mannheim**, "a community is any circle of people who live together and belong together in such a way that they do not share this or that particular interest only, but a whole set of interests".

According to **Bogardus**, *"a community is a social group with some degree of "we feeling" and living in a given area"*.

According to **Osborne** and **Neumeyer**, *"a community is a group of people living in a contiguous geographic area, having common centers of interests and activities, and functioning together in the chief concerns of life"*.

For **Kingsley Davis**, *"a community is a smallest territorial group that can embrace all aspects of social life"*.

According to **Ginsberg**, *"a community is a group of social beings living a common life, including all the infinite variety and complexity of relations which result from that common life or constitute it"*.

For **Talcott Parsons**, *"a community is that collectivity, the members of which share a common territorial area as their base of operation for daily activities"*.

An analysis of the above definitions reveals the fact that there are two distinctive directions which the scientists have adopted. While some writers have given the territorially based conceptions of the community, emphasizing its ecological aspect, others have adopted a psychological emphasis in their thinking about the community. **Don Martindale** is the most explicit writer who has denied the necessity for a territorially based conception of community. He has spoken of the community not as a term for an area where people live but for a kind of integrated system of social life in which geographical area is secondary or irrelevant. However the general consensus is that both the connotations are inevitable in any analysis of the concept of community.

The Elements of Community

1. **Group of People:** Community is a group of people. Whenever the individuals live together in such a way that they share the basic conditions of a common life, they form a community.
2. **Locality:** A group of people forms a community when it begins to reside in a definite locality. A community always occupies a territorial area. The area need not be fixed for ever. People may change their area of habitation from time to time just as a nomadic community. However, most communities

extending facilities of communication in the modern world, the territorial bond has been considerably weakened, yet, the basic character of locality as a social classifier has never been transcended.

3. **Community Sentiment:** Community sentiment means a feeling of belonging together. It is a 'we feeling' among the members. In modern times this sentiment is lacking amongst the people occupying a specific local area. A mere neighborhood does not create a community especially when the community sentiment is lacking. Therefore, to create a community the sentiment of common living must be present among the residents of the locality.
4. **Permanency:** A community is not transitory. It essentially includes a permanent life in a definite place.
5. **Naturality:** Communities are not made or created by an act of will but are natural. An individual is born in a community.
6. **Likeness:** In a community there is a likeness in language, customs, mores etc. According to **Green**, *"A community is a cluster of people living within a narrow territorial radius, who share a common way of life"*.
7. **Wider ends:** In communities the people associate not for the purpose of a particular end. The ends of a community are wider.
8. **A Particular Name:** Every community has some particular name. In the words of **Lumley**, *"It points identity, it indicates reality, it points out individuality, it often describes personality and each community is something of a personality"*.
9. **No legal Status:** A community has no legal status. It cannot sue nor can it be sued. In the eyes of law, it has no rights and duties.

The criteria of "Role feeling" and "Dependency feeling" in a community are the important to be considered. By **role feeling** we mean that every person has a feeling of occupying certain position in the community and because of this role, he/she has to perform certain functions. As for the **dependency feeling**, an individual in a community is aware of the feeling that he/she is dependent on the community for basic physical, psychological and social conditions of life which are necessary for one's existence. A community cushions an individual against loneliness and provides an individual with all the wants necessary for his survival.

A community may be big or small. A big community such as a Nation will contain within it a number of small communities and groups with more close bonds of unity and more numerous common qualities. Today, efforts are being made to extend the limits of community so as to include the whole earth and create one world of community.

Smaller communities like village or neighborhood are the examples of the primitive world. With the expansion of community to the dimensions of a nation, and even the world, smaller communities now remain only in degree. Both the types of the communities, big or small, are essential to the full development of life. While the larger community provides peace and protection, the smaller provides friends and friendship. Both are necessary for full life process.

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN A GROUP AND COMMUNITY

1. Group is an artificial creation and community has a natural growth.
2. Group is formed to realize some specific purpose or purposes, and community includes the whole circle of social life.
3. Membership of group is involuntary and membership of community is compulsory.

5. Group is a part of the community and community on the other hand is a whole.

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN INSTITUTION AND COMMUNITY

1. Institution is an organization of laws and procedures; community is a group of human beings.
2. Institution is formed for the fulfillment of certain needs, where as the community forms when a group of people share common locality and community sentiments.
3. Institution is abstract and community is concrete. Hence people are members not of an institution but of a community.
4. Every institution is related to a particular sphere of life. Community is related to social life as a whole.
5. An institution fulfills primary needs where as the community does not have any such definite aim.
6. An institution depends upon collective activity where as community depends upon mutual relations.
7. An institution governs a particular type of behavior which is not seen in a community.
8. The structure of an institution encompasses workers, festivals and rituals besides social relations. The structure of a community is inclusive of the groups of human being, community sentiments and social relations.
9. An institution is indicative of procedures where as a community is indicative of an organization.
10. An institution draws its life breathe from associations and communities where as a community has a spontaneous growth.

ASSOCIATION

An association is a group of people organized for a particular purpose or a limited number of purposes.

According to **McIver**, an association is *"an organization deliberately formed for the collective pursuit of some interest or set of interests, which its members share"*.

Ginsberg defines an association as *"a group of social beings related to one another by the fact that they possess or have instituted in common, an organization with a view to securing a specific end or specific ends"*.

According to **G. D. H. Cole**, an association is *"any group of persons pursuing a common purpose by a course of cooperative action extending beyond a single act and for this purpose agreeing together upon certain methods of procedure, and laying down, in however rudimentary a form, rule for common action"*.

Bogardus defines an association as a *"working together of people to achieve some purpose"*.

To constitute an association there must be certain basic prerequisites. They are:

1. A group of people
2. These people must be organized ones i.e., there must be certain rules for their conduct in the group and
3. They must have a common purpose of a specific nature to pursue.

Thus family, church, trade union etc., are all the instances of an association. Associations may be formed on several bases. For example, on the basis of duration i.e., temporary or permanent, like Flood relief association which is temporary and State which is permanent, or on the basis of power i.e., sovereign like

biological like the family, vocational like Trade unions or Teacher's association, recreational like Tennis club or Philanthropic like charitable societies.

Associations vary in many ways. But the most important type of difference among the associations is the membership which may be voluntary or involuntary. The qualities or the criteria for the membership in an association fall into three categories.

1. **Universally Ascribed Qualities**, which are those an individual is born with and thus acquires automatically, like Age and Sex.
2. **Variably Ascribed Qualities**, which are those acquired at birth but which differ among persons of a given age or sex category such as region of birth or physical conditions etc.
3. **Achieved Qualities**, which are those the individual acquires by doing something.

Classification of Associations

Involuntary and Voluntary Associations

Age sets which were discussed earlier are an example of involuntary associations. They are characterized by involuntary membership where an individual, by virtue of his birth (age), automatically becomes a member in the association.

Voluntary associations are the ones where the membership is left to the choice of an individual. Such organizations as trade unions, charitable organizations, political parties, bridge clubs, and various other associations, of which there are tens of thousands in our own and other complex societies, are examples of Voluntary associations. In all of these organizations, the qualities required for membership are "achieved" rather than ascribed or determined by birth. Generally clubs of this kind are more numerous in the societies which are complex and diversified. They serve to bring together sets of people with common interests, aspirations and qualities. Opportunities to work for what are regarded as worthwhile social goals, or for self-improvement or to satisfy a need for new and stimulating experiences, are among the many motivations for joining these associations. Not the least is the identification with a corporate body, and through it, the acquisition of status and influence.

Classification Based on Interests

One of the most comprehensive classifications is given by **McIver** using the basis of interests as the criterion. In a complex society, associations tend to be specialized so that each stands for a particular type of interest. In primitive society where there is less division of labor and where social change is slower, there are few associations and they are more inclusive. A newly developed interest does not so often create, as with a modern society, a new association, but is incorporated in the general body of interests pursued by the existing organizational network. Thus, in primitive life, associations lack the specific limited functional character which the associations in a modern life possess. They take such forms as age-groups, kin-groups, sex-groups, secret societies etc., rather than the economic or professional or political varieties familiar to us living in modern societies.

On the basis of interests, associations are divided into **unspecialized** and **specialized**. By unspecialized we refer to the fact that they may stand for the total interests of a group or by specialized, they may represent either a particular interest or a particular method of pursuing interests. McIver included State among specialized associations because, in spite of the vast range of its interests, it works through the special agencies of law and government.

Unspecialized associations are less characteristic of modern society than specialized associations. Specialized associations are in turn classified in terms of the distinction between **Primary** and **Secondary interests**. By primary interests, McIver meant those interests which have for men a final value, which are ends in themselves. By the latter we mean those interests which by their intrinsic nature where we classify culture as an end in itself and civilization as a means to an end. McIver classified the economic, political and technological interests under secondary interest and other interests like Social Intercourse, Health, Religion, and Sex under the Primary interests. McIver placed another larger group of interests, the **educational**, in an intermediate position between secondary and primary, since they involve both means and ends, since they are both utilitarian and cultural. All genuine education is at the same time instrumental equipment for living and itself a cultural mode of life.

Characteristics of Association

1. **Association is a Concrete Form of Organization:** Since association is a group of persons collected for some specific purpose or aim, it has a concrete form that is tangible.

2. **Associations are established:** Associations, unlike society, are not born spontaneously but are established. They are established to pursue some definite goals or to satisfy some motives or cause. They are established in such a way that their working, including that of the constituting members and their behavior, are governed and guided by rules and regulations.

3. **Associations have determined aims:** Associations cannot be established without any particular aim. Solutions to the needs and problems of human beings are motive forces that culminate in establishing associations. In fact it is the aims and objectives of an association that give to the latter its distinctive identity.

4. **Compliance to the Rules and Regulations is Mandatory:** Only those individuals who follow the rules and regulations, on the basis of which the association is floated, become or are accepted as members. These rules also operate as or contain within themselves, the code of conduct which governs the behavior of the members of association. These rules also enjoin upon the member a compulsion or obligation to cooperate with fellow members to achieve the goals and aims of the association for which it is established.

Factors Responsible for Formation of Association

1. **Role of Interests:** Attitudes encourage or discourage the process of organizing, but they do not create organizations. In the formation of associations, the role played by interests is greater than that of attitudes. In fact, associations primarily develop with an intention of providing means of attaining interests of the members in a society. They are formed whenever people recognize a common interest. This interest should be sufficiently distinct to be capable of more effective promotion through collective action. However, the prerequisite for the formation of an association is that the people's differences outside the field of this interest should not be so strong as to prevent the agreement involved in its formation.

2. **Heterogeneous and Specialized Community:** A heterogeneous and specialized community offers more opportunity for creation of an association than a simple or primitive community. This is because, in a heterogeneous community, we are able to distinguish particular interests from general concerns and moreover, the very fact of specialization makes it necessary for formation of these groups. Apart from these, the constant changes in a heterogeneous community precipitate conditions that warrant the formation of new groups.

3. **Role of Leadership:** For the formation of association a mere recognition of interests that can be promoted by an organization is not enough. This is because inertia, prejudices and problems have to be overcome. For this, the role of leadership is important. Usually, the initiative, enthusiasm and energy of one or a small group of persons prepare the ground for the formation of an association. Leaders seek to establish attitudes in potential members favorable to the formation of an association due to sheer devotion to cause, power or economic gain and / or a combination of all the three.

Difference Between Association and Institution

1. Institutions constitute law or customs where as associations are comprised of human groupings.
2. Associations have a concrete form and a definite structure whereas institutions have no form and are abstract.
3. Institutions evolve while associations are formed.
4. Associations lack the stability of an institution.
5. Institution is a procedure of working while an association is an organized group.
6. Institution indicates procedure of work and association indicates membership. Hence man is not a member of an institution but of an association.
7. Institutions are permanent and associations may be temporary.
8. Institutions aim at fulfillment of primary needs where as associations aim at other kinds of definite secondary objectives.
9. Institutions are depended upon human activities where as associations depend on mutual cooperation.
10. Institutions are based on customs and dogmas whereas associations are based on laws framed after rational considerations.
11. Institution implies compulsory observance of law whereas the observance of laws in an association is limited only as long as the membership continues.
12. Institutions are of purely symbolic nature and have no names where as associations are of concrete nature and have a definite name.

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

PRINCIPLES OF SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

All humans have differences. These differences may be in terms of their biological attributes like age, sex and race or they may be different in terms of their social attributes. Particularly, the social differences may exist in terms of the distribution of social rewards like wealth, prestige associated with life style and power, etc. When these biological differences or social differences come to be socially evaluated in terms of superiority and inferiority, **social inequality** will result. Thus, social inequality is a "socially created" inequality based on social or biological differences.

Social inequality is a universal phenomenon. In all societies at all times, one form of social inequality or the other has always existed. Social inequality can either exist in the form of a hierarchy of groups or individuals, or it may exist without the creation of a hierarchy. In the former case it is called **"Social differentiation"**; for example, in almost all societies, men and women are treated unequally, but there is no hierarchical ranking of men over women. On the other hand, if social inequality manifests itself in the form of a hierarchy involving ranking of groups, then it is known as **"Social Stratification"**. Thus Social Stratification is a particular case of social inequality. The term "Social Stratification" refers to ranking of groups in a hierarchy based on unequal distribution of societal rewards like wealth, prestige associated with the lifestyle and power. Social stratification is essentially a group phenomenon.

Of late, it is being said that the concept of social stratification is no longer relevant to analyze social inequality in advanced industrial societies. It is being suggested that in these societies social stratification is being replaced by a continuous hierarchy of unequal status positions. Thus the new ranking is no longer a ranking of groups but of individual status positions. Such a phenomenon is being described as social hierarchy. However, social stratification is a universal phenomenon. As **Pitrim Sorokin** has noted *"Unstratified society with real equality of its members is a myth which has never been realized in the history*

DEFINITION OF SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

1. **Ogburn and Nimkoff:** "The process by which individuals and groups are ranked in a more or less enduring hierarchy of status is known as stratification".
2. **Sorokin:** "Social stratification means the differentiation of a given population into hierarchically superimposed classes. It is manifested in the existence of upper and lower social layer. Its basis and very essence consists in an unequal distribution of rights and privileges, duties and responsibilities, social values, social power and influences among the members of a society."
3. **Gisbert:** "Social stratification is the division of society into permanent groups or categories linked with each other by the relationship of superiority and subordination".
4. **Kurt B. Mayer:** "Social Stratification is a system of differentiation which includes a hierarchy of social positions whose occupants are treated as superior, equal or inferior relative to one another in socially important respects".
5. **Lundberg:** "A stratified society is one marked by inequality, by differences among people that are evaluated by them as being 'lower' and 'higher'".

PROCESS OF SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

The process through which every society socially stratifies its structure is depicted in the following points.

1. Society differentiates its members in terms of certain values it associates with the roles they have been allocated to.
2. Society compares and ranks individuals on the basis of these values.
3. Society distributes rewards differentially to different positions. According to Kingsley Davis, these rewards are either economic, or those associated with prestige and leisure, which are attached to or built into the social positions.
4. Due to differential distribution of rewards, there is also a differentiation of prestige and esteem which people acquire. This leads to social stratification.

Thus, inequality of status or rank differentiation is the distinguishable feature of social stratification. The individuals and groups are rated according to the positions, opportunities and privileges that they enjoy or don't. Social stratification, because of the differential reward allocation, tends to restrict social interaction, so that there is more interaction of a given sort within strata than between strata.

NATURE OF SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

It is important to understand and appreciate the nature of social stratification before we proceed with further analysis of this concept. The following are the salient points that highlight the nature of social stratification, according to **Gerald D. Berremman.**

1. **Social Stratification is a Moral Phenomenon:** Social stratification is a moral phenomenon because it is utilized by the people, who man these strata created, to evaluate one another.
2. **Social Stratification is a Structural Phenomenon:** Social stratification is a structural phenomenon because it brings about structural and social differentiation in the human society.
3. **Social Stratification is a Behavioral Phenomenon:** Social stratification is a behavioral phenomenon because people act according to the evaluations they have made about one another in the society, using social stratification as a context.

4. **Social Stratification is an Interactional Phenomenon:** Social stratification is an interactional phenomenon because of the reason that people's actions are inter-personal in nature.
5. **Social Stratification is a Material Phenomenon:** Social stratification is a material phenomenon because these actions at the inter-personal levels entail differential access to goods, services and opportunities for people in the societies.
6. **Social Stratification is an Existential Phenomenon:** Social stratification is an existential phenomenon because people experience their statuses and respond to them cognitively.

The above analysis of the nature of social stratification reveals that the phenomenon is very complex and is an inevitable and omnipotent entity that touches every part of every life.

CRITERIA FOR SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

Different bases of social stratification have been adopted from time to time for determining the status of persons. In fact, there are so many criteria employed by human societies that one actually wonders whether the social strata created by the process of social stratification are any definite groups or are simply social categories with no definable boundaries and membership criteria that are arbitrarily fixed. The following are the most prominent criteria chosen by a majority of societies.

BIRTH: Status was fixed in early medieval and feudal societies through the criterion of birth. This resulted in the stratification of society into groups of slaves and slave masters, nobles and serfs, the gentry and the commonality. When status is determined by the criterion of birth, the system of social stratification becomes rigid and integrated. This system also makes social mobility impossible. The attitude of members of each social strata becomes mechanical and to some extent fatalistic.

WEALTH: The growth of the middle class that was historically responsible for revolutionizing the feudal system and secured a new definition of social status in terms of wealth, especially after the social and economic developments happened. Under the feudal system the principle form of wealth was the land. In fact the whole system of feudal relationships was based on land ownership, which was the elemental fact in the feudal structure. The idea of subservience, loyalty, duty, and honor depended on this intrinsic fact that one man holds land from another who thereby is his superior.

With the progress of Industrial Revolution, and with the growth of commercial, financial and factory production enterprise, wealth was redefined so that land was now subordinated to the new forms of money and credit. The evolution of wealth as an independent social value weakened birth as the controlling factor of status. Status now came to be defined in terms of wealth. A class system came into existence which was not rigid but permitted persons of initiative and enterprise to rise on the basis of their individual achievements. The accidental factor of birth no longer determined once for all the social position of the persons. Instead an open class structure evolved in which persons could freely enter. In the new mobile capitalistic society wealth took on a more determinative role. In modern societies there is a fairly close relationship between economic and social status. The traditional class demarcations were blurred and a new social structure was given birth to. Wealth now penetrated all social divisions and provided a universal and significant basis for social stratification. Those classes were demarcated as an upper class, a middle class and a lower class.

OCCUPATION: In modern communities wealth is the primary determinant of social stratification. It is the possession of wealth for most part which determines the sort of education an individual is likely to receive and consequently the range of occupations open to him. There is an intimate relation between the social class and the occupation it follows. Occupation, while not an altogether accurate indication of status, is a fair index of a social class, its mode of life and general social standing. For example, in modern societies, type of occupation is a particularly useful general index of social class. The so-called white collar jobs carry greater prestige than the jobs otherwise, though the former may not yield greater income. If the lower paid teacher is held in a greater esteem than the better paid technician, obviously, income does

This leads to the question as to what factors affect the prestige of an occupation. According to Davis, two factors determine the relative rank of different occupations: First, the functional importance of an occupation and second, the scarcity of personnel for the occupation relative to demand. The prestige of an occupation is also affected to some extent by the average income of those who follow it. Another important factor is the source of remuneration of those who follow it. Thus, a private firm may pay higher income to a particular occupation than a philanthropic institution. It may, however, be noted that income as an independent factor is only a rough index of the prestige of an occupation.

POLITY: The political system is an important determinant of the social system, especially in a modern society. A democratic political system aims to abolish the social distinctions and establish social equality, which means that no person will be rated high or low on the basis of one's income, occupation or birth. An aristocratic political system, on the other hand, starts with the belief that some are born to rule and others to be ruled. Such a system stratifies the society into distinct classes of rulers and the ruled. In every society rulers have enjoyed a higher status. In a democracy also, the legislators and ministers enjoy a higher prestige, though some of them may even be illiterate.

EDUCATION: Social class and education interact in two ways. Firstly, to get higher education one needs money. The children of wealthier classes can get better education and ride up to the highest standards of social hierarchy. The poorer youth cannot afford to meet the expenses of higher education and so are left at the bottom of the social hierarchy. Secondly, one's amount and kind of education affects the class rank he will secure. Higher education brings not only occupational skills; it also brings changes in tastes, interests, goals, etiquette and speech.

DIMENSIONS OF SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

The search for adequate framework to explain and analyze the systems of stratification has led many sociologists to accept the notion that "societies are stratified in the three separate dimensions of Class, Status and Power". These three dimensions are christened "**Weber's Triumvarate**", as is obvious, after the proponent of this theory.

This theory implies that there are three principle dimensions for the concept of social stratification - **Class**, which signifies the economic inequalities, **Status**, which implies the differences in styles of life and prestige and **Power**, which is the inequalities exiting in the power structure. This theory of **Max Weber** is considered the fundamental classification of social stratification under which all other types are subsumed. However, there is also a possibility that the three dimensions can coincide. We shall now look into this concept in some detail.

Class refers to the person's productive role with its correlates of property and power. This depends, according to Weber, on a person's market situation, i.e., whether he owns property or not. Status refers to the social estimation and prestige, the way in which prestige is differentially distributed. The result is that people on different levels of social structure are marked off from those below by complex of thinking, feeling etc. Power refers to power inequalities that exist in a society. However, a man possessing wealth and capital has resources through which he can exercise both economic and political power and usually can also buy his way into superior status group. Thus class and status coincide. However, this is not always possible. Take for example, the blacks in South Africa, who, however wealthy, cannot occupy the higher status group occupied by white populations in the apartheid regime. Similarly, within the same class, say lawyers and doctors, there are different status groups depending upon speech, education etc. Similarly, power and class can also be co-terminus.

FORMS OF SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

Social stratification may be based on a variety of interpreting principles and hence there may be different types of stratification according to the relative weight which a society gives to characteristics like inborn qualities, material possessions and performance as well as according to the rigidity of the strata or the grades and the possibility of mobility between them, the nature of the sanctions by which the divisions are enforced, and the degree of functional specialization. The principle forms are the caste system, the estate system and class system.

THE CASTE SYSTEM

From times immemorial, India and its dwellers have been attracting people all over the world who ranged from travelers to conquerors who stayed back to study the Indian society and culture and went to their own countries carrying with them vivid descriptions of India, which may have been exaggerated, but it shows the interest Indian society and culture have generated among the people worldwide. What struck most of these voyagers to India was the distinctive social order that was later termed as the "Caste System".

Definition of Caste

The term "Caste" has been derived from the original Portuguese word "Casta", meaning a group with a typical breed, race or hereditary qualities. Though the word "caste" has been derived from a foreign word, surprisingly the concept of caste system is unique to India - to be specific, to the Hindu society. The English word caste corresponds more or less closely to what is locally known as the "Jati". Many definitions have been put forth in this context.

1. **Risley:** "Caste is a collection of families or group of families bearing a common name; claiming a common descent from a mythical ancestor, human or divine; professing to follow the same hereditary calling, and regarded by those who are competent to give an opinion as forming a single homogeneous community".
2. **Lundberg:** "A caste is merely a rigid social class into which members are born and from which they can withdraw or escape only with extreme difficulty".
3. **E. A. H. Blunt:** "It is an endogamous or a collection of endogamous groups, bearing a common name, membership of which is hereditary; imposing on the members certain restrictions in the matter of social intercourse; either following a common traditional occupation or claiming a common origin; and generally regarded as forming a single homogeneous community".
4. **H. Cooley:** "When a class is somewhat strictly hereditary, we may call it a caste".
5. **Henry Maine:** "Castes started as natural division of occupational classes and eventually upon receiving the religious sanction, became solidified into the existing caste system. The caste system comes into being when it becomes an integral part of religious dogma which divides the people into superior and inferior groups with different responsibilities, functions and standards of living".
6. **McIver:** "When status is wholly predetermined, so that men are born to their lot without any hope of changing it, then class takes the extreme form of caste".
7. **Martindale:** "Caste is an aggregate of persons whose share of obligations and privileges are fixed by birth, sanctioned and supported by religion and usage".
8. **Green:** "Caste is a system of stratification in which mobility up and down the status ladder, at least ideally, may not occur".

Meaning of Caste

According to the Hindu tradition caste system owes its origin to the four varnas, which seem to have been originally the four classes into which the Rig Vedic society was divided i.e., the three categories of the twice born, the Brahmins, the Kshatriyas and the Vaishyas and a fourth category of the Sudras, below whom were the outcastes. The earlier studies show that it was the purity of the Aryan faith which gave rise to the caste system. According to Bougle, caste arose from the idea of hereditary specialization.

duty imposed by birth upon them. The word "caste" makes us think not only of hereditary appointed work but also of unequally divided rights i.e., hierarchy. Caste is not only a monopoly but also a privilege. By birth, one individual is bound to pay heavy taxes while another escapes them. Personal status, according to Bougle, is determined by the rank of the group to which one belongs. So it is bound to be said that inequality is also a product of caste system.

Characteristics of Caste

Prof. G. S. Ghurye, while commenting on the efforts of various sociologists to define caste, has stated that "With all the labors of these students, however, we do not possess a real general definition of caste. The best way to understand the term 'caste' is to examine the various factors underlying the caste system". According to him, the earliest account of this institution was given by the 3rd century foreign visitor to India, Megasthenes. He mentions two of the features characterizing the institution of caste. He says, "It is not permitted to contract marriage with a person of another caste, or to change from one profession or trade to another, nor for the same person to undertake more than one, except when he is of the caste of philosophers, when permission is given on account of dignity". Thus, according to Megasthenes, two elements of caste system are, there is no intermarriage and there can be no change of profession.

According to Ghurye, the following are the six characteristics of caste system that will completely explain the concept.

1. **Segmental Division of the Society:** The society is divided into various castes with a well developed life of their own, the membership of which is determined by the consideration of birth. The status of a person does not depend on his wealth but on the traditional importance of the caste in which he had the fortune of being born. Caste is hereditary. No amount of wealth and no amount of penance or prayer can change his caste status. Status is determined not by vocation but by birth. McIver says, *"Whereas in eastern civilization the chief determinant of a class and status was birth, in the western civilization of today wealth is a class determinant of equal or put up greater importance, and wealth is a less rigid determinant than birth"*. There are regular caste councils to regulate and control the conduct of all caste members. This council rules over the whole caste and is the most powerful organization which keeps the members in their proper places. The governing body of caste is called Panchayat which literally means a body of five members, but in fact there are many more who meet whenever decisions are taken. It takes cognizance of the offenses against the caste taboos which prevent members of the caste from eating and drinking or smoking with members of other castes; against sex regulations which prohibit marriage outside the caste. It decides civil and criminal matters. The Panchayat was so powerful that during the British regime it retried cases which were once decided by the State in its judicial capacity. In short, caste is its own ruler. It is a small and complete social world in itself, a quasi-sovereign body, all inclusive and marked off from one another and yet subsisting within the larger and wider society. The citizens owe their moral allegiance to the caste fist, rather than to the community as a whole.

2. **Social and Religious Hierarchy**: The second important feature of caste system is that it has got a definite scheme of social precedence. Each caste has a customary name that helps to set it apart. The whole society is divided into distinct classes with a concept of high and low. Thus, Brahmins in India stand at the apex of the social ladder. According to Manu, the Brahmin is the lord of this whole creation, because he is produced from the purest part of the Supreme Being, namely, the mouth. By his mere birth as a Brahmin, a person is the living embodiment of the eternal law. Feeding the Brahmins is one of the acknowledged ways of enjoying religious merit. A Brahmin is entitled to whatever exists in the world. The whole world is his property and others live on his charity.

   In contrast to the high position enjoyed by Brahmins, the Sudras were subjected to manifold disabilities. They could not use the public roads nor avail themselves of public wells. they were forbidden to enter Hindu temples, to attend public schools. Servitude is proclaimed to be a

permanent condition of Sudras. A member of the first three classes must not travel in the company of Sudras. They were considered to impart some sort of defilement to objects like bed and seat by their touch. Severe punishments were prescribed for a Sudra in case he committed certain types of offense.

3. **Restrictions on Feeding and Social Intercourse:** Another element of caste is the complex of taboos by which the superior castes try to preserve their ceremonial purity. Each caste develops its own sub culture. Thus, there are restrictions on feeding and social intercourse and minute rules are laid down with regard to the kind of food that can be acceptable by a person and from what castes. The theory that pollution being communicated by some castes members to other higher ones, places severe restrictions on the extent of social intercourse. Thus there are restrictions with regard to distances.

4. **Endogamy:** A person born in a caste remains in it for life and dies in it. Every caste is sub-divided into sub-castes, every one of which forbids its members to marry persons outside it. Thus, each sub caste is endogamous. This principle of endogamy is so strict that Westermark regards it as the "essence of the caste system". There are few exceptions to this general rule of endogamy which are due to the practice of Hypergamy. Excepting the cases of Hypergamy, each caste has to contract matrimonial alliances within its own limits. Any man violating this law is put out of his own sub-caste.

5. **Lack of Unrestricted Choice of Occupation:** Members of a particular caste are expected to follow the caste occupation. They cannot change to other occupations. The abandonment of hereditary occupation is not thought to be right. No caste would allow its members to take any occupation which was either degrading like toddy tapping or impure like scavenging. It was not only the moral restraint of one's occupation, but also the restriction put by other castes whose members did not allow members of the castes other than their own to follow their occupation.

6. **Civil and Religious Disabilities:** Generally, the impure castes are made to live on the outskirts of the city. All over India the impure castes were not permitted to draw water from wells used by the members of other castes. The public schools did not admit impure castes. A Brahmin could not be punished with capital punishment and if was imprisoned, he was given a more liberal treatment than the other classes.

Nature of Caste

The spirit of caste reigns in a society i.e., different groups of which the society is composed, repel each other rather than attract. One tries to isolate itself, makes every effort to prevent its members from contracting alliances or even from entering into relations with neighboring groups. A man refuses to seek a wife outside his traditional circle; he will more over refuse any food not prepared by his fellows and regards the mere contact of "strangers" as impure and degrading. Thus, Bougle says that Horror of misalliance, fear of impure contacts and repulsion for all those who are unrelated, are the characteristic signs of the spirit of caste. He further emphasizes that the spirit of caste in India unites the three tendencies of repulsion, hierarchy and hereditary specialization, which gives a complete definition to the caste system. According to Berremman, castes are exhaustive, exclusive and discrete i.e., every person is a member of such a group and of only one; is clearly recognized by others as a member of his separate group. Membership in his group influences most of his roles and activities.

THE CLASS SYSTEM

In the modern world, class stratification is the dominant kind of stratification. In a social class system of stratification, there are no legal distinctions between classes - all are subject to the same laws and all have equal citizen rights. A person's position in the social order of ranking is not determined by birth; it depends to a very great extent upon achievement and his ability to use to advantage the inborn characteristics and wealth that he may possess. The barriers to mobility are largely those of opportunity.

This system of stratification occurs in most industrial societies; it is found less in a rural or less advanced societies.

Factors Determining Class Status

1. **Property:** A man who owns property such as factory, capital and land acquires a social standing because property is regarded by our society as a symbol of rank or status. Power also goes with property.

2. **Income:** The distribution of income, both cash and real income, among individuals or families, in all capitalist countries takes the form of a gradient, with a relatively small group at the top receiving huge amounts and at the other extreme a somewhat larger number of persons in the "negative income" bracket. In the socialist societies of the Soviet Union and China there were also marked differences in income, though this does not lead to very unequal standards of life.

3. **Occupation:** Occupation is an aspect of economic system which often influences social class structures. Some occupations, particularly the professions, are more highly regarded than others. Talcott Parsons and Rogoff have stressed that in the United States and France, the principal criteria of class status "are to be found in the occupational achievements of men", for prestige is attached to occupation.

4. **Education:** Certain forms of education, such as convent school and public school often tend to help in getting some of the better type of jobs.

5. **Power:** Power will usually enable a person to get ahead of his fellows. It usually belongs to those who belong to the higher social classes because their wealth, education and type of occupation give them the opportunity to exert some influence on the running of the country than members of the lower class. The power of some organized trade unions to exercise considerable influence on policy decisions because of their threat to strike is an exception.

It should however be borne in mind that the possession of one of these factors, for example a high income, does not necessarily lead to a high ranking. A man may have a high social position but a medium ranged income. If a person possesses several of the factors mentioned above, he is usually accepted as a member of the social class which they indicate.

Differences in social class are expressed in different attitudes to life, in different styles of living, and in different ways of speech, of manner, dress and taste, and in numerous small matters which are realized only by the people concerned. Class differences give rise to the formation of informal groupings whose members view one another as equals when they have the same things in common. On the other hand they have fairly decided ways of behavior to their superiors.

The Concept of Social Class

A social class may be defined in two different ways. First, it may be defined in terms of some objective, usually economic criterion, such as income, occupation, or wealth. Thus social classes, according to **Karl Marx**, are large groups of people, who differ from each other by their relation to the means of social production, by their role in the social organization of labor and, consequently, by the mode and dimensions of acquiring the share of social wealth of which they possess. In modern capitalist society there are two principal classes - the capitalists who own the means of production and the proletariat who do not. **Max Weber** also defined class as a group of persons having the same "life chances" or social opportunities, as determined typically by economic conditions. He contrasted "class" in the sense with "status". By status, Weber meant social honor or social esteem, and this, he said, "normally stands in sharp opposition to the pretensions of sheer property".

Many modern sociologists, including T. H. Marshall and McIver, regard status as the basic criterion of social class. "A social class", as defined by McIver and Page, "is any portion of a community marked off

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1. A Hierarchy of status groups
2. The recognition of the superior-inferior status
3. Some degree of permanency of the structure.

Where a society is composed of social classes, the social structure looks like a truncated pyramid. At the base of the structure lies the lowest social class and above it other social classes arranged in a hierarchy of rank and distinction. "The fundamental attribute of a social class is thus its social position of relative superiority or inferiority to other social classes". Individuals composing a particular class stand to each other in the relation of equality and are marked off from other classes by accepted or sanctioned standards of inferiority and superiority.

This concept of social class, as a distinct status group is precise and generally applicable to any system of social stratification. According to this view, classes arise where ever social differentiations are associated with a status hierarchy. Differentiations arising out of language, locality, function, or specialization may give rise to significant class phenomena only when they develop three sorts of sentiments or attitudes. There is, first, a feeling of equality to members of one's own class; a feeling of being at ease with them, a consciousness that one's mode of behavior will harmonize with the behavior of the others. Secondly, there is a feeling of inferiority in relation to those above in the social hierarchy; and thirdly, there is a feeling of superiority to those below. These class sentiments or attitudes are undoubtedly related to income differences, occupational distinctions, distinctions of birth, race, education and so forth.

"But these objective differences, apart from a recognized order of superiority and of inferiority", McIver and Page tell us, "do not establish cohesive group". What is most important in making class distinctions is the sense of status which is sustained by economic, political, or ecclesiastical power and by the distinctive modes of life and cultural expressions corresponding to them. It is this sense of status that separates one class from another, gives cohesion to each class, and stratifies a society. Thus, classes are "status marked and group conscious strata". Thus defined, social classes are to be found in every society.

But if social classes are defined in terms of economic criterion, the concept of class cannot be applied to all systems of stratification. In the "closed" class system - rather caste system - of the Hindus society, the Brahmans were assigned the topmost rank, while the Vaishyas were third in the class hierarchy even though they might have more wealth. Again, in many regions of Europe and of Asia, an aristocratic landed class is generally regarded as socially superior to a wealthier and more powerful industrial or commercial class. Furthermore, in the socialist society of the Soviet Union, Marx's dichotomous class division of society is absent. But even there no one can deny the existence of various strata, different from each other in prestige, income and function, such as the ruling elite, the party high executives, the military, the technicians, the intelligentsia, the industrial workers, and the peasants.

It follows that the division of the society into classes on the basis of status is unavoidable. There is no society without such division. "A classless society, sociologically speaking, is a misconception". A class system involves inequality of status. If by a classless society is meant a society with equality of status, it will never be attained. What can be attained is a society in which men occupy positions not by birth and privilege and imposition but by personal merit. There can be equality of opportunity but not of status.

We should, however, bear in mind that class distinctions are rarely to be found among the lowest primitive peoples. Individuals may differ in prestige according to personal traits such as skill in hunting, but studies made so far do not reveal the distinctions of rank enjoyed by particular groups.

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN CASTE AND CLASS

McIver says *"whereas in eastern civilizations, the chief determinant of a class and status was birth, in the western civilization of today wealth is a class determinant of equal or perhaps greater importance, and wealth is a less rigid determinant than birth; it is more concrete, and thus its claims are more easily* *challenged; itself a matter of degree, it is less apt to create distinctions of kind, alienable, acquirable and transferable, it draws no such permanent lines of cleavage as does birth".*

Ogburn and **Nimkoff** observe, in this context, *"In some societies, it is not uncommon for individuals to move up or down the social ladder. Where this is the case the society is said to have "open" classes. Elsewhere there is little shifting, individuals remaining through a life time in the class into which they chance to be born. Such classes are "closed" and if, extremely differentiated, constitute a caste system".* Cooley says that if a class is somewhat strictly hereditary, we may call it a caste.

A caste, according to **Warner** and **Davis**, may be defined as a rank order of superior super-ordinate orders and inferior subordinate orders which practice endogamy, prevent vertical mobility, and unequally distribute the desirable and undesirable social symbols. Class may be defined as a rank order of superior and inferior orders which allows both exogamy and endogamy, permits movement either up or down the system, or allows an individual to remain in the status to which he was born; it also unequally distributes the lower and higher evaluated symbols.

The fundamental points of difference between caste and class are discussed in the following paragraphs.

1. **Open Vs Closed:** Class is more open than caste. **Hiller** writes *"A class system is an open system of rating levels .If a hierarchy becomes closed against vertical mobility it ceases to be a class system and becomes a caste system".* Since class is open, social mobility becomes easier. A man can, by his enterprise and initiative, change his class and thereby rise in social status. If a man is born in a laboring class, it is not necessary for him to live in the class for life and die in it. He can strive for money and success in the life and with wealth, he can change his social status implied in the class distinction. In case of caste system it is impossible to change one's caste status. Once a man is born in a caste he remains in it for his life and makes his children suffer the same fate. A caste is thus a closed class. The individual's status is determined by the caste status of his parents. On the other hand, the membership of a class does not depend upon hereditary basis; it rather depends on the worldly achievements of an individual. Thus class system is an open and flexible system while caste system is a closed and rigid system.

2. **Divine Vs Secular:** The caste system is believed to have been divinely ordained. McIver writes, *"The rigid demarcation of caste could scarcely be maintained were it not for strong religious persuasions. The hold of religious belief, with its super natural explanations of caste itself is essential to the continuance of the system. The Hindu caste structure may have arisen out of the subjection or enslavement incidental to conquest and perhaps also out of the subordination of one endogamous community to another. But the power, prestige and pride of race thus engendered could rise to a caste system, with it social separation of groups that are not in fact set apart by any clear social signs, only as the resulting situation was rationalized and made `eternal by religious myths".* It is everybody's religious duty to fulfill his caste duties in accordance with his "dharma". In the Rig Veda, the creator is said to have apportioned the duties and functions for the four castes. An individual must do the duty proper to his caste. Failure to act according to one's caste duties meant birth in a lower caste and finally spiritual annihilation. Men of the lower castes are reborn in higher castes if they have fulfilled their duties". Caste system in India would not have survived for so many centuries if the religious system had not made it sacred and inviolable. On the contrary, there is nothing sacred or of divine origin in the class stratification of society. Classes are secular in origin. They are not founded on religious dogmas.

3. **Endogamy:** The choice of mates in caste system is generally endogamous. Members have to marry within their own castes. A member marrying outside his caste is treated as an outcaste. No such restrictions exist in class system. A wealthy man may marry a poor girl without being outcasted. An educated girl may marry an uneducated partner without being thrown out from the class.

4. **Class-consciousness:** The feeling of class consciousness is necessary to constitute a class but

5. **Prestige:** The relative prestige of the different castes is well established but in class system there is no rigidly fixed order of prestige.

THE ESTATE SYSTEM

The estate system of medieval Europe provides another system of stratification. It gave a great deal of emphasis to birth as well as to wealth and possessions. The estates were, unlike the caste system, legally defined. Each estate had a status, that is, each had a legal complex of rights and duties. Pre-revolutionary Russia, for instance, was an estate society in which the clergy, the nobility, merchants and the peasants were separated into social strata that depended on birth and was controlled by law. The noble strata performed the political and military functions while the peasantry and serfs, deprived of rights, carried out menial tasks. Inequality in the estate system is not primarily economic, but juristic.

The feudal estates of medieval Europe had three important components: The first, the Second and the Third Estates. The first consisted of clergy, the second of aristocracy and the third of common people. These were legally defined; each estate had a status, in the precise sense of a legal complex of rights and duties, of privileges and obligations.

COMPARISON BETWEEN CASTE AND ESTATE

The following points reveal the differences between caste and estate systems of social stratification.

1. The castes are ritually defined while the estates are legally defined.

2. Castes have rights and duties enforced through the concepts of karma, ritual or divine sanctions and other informal means of social control, while the estates have their rights, duties and privileges enforced through military strength and courts of law.

3. In the estate system, the rights and duties are extended throughout the system and in the caste system there is an "outcaste" sub-stratum that lies outside the system of rights and privileges.

4. Both the caste and the estate system have restrictions on social mobility. If the barriers in the caste system are ritual in nature, the barriers in the estate system are legal and man-made.

GENDER STRATIFICATION

Gender is one of the several bases of stratification. There are no societies in which men do not have more wealth, status and influence than women. According to Yogendra Singh, Women in different societies and in different periods manifest a homogenous trait of a non-entity.

According to the United Nations Report of 1980, "Women constitute half the world's population, perform nearly two-thirds of its work hours, receive one-tenth of the world's income, and own less than one-hundredth of the world's property".

Sex Vs Gender

Sex is a physical distinction (Male and Female) while gender (Masculine and Feminine) is a social and cultural phenomenon. Social factors determine the existing differences regarding opportunities, rewards and limitations of men and women. It is through social institutions like family, marriage, kinship, education and training gender roles (like women doing house work, taking care of children and men doing jobs etc) are shaped and reshaped in all societies. The term "gender role" deemphasizes the biological aspects of being a female or a male and it focuses on the social aspects. Gender role then is the sum total of attitudes and behaviors, rights and responsibilities socially linked to one's sex.

Although masculine or feminine gender is usually associated with male or female, yet this is not an absolute correlation. The division of labor between men and women, in different societies is based exclusively on gender roles rather than sex roles, determined by culture rather than biology. Virtually all human behavior is learned behavior. Gender, is thus, together with age, a widely used means by which societies have some form of division of labor and a process of specialization.

Margaret Mead, who did pioneering work in revealing the wide range of psychological and cultural traits which can be attached to masculine and feminine gender roles, found that important characteristics of women in one culture were often those of men in another. In a relatively small area of New Guinea, she investigated three tribes. Among the **Arapesh**, the personalities of both sexes are "feminine" (like being docile, timid, gentle, emotional etc.) Among the **Mundugumor,** in contrast, both sexes have personalities stereotyped or gendertyped to being what is "masculine" (like being assertive, aggressive, bold, brave, instrumental, objective etc). In neither society do the people believe that personality should vary with sex, but in fact, it does not vary, hence no demarcated gender roles exist. The **Tchambuli**, the third tribe, sows a relationship between sex and personality; but in this tribe, the ordinary male shows "feminine" personality traits and female shows "masculine" personality traits.

Mead concludes that social conditioning and not biology accounts for these differences. The average Arapesh is gentle and cooperative because she or he has been brought up in a society where that is the expected behavior. The average Mundugumor is violent and aggressive, not by nature, but because of the society's socialization process.

Not merely attitudes but also actual relations and status of men and women differ in various societies. The Arapesh seem to have approximate equality of men and women. Among the Tchambuli, women appear dominant and men subordinate. In India, tribal women dominate in Eastern India among the tribes like Garos and Khasis, but they face manifold hardships in various tribes of Western Himalayas, particularly the Kinners and Gaddis. The Bhil woman has to observe purdah and adhere to her tribe's moral values. The Khasa women of Jaunsar Bavar, The Kinner women of Himachal Pradesh and the Toda woman of Nilgiri Hills have to please three or more husbands at a scheduled time but the Gond woman is supposed to serve only one husband.

Women as a Minority Group

Helen Mayer Hacker adopts **Louis Wirth's** definition of a minority group which reads: "A minority group is any group of people who because of their physical or cultural characteristics, are singled out from others in the society in which they live for differential and unequal treatment, and who therefore regard themselves as objects of collective discrimination".

By comparing the situation of American Blacks and women, Hacker indicates some of the advantages of classifying women as a minority group.

1. Both groups have "high social visibility", Blacks in terms of their racial characteristics and to some extent their styles of dress, women in terms of their sexual characteristics and feminine clothes.
2. Both groups have similar "ascribed attributes", that is, which are assigned to them by the majority group simply on the grounds of their minority group membership. Blacks have been characterized as "emotional, primitive and childlike"; women are "irresponsible, inconsistent and emotionally unstable". Both groups, to some degree, have been or are regarded as having low intelligence. Compared to Whites, Blacks have been labeled "inferior" and compared to men women have been labeled as "weaker".
3. The status of both Blacks and women is rationalized in similar ways by the majority group. Their position is seen as a reflection of their ascribed characteristics. Blacks are all right in their place and contended with their lot. The same applies to women. Their place is in the home and they find happiness and fulfillment in their roles as wife and mother.
4. Both groups adopt accommodating behavior in adapting to their situation. Both are deferential and flattering to the majority group. Relative powerlessness forces both to adopt devious methods in their dealings with members of the majority group. Blacks have various strategies for outwitting Whites, women use so-called "feminine wiles" for getting their own way.
5. Both groups suffer from similar discriminatory practices. Their education is limited to fit them for their ascribed status. Barriers are erected to prevent them from entering the political arena. In the labor market, Blacks are largely confined to "black jobs", women to women's jobs. These jobs have certain factors in common – low skill, low status and low pay. In India, 73 percent of women workers are in the unorganized sector because women's share in factory employment even in 1981 was only 12.4 percent of total workforce. Hacker's comparison of Blacks and women indicates the explanatory value of classifying women as a minority group.

A siege has been laid on women in the Indian society, rightly observes Indu Prakash Singh. They have been captured by the very institutions which attempt to safeguard and protect their lives and interests, namely, family, marriage, educational institutions, employment establishments, political mega-structures, policing outfits, legal machinery etc. Whether it is child marriage, infanticide, feticide, wife battering, sati, widowhood, bigamy, polygyny, sexual harassment, physical torture, mental cruelty, rape, prostitution, suicide etc., all these forms of oppression of Indian women map and draw the contours of our patriarchal society, which gives men overriding powers.

Occupational Segregation

It is found that a few industries which employ women do it selectively for a few tasks. It is because of sexual division of labor that women get slotted into specific sectors, and within each sector, specific occupation and within each occupation particular tasks are assigned.

Agriculture, the oldest and most extensive employer of women, exhibits similarly detailed sexual allocation of tasks and operations with ploughing/ digging, irrigating, commercial outings being done by men, whereas women are involved in cutting grass, weeding, minding poultry, groundnut picking, vegetable plucking, making straw mats, and the most obvious household work.

The absence of diversification makes women workers vulnerable to retrenchment when automation occurs in specific operations. The question of occupational segregation of women is a major problem area. The actual situation is rationalized as women being good at certain tasks. One of the greatest myths is that women do light work. The arduousness of the most women's tasks is never acknowledged because of a patriarchal shroud that covers up the actual labor input.

It is reported that 72 percent women in mines and plantations are in the unskilled category. The technical professional female works account for less than 10 percent, and they are largely health personnel attending crèches etc. The number of women in any supervisory capacity is negligent. In the studies done on white collar jobs, the absence of women in higher posts and in supervisory decision making positions has been repeatedly noticed.

A study of public enterprises noted that the representation of women at executive level was 25 percent, at technical level 15.8 percent, at assistant level 19.5 percent. But, it was at receptionist level 100 percent, steno typists 60 percent, telephone operators 29 percent, attendants 19 percent, sweepers 12 percent, and daily wage earners 97 percent. In R&D establishment where women are 60 percent of total employees, more than 50 percent of total women are reported to be doing non-scientific work.

Class Divisions and Gender

Women, many argue, tend to be confined to a "private" domain – the domestic world of the family, children and the household. Men, on the other hand, live in more of a "public" domain, from which variations in wealth and power primarily derive. Their world is that of paid work, industry and politics.

Most women find themselves in the labor force, hence in subordinate position in family and society. Women have part-time jobs more often than men, and tend to have more intermittent experience of paid women are in a position of economic dependence on their husbands, it follows that their class position is most often governed by the husband's class situation. However, in some households the income of women is essential for maintaining family's economic standing. In some cases, a wife's employment too may strongly influence that of her husband.

Even though women are divided in various castes, religions, class, race, nations they on the basis of the discrimination and oppression encountered by them can be grouped together, sharing the disadvantage of being a woman in a male dominated society. The relation between a man and a woman is a power relationship. In fact, power is always relational. Compared to women, men have more powering most societies. However, the forms and execution of power may differ.

FUNCTIONS OF SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

One of the principal functions of stratification is to induce people to work hard to live up to values. Those who best fulfill the values of a particular society presumably are given the rewards of greater prestige, social acceptance by others who are rated high and are presumably worth knowing, and money.

If a society offers a high degree of prestige and other rewards for certain positions, there will be some competition for them. To the extent that the more valued positions involve talent and training, presumably competition helps to ensure that the more able rise to the top, where their ability can best be used. In other words, to some extent social stratification helps to ensure what is often called the "circulation of elite".

Differential rewards provide incentive for hard work and open up a career for talent. The competitive aspect has a kind of economic function also in that it helps to ensure the rational use of available talent. But it is important to see that differential rewards are functional even if positions at the top are largely ascribed - in other words, if competition is severely restricted, as in caste system. For even in such a system those at the top can lose their positions; differential rewards therefore provide the incentive for the upper classes to work at maintaining their positions.

Relatively frequent and intimate association with fellow class-members also has double function. In the first place, for the upper classes at least, it is a kind of differential reward. Secondly, however, it tends to stabilize and reinforce the attitudes and skills that may be the basis of upper class position. Having similar values and interests tends to enable people to associate comfortably with one another, to draw them together; but the frequent association also confirms their common values and interests.

Since all societies have a family institution, there will be in every society, as we have already noted, some tendency toward inheritance of status. Children begin associating more frequently and more intimately. Differential social interaction thus makes possible the inculcation and cultivation of somewhat different values, qualities, and skills in different social classes. This differentiation is functional for the society, for the fact is that society needs manual as well as non manual workers, that the different kinds and results of socialization connected with the several social classes of a society are all functional to some extent.

To a certain amount, mutual antagonism between social classes is functional. To some extent, an upper class and a lower class are negative reference groups for each other. This form of negative reference group behavior may be regarded as a social control mechanism.

SOCIAL MOBILITY - NATURE AND TYPES

Mobility means movement. The term social mobility, in its widest sense refers to any movement of individuals, families, or groups between different sectors of society. Thus, movements from one occupation to another or from one region of a country to another or even international migration are the examples of mobility. However, in the sociological literature, the term social mobility is used in a rather restricted sense - referring to the movement of individuals or groups between or within different levels of social stratification.

TYPES OF MOBILITY

A distinction is made between **"horizontal" and "vertical" social mobility.** The former refers to change in the occupational position or role of an individual or a group without involving any change in its position in the social hierarchy, the latter refers essentially to changes in the position of an individual or a group along the social hierarchy. When a rural laborer comes to the city and becomes an industrial worker, or a manager takes a position in another company, there are no significant changes in their positions in the hierarchy. Those are the instances of horizontal mobility. But, if an industrial worker or the child of an industrial worker becomes a wealthy businessmen or lawyer, he has quite radically changed his position in the stratification system. This is an illustration or vertical mobility. Further vertical mobility itself can take place in two ways, i.e., individuals or groups may improve their position in the hierarchy by moving upwards or their position might worsen and they may fall down the hierarchy. When a poor from the village becomes an I.A.S. officer, or a Minister, it is a case of upward mobility. On the other hand, an aristocrat or a member of an upper class may be dispossessed of his wealth in a revolution and is obliged to enter a manual occupation. This is an example of downward mobility.

In studying the phenomena of social mobility, sociologists have distinguished between **intra-generational and inter-generational mobility**: that it to say, between mobility of an individual within his own adult life time and the mobility represented by a change in social level from the parental to the filial generation (almost always from father to son).

Social mobility is a feature of all societies from simple to complex and from traditional to modern. What differentiates these societies from each other is the degree or extent of mobility that can be achieved.

FACTORS FOR SOCIAL MOBILITY

Individuals or groups may resort to various methods to acquire social mobility. A few individuals might try to exploit their **unique talents** like intelligence, physical strength, beauty, skill in warfare, sports or business or the quality of charisma that enable them to become religious or political leaders. Thus beautiful women have risen to social eminence as the mistresses of kings and as film stars, just as men have risen by accumulation of wealth, military skills, or charismatic qualities.

Another important avenue for social mobility in modern industrial societies is education. **Education** is a means to access to higher occupations and thus provides mobility. However, numerous studies like one by Raymond Boudon have shown that the role of education in providing social mobility is not very significant. In fact, education, in a society based on inequality, tends to perpetuate the existing inequality rather than to provide mobility. Other avenues to mobility are **access to material resources.** So if an individual or group acquires wealth, he may succeed in improving his social position. **Power** provides another mode of acquiring mobility and in India today the backward classes are increasingly resorting to politicization to acquire social mobility. Sometimes **social movements** can also help in gaining social mobility as can be seen in the case of Izawas in Kerala and Mahars in Maharashtra. However, a more radical transformation of the social structure may be called for to provide mobility on a large scale as witnessed in societies experiencing socialist revolution. In the early periods of the socialist regimes in Eastern Europe, universities were open to young people from working class and peasant families while restrictions were placed upon the entry of those from the middle class.

Industrialization and **urbanization** leading to expansion and diversification of the occupational structure also increases the present day developing countries where increasingly the rural population migrates to the cities to improve their social position. Sometimes, **international migration** can also lead to social mobility like for e.g. technically qualified manpower from Asian and African countries migrates to the Western countries to acquire greater wealth. There is a general belief that chances of mobility in present day industrial societies are on the rise.

Thomas Fox and S. M. Miller analyzed inter-generational occupational changes, as defined by the flow between manual and non-manual occupations for 12 different countries including US, West Germany and

Japan. On the basis of this comparative study they concluded that the most important factors responsible for increase in social mobility are the following...

1. Rapid economic development as seen from the increasing gross national product
2. Increase in school enrollment
3. High achievement motivation
4. Increasing urbanization; and
5. Political stability

Social mobility is the result of the presence of all these factors together. None of these factors by itself can significantly influence social mobility.

CONSEQUENCES OF SOCIAL MOBILITY

Mobility is a disassociate aspect of social stratification. Thus, it may be said that the movement of large numbers of people up and down the social hierarchy tends to breakdown the exclusiveness of social class, and to create a more uniform national culture. Presumably, this would also lead to a diminution of class prejudices and class conflicts. In fact, it has often been claimed that the allegedly lesser degree of class consciousness in US society as compared with European societies, is due to a higher rate of mobility in the former. Although recent studies have questioned this assumption because it has been found that there are no significant differences in mobility among industrial societies.

From another aspect, however, it can be argued that the preoccupation with vertical mobility reinforces the class system; the individual who is concerned to rise or avoid falling in the social hierarchy accepts and indeed emphasizes the importance of class and status distinction. It has been suggested that these distinctions might be diminished much more by the attainment of greater economic and social equality rather than increasing amount of mobility.

Another consequence of mobility that is seen as beneficial from the point of view of a society as a whole is the more effective use of ability. If individuals are confined to the social sphere in which they are born, many useful talents will remain undiscovered and unused. The expansion of education in modern industrial societies has been stimulated by the desire to provide opportunities for the development of all the abilities available in the population, though it is imperfectly achieved.

On the other-hand, vertical mobility has some undesirable consequences. Such mobility, whether upward or downward imposes strain upon the individual striving for success and adopting to new social milieus and may even be disruptive of families and communities.

More generally, a high rate of mobility may be regarded as producing in the society, a state of "anomie" (normlessness and resulting disorientation and anxiety), in which there is insufficient regulation of behavior that suffers from the "Malady of infinite aspiration". The existence of such strains may lead to higher incidence of mental illness among highly mobile individuals. Mental illness has been continuously increasing in modern industrial society; but the fact that they are caused by high mobility has yet to be established by various studies.

OPEN AND CLOSED SYSTEMS OF MOBILITY

A closed system of mobility is that where norms proscribe mobility. Thus, the closed system emphasizes the associative character of the hierarchy. It justifies inequality in the distribution of means of production, status symbols and power positions and discourages any attempt to change them. Any attempt to bring about change in such a system or to promote mobility is permanently suppressed. In such a system, individuals are assigned their place in the social structure on the basis of ascriptive criteria like age, birth, sex. Considerations of functional suitability or ideological notions of equality of

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system in reality is perfectly close. Even in the most rigid systems of stratification limited degree of mobility exists. Traditional caste system in India is an example par-excellence of closed system.

In the open system, the norms prescribe and encourage mobility. There are independent principles of ranking like status, class and power. In an open system individuals are assigned to different positions in the social structure on the basis of their merit or achievement. Open systems of mobility are generally characterized by occupational diversity, a flexible hierarchy, differentiated social structure and rapidity of change. In such systems the hold of ascription based corporate groups like caste, kinship or extended family etc., declines. The dominant values in such a system emphasize equality and freedom of the individual and not change and innovation.

2.3 MARRIAGE

DEFINITION OF MARRIAGE – ITS UNIVERSALITY

Anthropologists have been trying to provide a universal definition for the institution of marriage for almost one and a half centuries. The definitions which have been given before 1955, the early definitions, emphasize on the various criteria that are required to constitute a marriage. The definitions of the 19th century anthropologists, the evolutionists, consider that *"Marriage is a ritually recognized union between a man and a woman, that the spouses live together and that couple have recognized mutual sexual rights"* - **Westermark (1929)**.

This definition cannot be a universal definition i.e., it cannot be applied to all the societies because there are some societies...

1. That contract marriages without ritual ceremonies
2. Where the couple do not live under the same roof
3. In which the spouses are permitted to have extra marital sexual

Even in the first half of the 20th century, similar definitions to marriage have been attempted.

According to **Murdock**, *"Marriage is a universal institution that involves residential cohabitation, economic cooperation and formation of the nuclear family"*. Even this definition cannot be applied to all the societies in the world because of some exceptional cases like the Nayars of Kerala, where the couple do not live under the same roof, there is no life long economic cooperation between the couple and most important is the absence of the nuclear family structure.

Seligman explains marriage as *"a union between a man and a woman such that the children born to the woman are recognized as legitimate offspring of both the parents"*. This definition cannot be considered as satisfactory because if it is true then the union between one man and several women and the union between one woman and several men cannot be recognized as marriage especially when such type of marriages are culturally possible in several societies.

An important point to note in all the definitions is the emphasis on the union between a man and a woman. In this context it is important for us to take note of the woman marriage existing in the Nuer of Africa. Here woman marriages take place between the same sexes. In this type of marriage system, a woman who lost her husband without a male child assumes the role of her late husband and marries another woman. She procures the services of a male kinsman or a friend to beget children through the woman she married. The children born are treated as the children begotten by the widow's deceased husband. It is obvious that the Nuer woman marriage is not the union between a male and a female. Can we call this marriage?

Keeping the instances of such societies and such types of marriages anthropologists therefore have been of the view that it is difficult to arrive at a definition that will satisfy the patterns of marriages in all the

The modern definitions, those which have been given after the 1955, have shown a considerable deal of rethinking. Many anthropologists tried to define the institution of marriage in such a way that it suits all the societies in the world.

Kathleen Gough for instance, defines marriage as a *"relationship established between a woman and one or more other persons, which provides that a child born to the woman under the circumstances not prohibited by the rules of relationship is accorded full birth status rights, common to normal members of his society or the social stratum".* This definition does not cover some of the societies like the Azande of Sudan which allow a form of marriage based on homosexuality.

William N. Stephen, defines marriage as a *"socially legitimate sexual union, began with public pronouncement, undertaken with the idea of permanence, assumed with more or less explicit marriage contract which spells out reciprocal economic obligations between the spouses and the future children".*

This definition also lacks a universal appeal since it ignores many social customs found in the world. The kind of facts this definition falls short of are:

1. Most societies do have taboo periods during which intercourse between the spouses and their future children is prohibited.
2. Extra marital sexual relationship is allowed in many societies, and marriages do not begin with public pronouncement.
3. There are societies where there are high divorce rates, and there is no idea of permanence in marriage.
4. There are few societies where a union of man and a woman does not involve any marriage contract.

By this discussion it is very clear that a universal definition to the institution of marriage cannot be successfully provided. The problem is further aggravated also because there are some societies where the sexual rights, economic responsibilities and the socialization of the children are not derived from the relationships resulting from marriage, but are part of the rights and duties and the responsibilities of groups other than those formed by husband-wife and parent-child relationships.

The classical case presenting a problem to anthropologists is that of the Nayars of Kerala, which is hindering them to arrive at a definition of marriage that can be universally applied.

The Nayars are a landowning caste living in the state of Kerala. The Nayar family was not formed through marriage, but consisted rather of male and female kin who have descended from a female ancestor. This household group called the ***"Taravad"*** typically contains brothers and sisters, a woman's daughter and granddaughters, and their children. *Taravad* property was held jointly in the name of the oldest surviving male. This type of family was related to the system of Nayar marriage.

Traditionally there were two kinds of marriages among the Nayar, the *tali-tying ceremony* and the *Sambandham* - relationship. Every Nayar girl had to undergo the *tali*-tying ceremony before she reached puberty; this rite marked a girl's transition to womanhood. The man who tied the *tali* to the girl had no further rights in her nor does she have any obligations to him (except that at his death she performs certain rituals). After this ceremony however, a girl could enter into *sambandham* unions with a number of different men of the upper caste with whom she would have children. The *Taravad* however retained rights over a Nayar woman's procreative powers and authority over her children. For a child to have full birth rights in the *Taravad*, a father had to be acknowledged. Any one of the men with whom the woman had a *sambandham* union could acknowledge paternity by bearing certain expenses associated with the birth of the child. Where paternity was doubtful an assembly of neighbors would attempt to coerce the current "visiting husband" to make the payments. If no man of the appropriate caste would take on the role of father, the woman and child were expelled from the *taravad* and from the caste because it will be assumed that the woman was having a relationship with a lower caste man. This was considered polluting not only for the woman but for the entire *Taravad*.

In the Nayar system then, a woman had several "husbands" (*sambandham* unions), but the responsibility and care of children were in the hands of a group of brothers and sisters (the *Taravad*). From the point of view of the woman and her *Taravad*, polyandry enhanced both individual and group prestige. Polyandry also gave the Nayar women access to men who were in many different occupations, and their services could then be accessible to the *Taravad*. The Nayar marriage and family system was well suited to the traditional Nayar occupation of soldiering. Without permanent responsibilities and permanent attachments to wife and children, a young Nayar man was free to pursue a military career. The agricultural land owned by the Nayar *Taravad* was worked by lower caste landless serfs and managed by an older male, an economic system that also freed younger Nayar men from the necessity of living in the *Taravad* (Mencher 1965).

This discussion on the Nayars indicates that any universal definition of marriage would have to be very general indeed to cover all the known variations. Anthropologists are not as interested in such a definition as they once were. More important than establishing a definition to cover all known cases is looking at the kinds of rights that are transferred through marriage in different societies, and the kinds of families and domestic groups that marriage establishes. Our interest in the Nayars then focuses not on whether they have marriage or not, but on the way in which sexual access to women, economic responsibility, and rights over children are legitimized in their society.

Characteristics of Marriage

1. **Charter:** The charter of marriage explains why marriage exists and what the objectives of the marriage are. The charter differs from society to society. This is because the existence of marriage is explained differently in different societies. Some consider the institution of marriage as the creation of God, while the others consider it as the result of the ancestor's genius. The charter also differs from society to society because of the difference in the objectives of marriage which differ in different cultures. According to one society, the objective of marriage is to create an intimate relationship between a man and a woman. Other cultures specify the objective of marriage to procreate children and to perpetuate the family line. Most of the societies say that the objective of marriage is to have socially recognized intimate relationship between a man and a woman, which is expected to involve sexual, economic and other forms of interaction. In some societies, the objective of marriage is to make use of a woman's economic functions. Thus the charter of marriage justifies the existence of marriage and indicates the basic ways in which marriage can be viewed, which can be sexual access, parentage, labor, property, widening of the social relationships or any other reason.

2. **Mate Choice:** Spouse selection is another characteristic of marriage. According to some cultures, the people are free to select their spouses. In many societies, the people are not free to decide whom they marry. They are in fact arranged by their parents and/or their kinsmen. The criteria for selection of the spouse differ according to the nature of who is making the choice.

   If the people are free, the criteria for spouse selection are the romantic love, sexual desire or to attain the full adult status in the societies. If the people are not free to select their spouses, then the criteria for selection of spouse are the size of the bride price or the dowry, reputation of the potential spouse's kin group, levirate or sororate obligation etc. Age considerations and the considerations of the personal qualities may also influence the spouse selection.

3. **Financial Transactions:** Marriage involves the payment of bride price and dowry. The payment may be in terms of bride service where the groom goes to work in the bride's place instead of the bride price. Marriage transactions may also involve gift exchanges between two groups to be linked by marriage. Transaction in a marriage may also involve exchange of women between two groups and the most common type of marriage exchange is bride price.

4. **Ceremonials:** Marriage also involves ceremonials which show a diversity of forms in different societies. The kind of ceremonials may be ritual observances like fasting, drinking, singing, dancing etc. A vast number of societies have elaborate ceremonials. In some societies a kind of betrothal ceremony and payment or gift exchange mark the initiation of marriage. This is followed by a number of ceremonials such as wedding ceremonies, magico-religious observances, virginity tests, instructions to the couple, procession etc. According to Stephens, presenting a wedding ring to a bride is a kind of bride price in its rudimentary form.

5. **Residence:** Another important characteristic of marriage is the household of the newly married couple. Every society has some rules governing where the newly married couples have to reside. The type of residence rule may differ from society to society.

   a. Patrilocal - when the couple live in the residence of the grooms' parents.

   b. Matrilocal - when the couple live in the household of the brides' family.

   c. Ambilocal or Bilocal - when the couple has a choice to reside in either of the parents' residence.

   d. Neolocal - when the couple establish their own residence away from either parents' house holds.

6. **Authority:** New patterns of authority are inevitable when a tie between two or more individuals is established as a result of marriage. The person in whom authority is vested varies from one society to another. In some societies the authority lies in the male members of the father's side and this is called as **patriarchy.** In some cultures authority lies in the female members of the family, a situation called **matriarchy**. There are some societies where authority on the ego lies in the hands of his mother's brother and this is called **avunco-potestality**.

7. **Stability:** The stability of the union established as a result of marriage is another characteristic of marriage. The societies differ widely in the degree of marital stability. In many non-literate societies, the relationship is quite brittle and a person may have several spouses during his life time. This may result in a weak union between the spouses and the termination of marriage is called divorce. Divorce is quite simple in some societies while it is a highly complex institution in other societies. There are some societies where the marriage contract cannot be terminated until the death of either of the spouses. Remarriage rules also differ according to the culture specifics in a society.

LAWS OF MARRIAGE

Marriage in every society is regulated by a set of rules. These rules render marriage a different phenomenon in every society for they influence the nature, structure and functions of marriage to a considerable extent. Broadly, marriage rules are classified into three types:

1. **Proscriptive Rules:** Which direct whom a person should not marry.
2. **Prescriptive Rules:** Which direct whom a person can marry.
3. **Prferential Rules:** They define whom an individual can prefer to marry.

PROSCRIPTIVE RULES

The proscriptive rules in every society are manifest in the form of incest taboos. Every society has rules about mating. In all of them, there are some prohibitions on mating between persons in certain relationships or from certain social groups. The most universal prohibition is that on mating amongst certain kinds of kin: mother-son, father-daughter, and sister-brother. The taboos on mating between kin always extend beyond this immediate family group. However, in some societies the taboo extends to the children of parents' siblings called first cousins; in other societies individuals are not permitted to mate

with others who may be related up to the fifth generation. These prohibitions on mating (sexual relations) between relatives or people classified as relatives are called **incest taboos**.

Since sexual access is one of the most important rights conferred by marriage, incest taboos effectively prohibit marriage and mating among certain kin. The outstanding exception to the almost universal taboo on mating and marriage among members of the nuclear family are those cases of brother-sister marriage among royalty in ancient Egypt and in traditional Hawaiian society. Incest taboos have always been of interest to anthropologists who have attempted to explain their origin and persistence in human society, particularly as they apply to primary or nuclear family relationships. Many theories have been advanced, and we will look at four major ones.

Inbreeding Avoidance: The inbreeding avoidance theory holds that mating between close kin produces deficient, weak children and is genetically harmful to the species. Incest taboo is therefore adaptive because it limits inbreeding. This theory, proposed in the late nineteenth century, was later rejected for a number of decades on the ground that inbreeding could produce advantages as well as disadvantages for the group by bringing out recessive genes of both a superior and an inferior character. Recent work in population genetics has given more weight to the older view that inbreeding is usually harmful to a human population. The proportion of negative recessive traits to adaptive recessive ones is very high, and in the humans, inbreeding has definite disadvantages. Furthermore, these disadvantages are far more likely to appear as a result of the mating of primary relatives (mother-son, father-daughter, and sister-brother) than of other relatives, even first cousins. It would seem, then, that the biological adaptability of incest taboo, as it applies to the nuclear family, must be considered in explaining both its origins and its persistence.

The question raised here, of course, is how pre-scientific peoples could understand the connection between close inbreeding and the biological disadvantages that result. But the adaptive results of incest taboo need not have been consciously recognized in order to persist; rather, groups that had such a taboo would have had more surviving children than groups without the taboo. This reproductive advantage would eventually account for its universality as groups without the taboo died out.

Familiarity Breeds Avoidance: This theory holds that incest taboo is just a formal prohibition for a natural aversion to sexual relations between people who have grown up together. There are two sources of evidence that such an aversion may develop. Some studies of the Israeli kibbutz show that children "who see each other naked" have little sexual interest in one another. Studies of kibbutz marriage tend to show that mates are almost never chosen from the peer group. Most frequently they are chosen from the other kibbutz altogether in spite of the fact that the kibbutz does not discourage marriage between members. Kibbutz members themselves attribute this lack of sexual interest in their peers to the fact that they having grown up together (Talmon 1964).

A study of marriage in Taiwan by Arthur Wolf (1968) makes a similar point. Some Taiwanese practice a form of marriage in which a girl from a poor family may be given away or sold as an infant to a family with a son, with the expectation that she will be his wife. She is brought up with the son as his playmate, and at the proper time they marry. Wolf found that these "daughter-in-law-raised-from-childhood" marriages are much less successful than other marriages. There are more sexual difficulties, fewer children, and a higher rate of extra-marital affairs.

Although the evidence from Israel and Taiwan may show that familiarity can lead to sexual avoidance, the familiarity breeds avoidance theory does not explain why a formal and strongly sanctioned taboo had to arise to prevent what was a natural aversion anyway. Furthermore, as a theory, it is contradicted by evidence showing that in fact incest does occur in many parts of the world. The actual occurrence of incest raises questions about whether familiarity does breed sexual aversion.

Preventing Disruption of the Family: Malinowski and Freud believed that the desire for sexual relations amongst the members within a family is very strong. They suggested that the most important function of incest taboo is in preventing disruption within the nuclear family. Malinowski argued that as urges within the group of people emotionally close to them, that is within the family. If this were to happen, conflict within the family would occur and the role relationships within the family would be disrupted; fathers and sons and mothers and daughters would compete. This would hinder the family in carrying out the transmission of cultural values in a harmonious and effective way. According to this theory incest taboo arose to prevent any attempt to satisfy sexual desires within the family and to direct such desires outward. This theory appears to make quite a bit of sense; unregulated sexual competition within the family would undoubtedly be disruptive. However, an alternative to incest taboo could be regulation of sexual competition among the family members. Furthermore, although Malinowski's theory suggests why incest taboo exists between parents and children it does not explain the prohibition of sexual relations between brothers and sisters. Regulating sexual activity within the family might solve the problem of disruption through sexual rivalry but it would not solve the genetic problem. Only the familial incest taboo has both advantages; it prevents disruptions of the family over sexual competition and promotes outbreeding and genetic variability.

Forming Wider Alliances: Another theory proposed by Claude Levi-Strauss (1969) stresses the importance of cooperation among groups larger than the nuclear family. The incest taboo forces people to marry outside the family, joining families together into a larger social community. This has undoubtedly contributed to the success of the human species. The alliance theory does not account for the origin of incest taboo, but alliance between nuclear families certainly seems to be adaptive and can account for the persistence of familial incest taboo and its extension to groups other than the nuclear family.

In summary, then, it does appear that familial incest taboo has a number of advantages for the human species. In other animal species, incest is frequently prevented by expelling junior members from family groups as they reach sexual maturity. Because humans take so long to mature, familial incest taboo seems to be the most efficient and effective means of promoting genetic variability, familial harmony, and community cooperation. These advantages can explain the spread and persistence of this taboo, if not its origins.

PRESCRIPTIVE RULES

Apart from the proscriptive rules in the form of incest taboo, there are prescriptive rules in the form of Exogamy and Endogamy.

Endogamy refers to the expectation that a marriage partner will be chosen from within the social group of which one is a member. **Exogamy** refers to the expectation that the choice of a marriage partner will be from a social group of which one is not a member. In every society, there are both endogamous and exogamous groups. The Todas in India for example, have a society which is divided into two endogamous moieties, each with separate economic and ritual functions. Each of these endogamous moieties is having a number of clans which are exogamous. A woman should marry a man from other clan of the same moiety. It has often been theorized that exogamy developed as an extension of incest taboo, covering various relatives.

It is however more than a mere extension of incest taboo and it has its own advantages. Exogamy results in bringing many families together. Moreover, it brings some kind of group survival. Two groups come together through alliance and are forced to depend upon each other for continued reproduction, and knowledge of this fact helps to regulate the relations between these groups. According to Tylor, the Paleolithic hunter gatherers had entered this mode of alliance for maintaining peace with other bands; exogamy is a positive outcome for survival. And after this exogamy, says Stephen has passed on as a custom. According to Herbert Risley, the desire to have a variety in life has influenced people to seek ties with strangers and this had led to exogamy.

According to Audrey Richards, there was a constant scarcity of food in the communities of the hunter gatherers, a situation that has compelled them into the practice of female infanticide. This practice led to the scarcity of woman, which in turn led to a practice of getting women from outside the bands through bride capture.

Endogamy on the other hand is followed in order to maintain the purity of the group or to prevent intermixture of biological traits which are unknown.

PREFERENTIAL RULES

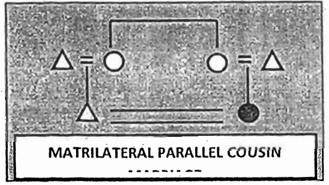
Under this rule a person is expected to prefer certain categories of relatives over others for marriage. The best examples of preferential marriages are the cousin marriages, levirate and sororate.

Cousin Marriages

There are two types of cousin marriages: 1) Cross cousin marriage and 2) Parallel cousin marriage.

1) **Parallel cousin marriage** is the marriage between children of two brothers or two sisters. To an individual, his father's brother's child or Mother's sister's child is a parallel cousin.

2) **Cross cousin marriage** is the marriage between the children of a brother and a sister. There are two forms of cross cousin marriage. Matrilineal cross cousin marriage and patrilineal cross cousin marriage. When a person has a choice to prefer either of his patrilineal or matrilineal cross cousin, then this type of rule is called as **bilateral or symmetrical cross cousin marriage.**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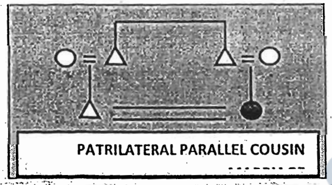
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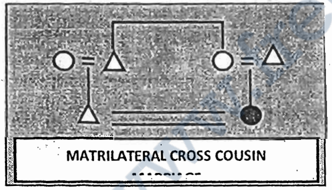
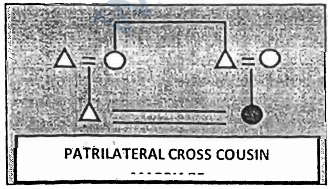

MATRILATERAL CROSS COUSIN

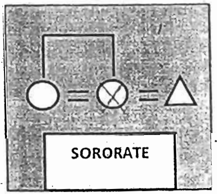

PATRILATERAL CROSS COUSIN

Parallel cousins marriages are very rare and even amongst them, patrilateral parallel cousin marriages are common. Cross cousin marriages are discontinuously distributed all over the world and are very common in South India.

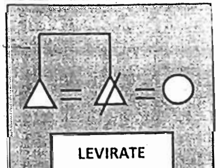
Levirate and Sororate: These two types of marriage rules involve special cases of marriage regulations. They go into effect following the death of one of the spouses.

Levirate is the practice of requiring or permitting a man to marry the wife of his deceased brother. In this practice the need for a legal heir for the deceased is the prime concern. Levirate often coincides with polygyny. This is very common in the Middle East. A man's exercise with his levirate duties establishes his claim on his deceased brother's property. If the marriage of the deceased brother's wife is restricted to the younger brother, this practice is called as **Junior Levirate.**

Sororate is complementary to the practice of levirate. Here a man marries the sister of his deceased wife. This term also applies to a when a husband of a childless woman is given her sister for marriage, in which the children born to the second women are considered as the children of the childless women.


SORORATE

Levirate and sororate occurs with polygyny, patrilocal residence and patrilineal descent. Sometimes it is the natural extension of sororal


LEVIRATE

polygyny, for example Arapaho and other plains of Middle East.

Both levirate and sororate serve useful social functions. They provide the widows with most reliable social and economic support from their near relatives. Levirate ensures the continuity of line if a man dies childless. Sororate ensures that a man who has handed over the Bride price shall have a privilege he is entitled to, like the services of a wife.

TYPES AND FORMS OF MARRIAGE

One of the areas that consistently interested anthropologists is the question of how many persons one may marry at a time in various societies. Depending on the number of spouses, marriage system is classified into the following forms...

1) **Monogamy**: Monogamy is the marriage of one man to one women at a time.
2) **Polygamy**: It can be any of the following types :
   a) **Polygyny**: The marriage of one man to two or more women at a time.
   b) **Polyandry**: The marriage of one woman to two or more men at a time.
   c) **Group marriage**: The marriage of two or more women to two or more men at a time.

Polygamy is also called as plural marriage.

MONOGAMY: Anthropologists who took an evolutionary approach to the study of culture once believed that monogamy, like monotheism and industrialism, to be a sign of progress and civilization. Whether a society permits one marriage partner or a number of marriage partners is in no way related to that society's level of civilization. Monogamy occurs world wide. Economic and population factors in the society tend to limit the number of spouses. In most of the cases, only the most powerful and wealthy men can afford to have more than one wife. In some cases there simply are not enough women to allow for two or more wives to every man.

The form of monogamy characterizing the Western society is termed as serial monogamy. This consists of a pattern of marriage, divorce and another marriage. Thus, although an individual is married to only one person at a time, over a number of years he or she may have had a number of spouses.

Preferential or prescribed forms of mating limit the number of possible marital linkages, for example Khasi, Santhal and Kadars. There are instances of high rate of bride price which limits the number of spouses or forces only monogamy.

POLYGAMY: Polygamy is a marriage to more than one person and it is fairly widespread all over the world. Even in tribal India polygamy is wide spread. Polygamy is of two types – Polygyny and Polyandry.

Polygyny is the marriage of one man to several women while **polyandry** is the marriage of one woman to many men. Polygyny and polyandry are referred commonly as polygamy. Polygyny is found among the Baiga, Nagas, Gonds, and Todas etc.

Polyandry is comparatively restricted in its distribution. It is found among the Todas, the Kota, the Khasa and the Ladakhi bota. From Kashmir to Assam, among the Indo-Aryans and also the Mongoloid people, polyandry is found.

In India polyandry is of two types. When several brothers share the same wife, as among Khasa and Toda, we have **Adelphic Polyandry**. This is also called as the **Fraternal Polyandry**. In general types, also found among the Todas, there need not be any kind of relationship between husbands and the wife goes to spend some time with each husband. So long as the women live with one of her husbands, the others have no claim over her. Nayar polyandry is considered to be of this type.

Polyandry is not everywhere explicable with reference to a preponderance of men over women as was told by Westermark. In Ladakh, for instance, it was actually the women who were more in number. Among the Todas, the property considerations and sex disparity explain this institution.

Polyandry is found to lead to fewer children to every woman and a high incidence of sterility among the women. The study today regarding this institution is not yet certain of the biological reasons that could explain such facts.

Hypergamy: Under the kind of social structure that caste has given rise to in India, there are certain restrictions in the forms of limits beyond which a man and a woman cannot go in the choice of a spouse, of course, he or she must invariably marry outside his or her own clan.

Under the caste system, if a high caste woman marries a low caste man she loses her caste status which is indicative of a degree of ritual purity. Until marriage a daughter shares her father's caste status and after the marriage her husband's. But a man himself does not loose his caste status or the ritual purity by marrying a low caste woman, though his offspring would suffer from a partial lowering from their father's caste status. Therefore, to prevent a woman from losing her caste and becoming impure, Manu and other ancient law givers prescribed hypergamous marriage (***anuloma***) under which a man can marry from his own caste or from those below, but a woman can marry only in her caste or above.

Hypogamy (***pratiloma***) - Marriage of a woman to a man from a lower caste is not permitted. The social consequences of such a system is not only obvious but also is explained in the historical facts. Thus in the last century, Brahmin girls had either to hold out the temptation of huge dowries or choose between polygyny or spinsterhood. Among the Kulin Brahmins of West Bengal, young men took to marrying several wives and would visit them at the latter's houses; otherwise in the absence of financial solvency, which would solve the problem, spinsterhood was the only other alternative. Because of this reason, the Brahmins have traditionally despised female children and a daughter has become a synonym for a curse and the cause of her parents' discomfort and humility. Among the Sudras, the males, as a consequence of hypogamy, have to pay a high bride price or to choose between polyandry and bachelorhood. This might have inspired the evolution of a system of marriage by capture in the lower castes.

Group Marriages: Group marriage is a type of marriage in which sets of males and sets of females share equal rights over each other, as for example the Marquesans of Polynesia.

FUNCTIONS OF MARRIAGE

Biological Functions

One of the most important functions of marriage is reproduction. Marriage forms a permanent mating pair. These pairs establish exclusive sexual rights over one another. It is through marriage that the society organizes sexual activities. In other words, the institution of marriage regulates and socially validates relatively long-term legitimate sexual relations between males and females. Marriage serves as a means for getting together to satisfy sexual needs and start reproductive process. It is through reproduction that the society is perpetuated and this is the reason why marriage serves the biological function.

Economic Functions

As long as the division of labor by sex exists every society has to have some mechanism by which men and women share the produce of their labor. Marriage is one of the ways to solve this problem. It solves how to share the work efforts and how to implement an organized division of labor at individual and personal level. Marriage brings about economic cooperation between the males and the females and ensures survival of the individuals in the society.

Social Functions

Marriage is based on one's desire to perpetuate the family line. Marriage is also a way to acquire new kinsmen. It brings with it creation and perpetuation of the family. It also helps in linking the kin groups and thus serves an important social function.

Educational Functions

The care and the protection of children are at the core of human society or the social organization. The human infants have the longest period of dependency than any other primate. It is the child's protection that constitutes the greatest burden on parents. The process of enculturating the child is the most important function that a family has to undertake in order to fit the child in the mainstream of the society. Marriage serves this purpose of child's enculturation process.

MARRIAGE PAYMENTS

BRIDE PRICE

In many societies where the economic aspects of life are intimately associated with group interests, bride price is present as an arrangement between corporate groups that negotiate transfers of wealth and rights. Bride price, sometimes referred to as bride-wealth, is a form of marriage payment in which the bride's group receives a payment of goods, money, or livestock to compensate for the loss of a woman's labor and the children she bears. These exchange relations between families may persist over many years and in some societies constitute the chief means for the circulation of wealth. In these situations, marriage is a corporate enterprise in which control over prestige valuables is exercised by an older generation of men. Marriage payments are thus a way of establishing and securing alliances and for allocating women's labor power and fertility.

Bride price is not a payment for women, but rather is seen as a way of valuing the labor of women, the effort involved by the bride's family in raising the female, and the labor value of a woman's offspring. The payment is a way of securing the rights of the husband's group over the woman's children. Although women are valued in such societies, their status relative to men's is lower because it is the men who make the corporate household decisions. Often, payments are made in installments in case the couple divorces or fails to produce a child.

A cluster of variables has been identified as being associated with bride price. It is more common in descent systems that are patrilineal, although when it is found in a matrilineal system, it is the case that the wife moves to the residence of the husband's group. Subsistence economies that are horticultural or pastoral and marked with a relative absence of social stratification also feature bride price, and there is evidence that it is common where land is abundant and the labor of women and children contributes to group welfare.

In societies that have some type of economic transaction with marriage, bride-price accounts for almost half the cases, making it the most common form of marriage payment arrangement. Often bride-price is contrasted with a rarer form of marriage payment, dowry, which is a transfer of wealth by the relatives of the bride to her and her husband and which operates in stratified societies. It has been noted that shifts from bride price to indirect dowry (a contribution by the groom to the bride for her use) have occurred in African society in response to shifts in economic behavior.

Bride price is an important variable that is particularly useful for charting social change, broad patterns of cultural evolution, the economics of inheritance, and the status of women. Studies of bride-price also shed light on strategies for bargaining and negotiation because these are important dynamics in setting the level of bride-price payment that in turn is dependent on local economic conditions, such as the availability of land. Because the transfer of wealth has implications for status and power, the study of the mechanisms and variables associated with bride price is an important topic of study for anthropologists,

because of the significance of women's labor and reproductive value to evolutionary hypotheses. In this area of study, researchers make assumptions about maximizing the material, social, or political value of the exchange.

DOWRY

A dowry is a type of payment or gift of property that accompanies a bride upon marriage. The custom has been most common in settled agricultural societies where it may form an important part of the financial arrangements for a marriage. The types of property included in a dowry vary tremendously depending on the economic circumstances of the families involved and the customary expectations of the society. A woman's dowry might include personal possessions (such as clothing and jewels), money, servants, or land. Societies vary in regarding a dowry as the property of the bride, her husband, or her husband's family. Where the custom exists, women frequently receive dowries in lieu of a right of inheritance from their father's estates (Goody and Tambiah 1973). The custom of giving dowries may perform several positive functions. First, as with other common forms of marital exchange such as bride-wealth (also called bride-price), a dowry affirms an alliance between two families united by marriage. Second, a dowry may provide a bride with some protection against an abusive husband. Should she leave her husband, a woman's family may demand that all or part of her dowry be returned. Third, a young couple may use the dowry to set up their own household. Finally, a woman may need to rely upon her dowry for support should her husband die and she has no rights to inheritance. These are by no means universal functions. They are contingent on the ways that people conceive of the dowry and, especially, on whether the wife controls all or part of it.

Dowry often has a marked political dimension. In medieval Europe, noble families down on their fortunes often sought to marry their sons to women from rich families whose dowries would thus enhance their own financial situations. By the same token, a newly wealthy family could improve its social standing by using rich dowries to form marital alliances with those of a higher class. In northern India, marrying daughters upwards, using the enticement of dowries, has long provided one of the chief means for families to raise their status (by very small increments) within the rigidly hierarchical caste system, a process technically known as hypergamy. In general, the custom of dowry imposes a financial burden upon families with daughters that can be especially heavy when the family has few or no sons who might themselves attract wives with dowries.

Dowry had disappeared from most of Europe by the beginning of the twentieth century, but remains a common practice in south Asia. In India it has become a matter of some controversy and a subject for legal reform because of a large number of incidents in which women have been harassed and even murdered by their in-laws in attempts to extort richer dowries. Debate continues as to whether dowry deaths should be understood as a byproduct of the custom itself or as the result of modern conditions that have undermined the traditional connections between families brought together in marriage while inflating the cash value of dowries (Menski 1999). (In India, where a few incidents of bride burning and dowry death acquired notoriety, the payment of a dowry has been prohibited under The 1961 Dowry Prohibition Act in Indian civil law and subsequently by Sections 304B and 498a of the Indian Penal Code).

2.4 FAMILY

DEFINITION AND UNIVERSALITY

Over the decades, social scientists have struggled in their efforts to define the multidimensional concept of family. Through her research Jan Trost (1990) confirmed this overwhelming definitionitional dilemma experienced not only by family researchers but also the general population. Specifically, she illustrated the difficulty and diversity with which people identify those who could or should be labeled family members. For some in her sample, family consisted of only closest family members, the nuclear family, while for others family included various other kin, friends, and even pets. This study highlights the difficulty in defining who is part of the family. However, the complexity of defining the family does not

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end with the determining of family membership. Family definitions are also linked to ideological differences.

For example, John Scanzoni and colleagues, in their attempt to expand the definition of the family in the 1980s, discussed the traditional family defined as two parents and a child or children as the prevailing paradigm of the family. They state, "All other family forms or sequencing tend to be labeled as deviant (as in research on minorities) or as 'alternatives' (when occurring among whites)." They challenged the view held by many early writers that the traditional family was the ideal family, the family type by which the success of other families may be evaluated. This statement illustrates how the definition of family is not only structurally focused but also oriented to both ideology and process. Katherine Allen further defines the ideology and process when she states, "Our assumptions, values, feelings, and histories shape the scholarship we propose, the findings we generate, and the conclusions we draw. Our insights about family processes and structures are affected by our membership in particular families, by the lives of those we study, and by what we care about knowing and explaining." These inescapable ideological differences result in a definition of the family that is driven by theory, history, culture, and situation.

Is it possible to arrive at a definition of family that is universal? A universal definition would require that the definition be viable when applied to all situations and societies, historically, developmentally, and cross-culturally. Most argue that such a definition is either not possible (Settles 1987) or only possible to discuss in relation to categories of definitions (Trost 1990). The latter argues that the definition of family will vary based on situational requirements. Most experts in the field have concluded that "there is no single correct definition of what a family is" (Fine 1993, p. 235). Rather, the approaches that individuals have taken in attempting to define the family have ranged in meaning from very specific to very broad, from theoretical to practical, and from culturally specific to culturally diverse.

Historical and cross-cultural studies of the family offer many different family forms or patterns. These different family patterns are not just interesting products of human inventiveness but they are the solutions to different sorts of problems with which people must cope with. Different family forms at the same time themselves present certain sets of problems, which somehow must be dealt with. How the human beings live together in families can be studied, not as bizarre and exotic forms of human behavior, but as evidences of the adaptive potential of culture.

Definition: The family in general is a group based on marriage and marriage contract, including the recognition of rights and duties of parenthood, common residence for husband, wife and children and reciprocal economic obligation between the husband and the wife (William Newton Stephens).

This definition rests on four criteria:

1. Marriage and the marriage contract
2. Reciprocal economic obligation between husband and wife
3. Common residence
4. Rights and duties of parenthood

All these features may not be found in every human society, but in majority of societies, families satisfy these criteria. There is an absence of a definition for universal applicability. But to a majority of human societies, this definition can be applied.

Basic Structure of the Human Family

Family establishes an institutionalized mating relationship or marital relationship, which can be termed as the **conjugal relationship**. This type of relationship established by the family is not to be mistaken for a mating relationship, where the latter is merely a sexual relationship and not a conjugal relationship. A conjugal relationship comes into place when the persons of opposite sex are united by the institution

marital relationship of a husband and wife. Without conjugal relationship there cannot be an establishment of a family.

The conjugal relationship gives man the status of a husband and gives a woman the status of wife. Here the husband has a monopoly over the wife's sexuality and vice versa. Infact the family establishes some kind of relationships between the various members in the society and by controlling the human urges is indirectly removing confusions that may exist. The conjugal relationship invests the husband with the right to beget children by his wife and the wife with the right to bear the children of her husband. From the biological point of view a child is the product of mating between a man and a woman. The woman who bears the child is the child's biological mother and the man who begets the child is its biological father. Technically speaking, the biological mother is called the child's **Genetrix** and the father **Genitor**.

These two are the biological terms and in all the societies a child has both a social father and a social mother. His social father need not be his genitor, though most often he is and so is the case with his social mother. If not a genitor, he may be his foster father. Similarly is the mother. When anthropologists talk or refer to a mother and/or a father, they mean the child's social father and social mother. Technically speaking the social father is referred to as the child's **Pater**, and the social mother is the child's **Mater**. Pater and Mater are the persons whom the society recognizes as the child's legal father and mother respectively. In anthropology, biological basis is not the only means to recognize the father and the mother. The clear delineation of one's pater and mater besides what is the relationship between one's mater and pater is a very important characteristic of the family in every human society.

The conjugal relationship, as explained earlier, is the tie between a man and a woman who are recognized as the husband and wife. Natal relationship refers to the ties that exist between a person and his parental family. Each family is the conjugal family for the husband and the wife. The family into which one is born is called the **family of orientation** or the **natal family**. The family, which is founded by an individual with a spouse through marriage, is technically called the **family of procreation** or the **conjugal family**.

The family of procreation or the conjugal family begins with the union of married pair and the family of orientation or the natal family begins with the birth of children through the mated pair. A single family acts as both the family of procreation and the family of orientation. These two families, the conjugal family and the natal family, are both alike in their form and the function. However, an important point to be noted is that when we consider both these family types together, an individual has a status of a spouse in one and has a status of being a parent in the other. This dual nature is the characteristic feature of every family. The conjugal relationships create **consanguineal relationships** in the family - the blood relationship. This very conjugo-natal relationship is based on the marital-consanguineal relationship established in the family.

The family is also based on the foundations of emotions. The bonds that bring together the members of a family are the outcome of emotional factors such as love, mutual affection etc. These emotional bonds unite the relationships between a husband and a wife, a father and a mother and the parents and the children. This emotional basis of the family makes it an ideal primary social group.

In addition, the family has an intellectual basis to some extent. The intellectual basis of the family manifests in the rational and reasoned responsibility among the members of the family. This sense of personal responsibility towards each member guarantees smooth working of the family and thus helps contribute to the smooth working of the total society as a whole.

Family is the basis of the regulation of the social life. Every society maintains rules, norms or some standards according to which it guides the members of the society. To have a kind of regulation in society, every member of the society should have a conjugal tie and blood ties to live in a small group of family. It is through the family that every society ensures a wide range of network of relationships and thus regulates and orders life for its members.

In a society, a family is in a nuclear position as compared to other types of social groups. It is the family nucleus for the formation of other types of groups. The family enlarges to form a lineage and two brothers form two different lineages and these in turn can establish a clan and ultimately the society itself.

This preceding discussion makes it very obvious that the society manifests at an individual level in the form of a family and thus family is undoubtedly the cornerstone of the human society.

FAMILY, HOUSEHOLD AND DOMESTIC GROUPS

In all known cultures, at least some people—usually the majority—live near or with kin. Which kin live together differs from one society to the next and from family to family within a culture, but one particular kind of household tends to predominate in a given society. This is in part because many cultures have explicit rules that specify where a married couple will establish their new home.

In most societies around the world, newly married people are required or expected to live with or near the husband's family. This **patrilocal** residence pattern is found in 70 percent of a sample of 1,153 cultures (Levinson and Malone 1980). Residence is **matrilocal** in 11 percent of these societies, with a married couple living with or near the wife's family. Couples live apart from both the husband's and the wife's families in 5 percent of cultures. Husbands and wives are expected to live with or near the husband's mother's brother in 4 percent, a pattern known as **avunculocality**, or the uncle's place. Residence rules that require a couple to live with or near the family of one or the other spouse are known as **unilocal** rules. In 7 percent of cultures, a married couple can live with or near the family of either spouse, based on **bilocal** residence rules. Sometimes couples change households over the course of their marriage. **Patrimatrilocal** residence rules require couples to live first with the husband's family and then with the wife's parents. In **matripatrilocal** cultures, the opposite occurs.

Particular rules of residence seem to occur more frequently in some kinds of cultures than in others. **Neolocal** residence is most common in societies whose economies depend upon money. The introduction of money into a culture means that individuals can obtain what they need on a flexible schedule, so that a husband and wife are no longer as dependent upon kin for the necessities of life. Further, in money-based economies, people are not as free to remain in one place; they may be required to move to where a job is available. Moving entire households composed of parents, aunts, uncles, and cousins is impractical. Therefore, as money economies make couples more independent and also more mobile, living with relatives becomes less necessary and less realistic (Ember and Ember 1983).

In most cultures, people live with relatives. Some theorists have suggested that the particular choice of relatives with whom to live is influenced by which sex makes the greater economic contribution in the culture (Levinson and Malone 1980; Murdock 1949). Residence would be patrilocal where men make the greater economic contribution and matrilocal where the contribution of women is greater. This theory is intuitively attractive, but in fact residence rules are not predictably related to the roles of men and women in the economy. However, residence rules are predictably related to warfare (Ember and Ember 1983). In particular, where wars tend to be waged between groups who live far apart from each other, interfering with the subsistence activities of the men, residence rules tend to be matrilocal. Perhaps this is because matrilocality allows a closely related and therefore cohesive group of women to take charge of subsistence tasks when the men are away. Where enemies are close to home, societies are more likely to be patrilocal. Perhaps under these circumstances, families wish to keep the men at home as a kind of militia. Bilocality also occurs in particular kinds of cultures. Societies that allow a married couple to live with either set of parents have often been recently depopulated by disease. Dramatic population reductions of this sort may mean that one parent or set of parents has died. The flexibility of the bilocal residence means that a particular couple can choose to live with whichever parents have survived (Ember and Ember 1983).

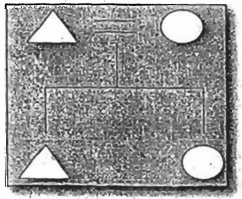
In most cultures around the world, people live in the company of kin. The particular patterning of household differs dramatically from culture to culture, but in all cultures, households are composed of relatives. This means that the most fundamental challenges of living are met with the help of kin. Human beings give and receive food from kin, accept the support of kin in the rearing of their children, go to kin when in need of help, and help kin who are in need. Human beings also treat kin preferentially and are, in turn, treated preferentially by kin. For instance, among the Philippine Ilongot, kin ties regulate all-important interactions between people (Rosaldo 1980). Kin hunt together and cooperate in the performance of other subsistence activities. A man who must make a marriage payment receives contributions from his kin. Relatives visit each other, provide each other with food and medical knowledge, take care of one another, and tend each other's children. A man will request help from his nephew because he views the child as his own, and a woman will give a sister rice for her family because sisters should feed each other's children. This pattern of nepotism is captured in the familiar homily that "blood is thicker than water." Just as kin are favored over nonkin, closer kin are favored over those who are more distantly related. None of this is surprising. Biological evolutionary theory suggests that because relatives share genes, they should be disposed to be good to each other; contributing to the survival and reproduction of a blood relative result in the proliferation of genes identical to one's own. This is entirely consistent with the Darwinian claim that animals, including the human animal, act in ways that promote the representation of their own genes in the gene pool of their kind.

In Western societies, the idealized kinship customs are monogamous marriage, neolocal residence, nuclear families, and incest prohibitions within the nuclear family, bilateral descent, and Eskimo kinship terminology. However, there are often important intrasocietal variations in the overall importance of kinship and kin and specific customs, with the most notable ones involving social class and ethnic variation (Schneider 1973).

TYPES OF FAMILIES

Two basic types of families identified by anthropologists are the **Elementary or Nuclear family and the Extended family.** Nuclear families are organized around the conjugal tie that is the relationship between husband and wife. Extended family is based on consanguineal or blood relations extending over three or more generations.

The Nuclear Family



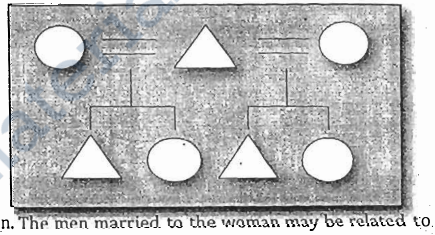
The nuclear family consists of a married couple and its children. This type of family may exist as a relatively isolated and independent unit or it may be embedded within larger kinship units. The claim of some anthropologists (Murdock 1949) that the nuclear family is a universal social institution has been disputed on the basis of some exceptional cases such as that of the Nayar and the Israeli Kibbutz. The independent nuclear family is ideal in only a small percentage of the world's societies, primarily among hunters and gatherers and in modern industrialized nations, both of which require a high degree of mobility.

The nuclear family ideally has its own residence, away from the parents of either the husband or wife. Because the married couple forms a separate domestic and economic unit, the involvement of parents or other kin in mate selection is marginal. Larger kin groups are not expected to exercise control over or interfere in the affairs of the nuclear family. Although there are some ideals about the different roles that should be played by husband and wife with regard to economic support, sexual activity, and child care, these roles are not rigidly defined. Failure to carry out familial roles may result in dissolution of the nuclear family, but since larger kin groups are not involved in the transfer of rights and obligations in a marriage, the dissolution primarily affects only the nuclear family members. The nuclear family may also be dissolved by the death of one of the spouses.

Many functions formerly belonging to the nuclear family have been taken over by other groups. At one time the family in Europe and the United States was a productive unit, and this is still true of some farm families. The typical family, however, has largely lost this function; economically, its most important function is as a unit of consumption. Once leisure activities and recreation were also carried out primarily within the family group; today the peer group plays a much more important role in leisure activities and in inculcating values. The State has also, through various kinds of social programs, undermined the importance of caring for the aged or sick person as a family function. Socialization of children too takes place in important ways outside the family in school and through the mass media.

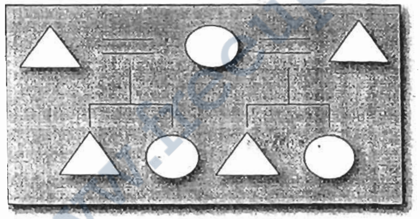
In contrast to this picture of the declining functions of the nuclear family is the increased expectation that the family will satisfy our needs for affection and intimacy. Critics of the nuclear family in the United States feel that this burden is too much for the family to bear. In an age in which personal happiness has become a primary cultural value, it is perhaps beyond the capacity of any one social group. The alienation experienced by many Americans indicates that families often do not carry out their "affective" functions very well.The nuclear family is adapted in many ways to the requirements of industrial society. Where jobs do not depend on family connections, and where geographical mobility may be required for obtaining employment and success in a chosen career, a small flexible unit like the independent nuclear family has its advantages. This type of family also seems to be adaptive to the requirements of a hunting and gathering life, since more than three-fourths of foraging societies have this type of family unit. In such societies, however, the nuclear family is not nearly as independent or isolated as in our own society; the family unit almost always camps with the kind of the husband or the wife.

A **sub-nuclear family** is the one which is characterized by the presence of only the spouses and not any children. Since it does not completely fulfill the structure of a true nuclear family, it is hence called a sub-nuclear family.

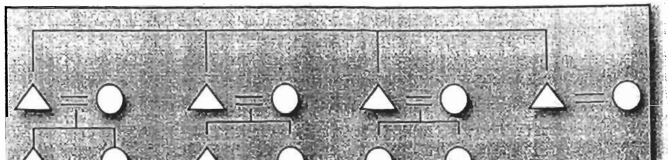


Composite or compound families are aggregates of nuclear families linked by a common spouse. A **polygynous** household consisting of one man with several wives and their respective children and they constitute a compound family. In this case, each wife and her children will normally occupy a separate residence.

A **polyandrous family** is the one that is characterized by one woman married to several men. The men married to the woman may be related to each other or not. The dynamics of compound families are quite different from the dynamics of a family that consists of one husband, one wife, and their children, all of whom occupy a common residence. In the compound family for example, the tie between a mother and her children is particularly strong, and the relations between the children of different mothers by the same father is different in a number of ways from the relationship between full siblings in the typical nuclear family. Furthermore, in analyzing the dynamics of the compound family, the interaction between co-wives must be taken into account, as well as the different kinds of behavior patterns that emerge when a man is a husband to several women rather than just one.



The Extended Family



The extended or consanguineal family consists of two or more lineally related kin folk of the same sex and their spouses and offspring,

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household of a household head. An extended family is not just a collection of nuclear families. In the extended family system, the ties of linearity, that is the blood ties between the generations, are more important than the ties of marriage. In more than half of the world's societies, the extended family is the ideal type.

Extended families may be organized around males or females. A **patrilineal extended family** such as the Rajputs of Khalapur, India, is organized around a man, his sons, and the sons' wives and children. A **matrilineal family** is organized around a woman and her daughters and the daughters' husbands and their children. The Nayars of South India represent the extreme of the consanguineal family, for the conjugal tie is for most purposes completely absent. Most extended family systems do give some recognition to the nuclear family. Thus, among the Rajputs of Khalapur, women are considered responsible for caring for their own children, and the conjugal tie is clearly recognized.

The Patrilineal Extended Family: A society in which the patrilineal extended family was ideal is pre-modern China. In China, lineal descendants from father to son to grandson were the backbone of family organization. The family continued through time as a permanent social entity. As older members were lost through death, new ones were added through birth. As in India, marriage in China was viewed more as acquiring a daughter-in-law than taking a wife. It was arranged by the parents, and the new couple lived with the husband's family. The obedient relationship of a son to his father and the loyalty and solidarity of brothers were given more importance than the ties between husband and wife. In fact, in both societies the public demonstration of affection between married couples was severely criticized. In both systems it was anticipated and feared that a man's feeling for his wife would interfere with his carrying out responsibilities to his own blood kin.

In such cultures a good wife is one who is a good daughter-in-law. She must work hard, under the watchful eye of her mother-in-law and her husband's elder brother's wives. With the birth of a son a woman gains more acceptance in the household. As the years go by, if she has been patient and played her role well, the relationship between husband and wife develops into one of companionship and a more equal division of power. As her sons grow up, the wife achieves even more power in the household as she begins to arrange for their marriages. When several sons are married, a woman may be the dominant person in the household, gradually reducing the authority of the husband.

The Matrilineal Extended Family: Extended matrilineal families are found among the Hopi, a Western Pueblo Native American group who live in the Southwest. The Hopi household revolves around a central and continuing core of women. When women marry, their husbands come into the household and have important economic functions, though they do not participate in its ritual. Husbands are peripheral, with divided residences and loyalties. When crises arise, the father is often blamed and treated as an outsider.

The father's obligations to his sons are primarily economic. He prepares them to make a living by teaching them to farm and he may go into partnership with them in herding activities. When a son marries, a father will present him with a portion of the flock and a small piece of land. The economic support a son receives from his father is returned in the father's old age; a son supports his father and takes the responsibility for his funeral rites. In return for this service, the son will receive a larger share of his father's personal property than his brothers. The father's role is more that of friend and teacher, and the father-son relationship is characterized by affection and little punishment. A father's relationship to his daughter is generally affectionate but not close, and he has few specific duties in regard to her upbringing.

The mother-daughter relationship is an exceedingly close one based on blood ties, common activities, and lifelong residence together. A mother is responsible for both the economic and the ritual training of her daughters. The daughter behaves with respect, obedience, and affection to her mother and normally will continue to live with her mother and her mother's sisters after marriage. A mother also has a close relationship with her son. He belongs to her lineage and will keep much of his personal and ritual property in her home. A son shows a respect for his mother as head of the household and consults her on foundation of the household groups is the relation of sisters to one another and to their mother. The children of sisters are raised together; if one sister dies, another looks after her children. Sisters cooperate in all domestic tasks. There are usually few quarrels and when they occur, they are settled by the mother's brother or their own brothers.

As in all matrilineal societies, the mother's brother's relation to his sister's sons is a very important one. As head of his sister's lineage and household, his position is one of authority and control; he is the chief disciplinarian and has the primary responsibility for transmitting the ritual heritage of the lineage and clan, which occupies the highest place in family. He usually selects the most capable nephew as his successor and trains him in the duties of whatever ceremonial position he may hold. A nephew is frequently afraid of his maternal uncle, in contrast to the affectionate relationship with his father. A mother's brother plays an important role at the time of his nephew's and niece's weddings and is consulted in the choice of a spouse. It is he who instructs his nephew in the proper behavior toward his new relatives and who formally welcomes his niece's husband into the household.

The Advantages of the Extended Family

The extended family is clearly adaptive under certain economic and social conditions. Murdock's survey indicated that the extended family prevails in all types of predominantly cultivating societies. The main advantages of this type of family are economic; the extended family can provide a larger number of workers than the nuclear family. This is useful both for food production and for producing and marketing handicrafts, which are generally better developed among cultivators. Furthermore, in stable agricultural societies, ownership of land becomes important; it is a source of pride, prestige, and power. A family becomes attached to the land, knows how to work it, and becomes reluctant to divide it. A system in which land is divided into small parcels through inheritance becomes relatively unproductive. The extended family is a way of keeping land intact, which provides additional security for individuals in times of crisis. This relationship between land and family type is supported by evidence from India showing that the higher castes, who own more land and other property, are more likely to have extended families than the lower castes.

There are also the values of companionship in the extended family as daily activities are carried out jointly by a number of kin working together. A further advantage is that the extended family provides not only economic support but also a sense of participation and dignity for the older person, who lives out his or her last years surrounded by respectful and affectionate kin. This contrasts with the independent nuclear family, in which the presumed advantages of privacy and personal autonomy are paid for as people grow old and are regarded as a burden and a nuisance if they join the household of one of their children. Although it may be generally true that old people fare better in societies with extended family systems, the life of individuals past their prime is not always enviable even in these societies. When sons begin to raise families of their own, extended families frequently split into parts. As the father loses his productive abilities, he is slowly divested of his former status and power. In a Fijian society studied by Sahlins (1957), the people say, "his time is up" - and an old man literally waits to die. Although the Fijian ideal is that an old father should be properly cared for by his brothers and sons, *"actually he sinks into a pitiable position. In the old days, he might even be killed, today he is barely kept alive, his counsel is never sought and he is more often considered silly than wise".*

Because the independent nuclear family appears to be adapted to a modern industrialized society, many social scientists have predicted that the extended family will be modified in the direction of the independent nuclear family as modernization and industrialization spread. The corollary of this assumption is that, although the extended family has advantages among cultivators or economically marginal populations, these advantages become liabilities with urbanization and industrialization. Milton Singer (1968), an anthropologist who has studied the families of industrial leaders in the city of Madras, India disagrees. He points out that the patrilineal joint family as it exists in India is a flexible institution. The principles of mutual obligation of extended kin, joint ownership of property, and an authority structure in which the male household head takes responsibility for making decisions after consultation with junior members can easily be and have been successfully transferred to the management of modern corporations.

IMPACT OF URBANIZATION, INDUSTRIALIZATION, EDUCATION AND FEMINIST MOVEMENTS IN THE FAMILY

IMPACT OF URBANIZATION

FAMILY IN AN URBAN SETTING

According to Ogburn, *"The family as a social institution is changing as other institutions. The changes differ somewhat in countries according to their degrees of industrialization, of their urbanization and their isolation".*

The present facet of urban family is the result of many changes. In ancient times, the power and control over the family property was in the hands of male members. In the same way according to Balvenk and Teller, the power of males was above all in the family. The traditions of all the families are institutionalized. There was a joint family system in the early days of development. Father was the main figure. But as a result of industrial development and urbanization, changes in the shape of family came through. With industrial urbanism three facets of family came to surface that are Patriarchal, Partial patriarchal and egalitarian.

The traditional family used to live in areas which are self sufficient economically. The peasant supplied the basic need of food, and such craftsmen as smiths, carpenters, potters and weavers satisfied the various other needs of the village community. Barter in the commodities produced by the village workers, agricultural or industrial, was more or less restricted to the village. What little surplus that was left was traded with people of other villages on a market day held in a big village near by. Contact with the outside world was limited owing to the self sufficient character of the village and the poor means of transport and still poorer means of communication. Family tradition was valued above everything, and the primary duty of the head of the family was to ensure that family traditions in all matters relating to life were perpetuated by their solemn observance, however meaningless they might begin to appear as conditions changed. The traditional authority of the head over the junior members of the family was so awe-inspiring that the juniors never thought of expressing their differences, whatever their convictions might be. The subordination and super-ordination designed to regulate the lives of the different members in the hierarchy of the joint household, recognition of family as a unit for all social relationships, the place assigned to the family as a juridical unit in family quarrels - all tended to give the family such enormous influence that the individual lost his identity in it. The social environment never provided any opportunity to the individual to feel that he had interests apart from those of the family.

With the advent of urbanization, a transformation of the cultural pattern became inevitable by virtue of the new forces generated by it, administrative, ideological and economic. Capitalism in the economic field, liberalism in the ideological domain, and the principle of equality in the social and political systems became the order of the day.

Liberalism attacked all privileges and disabilities based on birth, and hence the contract freely entered into by the individual became the juridical foundation of the new society. For it is in its challenge to authority that this democratic sentiment of liberalism finds expression. The individual is expected to accept a principle not "because authority accepted it, but because it's inherent validity secures for it the free consent of others".

Rationalism is the second principle of liberalism. Institutions and traditions are valid only when they are acceptable to reason. There is nothing sacrosanct about them and they can be repudiated and discarded when they fail to stand this test. J.V. Morley expresses this more picturesquely; *"Respect for the individual became the slogan of the new era which catered for personal opinion, personal initiative and personal assertion. This philosophy gave rise to a concept of rights and the struggle for these rights - right to personal* *liberty, social liberty, and economic, domestic and political liberty- has been the most outstanding feature of the world history from the late 18th century onwards".*

Urbanization has also brought with it new criminal and civil codes which are now decided by the new legal courts rather than the traditional family setup for the purpose. The new laws which are typically 'urban' are not acquainted with the law of the traditions and did not understand the language in which the personal law refers to the concept of rational actions. The new codes of conduct neglected the original sources of law and justice, in the societies they propose to serve, i.e., the traditional myths and realities of the experiences of these societies.

Characteristics of Urban Family

1. **Equal status of woman:** In the urban family the woman has equal status with man. The wife is no more dependent on her husband. From the economic point of view, she is independent and her social and economic status has considerably increased. The woman in the urban family has taken to work in occupations which were hitherto the exclusive monopoly of the male members. Apart from this, education is imparted to women on par with the men. Daughters are now able to leave the parental home to seek employment and their employment and their leaving need not involve the family crisis.

   Courtship and marriages have become more of an individual and less a family affair, which means that daughters as well as sons are freer to select their marriage partners. However, in upper class families, there is a tendency still for relatives to hold some degree of control regarding this matter. Daughters as well as sons have more freedom today to make decisions regarding their education and choice of occupation.

2. **Lack of traditional education in the family:** There was a time when the family was considered as the centre of traditional education and informal training, which forms the foundation for the future occupation of the child, which, usually is hereditary or traditional. Apart from this, family was considered as an important means and channel through which every child gets socialized and enculturated. Many of these qualities are no more present in the modern urban family. When the home was a chief work place, it was to be expected that whatever the training needed by the individual for entering his work life was given by the family. It is beyond the capacity of the family to give him education which is important for him to get an occupation in the present modern and urban setting. Education and training have moved out of home, but his most important aspect of socialization, which starts the child on the way to becoming a social being, remains.

3. **Changing status of individual:** The profession or trade of one member of the family is different from the other in the urban setting. This leads to lack of synchronization of life routines of different members in a family. According to Ogburn, *"this daily life may differ as to whether the members of the family work or spent their time or as to the times they go to work or their method of recreation".*

4. **Excess of individuality:** In traditional rural family setup, there is a similarity in the ways of thinking among the members. In urban family setup, every family member has his/her own place of stance, and survive in the family with high degree of individualism. The concept of familialism, which is characterized by unity and cooperation, is literally missing.

5. **Limited size:** Due to the disorganization of familial structure, the urban family is usually of limited size. The families tend to be nuclear. Even the philosophy of 'small family' through family planning has an impact on the size of family. To quote Anderson *"The nuclear family is a procreation unit, but it exercises the procreation function with great irregularity, having few children in the family. Here we are confronted with another type of family shrinkage, not by people going away from the family, but by people not being born to it".*

6. **Increased rates of divorce:** Due to the increasing trend towards the equality in status of women in the family, there tends to be an increasing possibility for disorganized structural and also functional

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This further leads to marital breakdown. One of the main reasons given is the growing dominance of women over men and the latter's reluctance in giving away their traditional dominance. Traditionally, the children usually are responsible for waxing up the marital bond. They use to act as buffers for any marital discord. In the modern setting, children are a burden, even though a joy and this is one of the reasons why divorce rates are more prevalent among childless couples.

Changing trends in the urban family: The above characteristics are not the only means to identify and understand the modern family. The modern family is itself not static and is still in the process of change into a new direction. Burges opined that there is a new type of partnership emerging which is controlled from within. He calls this as **"Companionship family"**. Urban family is emerging towards this type. It has the following characteristics.

1. More socialistic than autocratic.
2. The relationship between the husband and wife is based on will.
3. Instead of traditional static customs, it is based more on mutual attraction and mutual happiness.
4. It is against dominance and is based on self reliance
5. Husband - wife relations are self styled

To quote Anderson, *"If this partnership or companionship is the emerging type, it means that the family is more the private holding of its members than a collective possession of many relatives"*

IMPACT OF INDUSTRIALIZATION ON FAMILY

Research in the period after World War II has documented a gross empirical regularity in all parts of the world and for the first time in the world history, all social systems including family are moving fast or slowly towards industrialization.

Factors in industrialization that have an impact on family:

Under the industrial system, the individual is supposed to be hired or promoted because of his or her competence and the same standards are to be applied to all. The standards for performance are ideally achievement-based and universalistic. The person's relationship to the job is functionally specific - role obligations are ideally confined to getting the task done. Put another way, the extended family system with standards of ascription, particularism and diffuseness, is ideally not permitted to interfere with the efficient functioning of a modern enterprise.

Because of its emphasis on performance, such a system requires that the person be permitted to rise or fall in social rank, and to move about wherever the job market is best. The conjugal family system is neolocal and its kinship network is not strong, thus putting fewer barriers than other family systems in the way of class or geographical mobility. The relationship may also be another way; since increasingly an industrializing society creates formal agencies to handle the major tasks of any kinship grouping larger than the nuclear family, such units as lineages, clans, or even large extended families lose some of their tasks as well as their resources. Thus, they cannot command the allegiance they once had, as they do not enjoy the social controls that were once in their hands. They cannot ensure that the individual who subordinates himself or herself to the elders will do better over the longer run than those who embark upon an independent career. Thus individuals and families are more likely to go their own ways, ignoring such extended kinship ties.

Although family elders always attempt to control the major new economic or political opportunities, they cannot do so as easily under an industrial system, and thus family authority slips from them over time. The young groom can obtain his bride price on his own, and need not concern himself as much about the goodwill of his elders. In a modern commune, he is sure to obtain employment, whether or not he is obedient to his elders. A couple need not obey anyone outside their family unit, since it is their performance on the job that is mainly relevant for their advancement. As new types of tasks proliferate, young people need not even rely on family elders for job instruction, since schools, the factory, or the plantation or mine will teach them the new skills. They do not need to continue working on the land, if it is still in the possession of the elders, since the new jobs and political opportunities are likely to be in the city or factory. Thus, industrialization is likely to undermine the traditional systems of family control and exchange. Each member is in a different structural position; the terms of the role bargaining between generations have been altered.

Upper-strata families are more likely to keep many controls in their hands as a society undergoes increasing market development and industrialization. When Western societies underwent industrialization, the new opportunities remained in the hands of middle or upper class families who owned these new enterprises. At least their bargaining power was not reduced as much as that of lower class families. By contrast, the formerly upper strata native families in newly conquered regions were apt to loose more than families toward the lower social strata. In the New World, for example, after the initial period of conquest, the indigenous tribal leaders were removed. Native rulers lost control over their families, and their political authority collapsed.

The conjugal emphasis on emotionality within the family also serves somewhat the needs of industrialism. At lower job levels, the worker experiences little intrinsic job satisfaction; at higher levels, he or she obtains more job satisfaction, but is also subject to great demands. At any level the enterprise has no responsibility for the emotional balance of the individual, for that remains the responsibility of the family. At least, there is nowhere else to go for it.

By emphasizing how the modern conjugal family system fits the needs of industrialization, we only partially explained how industrialization has its impact on traditional systems. We did note the key point: As new jobs and opportunities develop, family elders lose some control over the younger generation because they no longer command as fully all the available resources. Let us explore this set of complex processes in a bit more detail.

Processes that weaken family control: Three main processes arise with industrialization and weaken the traditional system of family control.

1. An increasing number of people earn their living from jobs, positions that pay wages for a particular task. They do not depend on eventually obtaining a share of the land, or a right to rent land, both of which are usually in the hands of family elders.
2. The needs of efficiency in the industry and the economy require that jobs and promotions be given out mainly for competence and by people who basically have little stake in the familial position of the worker. Therefore, those who hire, fire, or promote will feel little concerned about whether the rewards they give will support any existing set of familial roles. For example, if the worker does not fulfill his or her family obligations, the employer is not very interested. In that case, individuals who wish to avoid or deny family controls will not lose much by following their own inclinations. It should be noted that this is less likely to be true at the upper levels of corporate life, for high corporate executives are expected to lead relatively stable family lives.
3. Work positions in the market economy offer the possibility of gaining a living as an individual, not as a member of the family. If individuals can earn more in the economy by their own efforts than by pooling their labor with members of their family or their kin network, they can become independent of their kin or elders.

In all the three processes, the result is that the traditional flow of rewards and punishments given to the younger or older family member on the basis of his or her conformity to family wishes is interrupted or altered. It is not that these industrial processes directly and universally work against the family; but all family systems are under some strain, and always some individuals would break away from traditional rules if they could do so easily. Industrial patterns give much less support than did the traditional system

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supports are undermined, but new supports emerge. At the present time, it seems likely that industrialization has not developed many alternative patterns of support for traditional family obligations.

Such changes do not occur swiftly. Males became more liberated from family controls at an earlier stage in industrialization than did females, and at a different rate in different parts of the economy. For example, a teenage factory worker in the late nineteenth century did not have to obey his father nearly so much as a teenage daughter, or so much as a son of a farm owner or of an industrial owner. That was because the young factory worker did not have to stay on the farm in the hope of inheriting it; instead, he could live off his wages. On the other hand, the authority of elders was not undermined to the same degree by the fact that young women took jobs. They worked under different arrangements, but it was taken for granted that they would not have full command over their own wages. It was expected that some part of their money would be set aside for their eventual marriage. They did not continue to work after marriage, and so did not develop an independent career.

These processes may be viewed in another way by asking why family elders have attempted, in so many societies, to maintain lineages and clans, strong and extensive kin networks, or large extended households when they could do so. First, all such units can be productive enterprises, in the sense of yielding a wide array of rewards for the elders who control the units. Elders gain prestige, comfort, and deference from the young, and the pleasure that comes from making decisions for others. If many are pooling their resources, and there is a sufficient amount of land or large enough enterprises to support everyone, some measure of social security is achieved. Some economies of scale occur, and in general individuals will feel that their best chance of long term profit will be found in staying with the large family unit, contributing to it and hoping that eventually they will become privileged elders in turn.

A final major process through which industrialization has an effect upon kinship patterns is to be observed in its creation of a wide array of impersonal services that can be obtained in the open market. Corporate kinship groups such as lineages and clans always engage in different kinds of capital accumulation, lending, the development of some collective properties such as a temple, protection of the group, and so on. The modern type of political economy develops easier banking facilities, public schools, political protection, and many public services. This enables the individuals to live more adequately apart from the controls of kin network. Equally important, it undermines the controls of such large scale kin units over individual families. The services and help they once provided can now be obtained elsewhere.

Does industrialism fit the conjugal family?

Although several of the characteristics of the conjugal family are useful for an industrial economy, does the latter support the conjugal family? We cannot assume that the interaction between these two great institutions is naturally harmonious, or conducive to the total welfare of the society or its members. In the course of history, sometimes one institution gains at the expense of others, and may even gain at the expense of much of the population. Large scale institutions are the unplanned result of individual desires and initiatives. All are systems of forces, each with its own needs, and in various ways any one may fail to serve the needs of the others.

In order to achieve the goal of placing everyone in his or her job solely on the basis of merit, we would have to destroy the family system entirely, for it is an inevitable result of any family system that members attempt to give special advantages to their young whenever they can. Industrial enterprises, focused on profits have little interest in the idiosyncrasies and needs of aged parents, the emotional problems of adults, or the insecurities of children. On the other hand, if the family system failed completely to deal with such matters, very likely there would not be enough adequately functioning people even to staff the industrial system. That is, family and industrial factors have some independent weight, but do interact with one another. Neither fully determines the other, family forces continue to resist industrializing pressures. Thus, we cannot suppose that industrialism supports even the conjugal family, though it may be ultimately dependent upon its effectiveness.

We may answer this question by pointing out some of the problems that are common in a conjugal system, or are partly generated by the demands of an industrial system, and then asking whether the modern political economy helps to solve them or to prevent them. We believe that in general the answer is negative. Since we do not wish to explore this question in depth, we will simply list some of these junctures at which an advanced technical society does not appear to offer much support.

1. The family unit is fragile because of separation and divorce, but the industrial system offers little help in the crises for adults or their children.
2. The industrial system fires, lays off, and demands geographical mobility by reference to the individual, ignoring the familial strains these actions may cause.
3. For most of its history, the industrial system has operated through the fiction that only the individual worked at the job. The major contributions of the wife to the worker's productivity were ignored. Moreover, the technical system offered women more economic goods, but has not relieved them of their household tasks. Labor saving devices merely raised the standards of cleanliness and general performance, permitting more work to be turned out, but they did not reduce the hours of work.
4. With the recent increase in the use of women in labor force their total work burden has increased, but only a few corporations have attempted to develop programs for helping them in child care, or for inducing men to share these tasks.
5. The modern system leaves older men and parents in an ambiguous position. This is because of its neolocal independent household and its accompanying values in favor of separate lives for each couple.

IMPACT OF FEMINIST MOVEMENTS ON FAMILY

The Changing Status of Women

No blanket statement can be made about the changing state of woman in the modern society. Especially in the context of industrialization, it can be said that there has been a considerable change in the role women have adopted in the society, in all spheres of life.

Ann Oakley has traced the changing status of women from the eve of the industrial revolution. She claims that "most important and enduring consequence of industrialization for women has been the emergence of the modern role of housewife as dominant mature feminine role".

In the pre-industrial society, family was the production unit. Marriage and family were essential to individuals for economic reasons since all members of the family were involved in production. Agriculture and textiles were the main industries and women were indispensable to both. In the production of cloth, the husband did the weaving while his wife spun and dyed the yarn. On the farm, women were in charge of dairy produce. Most of the housework - cooking, cleaning, washing, mending and child care - was performed by unmarried children. The housewife role, which involved the domesticity of women and their economic dependence on men, had yet to arrive.

During the early stage of industrialization, which dates from 1750 to 1840, the factory steadily replaced the family as the unit of production. Women were employed in factories where they often continued their traditional work in textiles. The first major change which affected their status as wage earners was series of factory acts. Children became increasingly dependent upon their parents and this necessitated care and supervision, a role which fell to women. The increased differentiation of the child and adult roles, with the child's growing dependence heralded the dependence of women in marriage and their restriction to the home.

From the advent of World War I in 1914, a combination of pressure from male workers and philanthropic reformers restricted female employment in industry. Women were seen by many male factory workers *rival group and make use of economic, legal and ideological weapons to eliminate or reduce their competition. They excluded women from the trade unions, made contracts with employers to prevent their hiring women, passed laws restricting the employment of married women, caricatured the working women, and carried on a ceaseless propaganda to return women to the home and keep them their".* Thus a combination of factors restricted the employment of women, locked the majority of women into the mother-housewife role.

In the time period during 1914 to1950, there was a tendency towards the growing employment of women coupled with retention of housewifery as the primary role expected of all women. During these years women received many legal and political rights, but these had little effect on the central fact of their lives, the mother-housewife role. Industrialization had the following effects on the role of women.

1. The separation of men from the daily routines of domestic life
2. The economic dependency of women and children on men
3. The isolation of housework and child care from other work

Despite the primacy of the mother-housewife role, women are entering the labor market in ever increasing numbers. Despite their increasing share of the labor market, women are not employed evenly throughout the occupational structure. They are concentrated in low paid jobs, low status jobs. They are less likely than men to have interesting work or opportunities for promotion, more likely to work in poor conditions and to become redundant. Women are employed mainly in unskilled and semi-skilled manual jobs and in intermediate and low-grade white collar occupations.

As in the family, there is a sexual division of labor in the job market. Women are concentrated in particular types of jobs which are typically seen as female occupations. They include nursing, primary school teaching, factory work involving packing and producing domestic products, secretarial and lower level clerical jobs, lower grade catering work and retail sales occupation such as cashiers and shop assistants. Women's jobs are often extension of their domestic role which involves caring for, waiting on, serving, clearing and tidying up after others. Mary K. Benet maintains that the secretary acts as wife, mother, mistress and maid. She argues that office work is the business equivalent of housekeeping since both jobs are custodial, concerned with tidying up, putting away, and restoring order rather than producing anything. Both jobs produce a same sense of frustration. In most respects, this mirrors their domestic child care role. Viola Klien stated that *"The outstanding impression gained is that women's lives, today as much as ever, are dominated by their role as wives and mothers".* She found that the primary reason for wives taking up paid employment was to supplement family income. The decision to work outside the home was based on domestic priorities.

There is an incompatibility of the mother-housewife role and career. This indication is provided by the relatively small numbers of female managers and professionals. Though the requirements of woman's domestic role are not the only reasons for this imbalance, they are probably important. Female professional workers are three to four times more likely to be unmarried than their male counterparts.

Theodore Caplow gives the following reasons for the relegation of women to the bottom of the occupational structure.

1. The primary status of women as mothers and housewives. As such, their careers are discontinuous due to the fact that they move out of the labor market to produce and rear children.
2. Women are secondary breadwinners compared to their male counterparts. This encourages the attitude that it is right and proper that women should be paid less than men.
3. Due to the mother housewife role, which ties wives to their husbands, women are less geographically mobile than men.

Conjugal roles are becoming increasingly jointed, decisions are based on consultation and power is increasingly balanced between husband and wife. Survey after survey has shown that more wives than husbands express marital frustration and dissatisfaction, consider their marriages unhappy, and initiate divorce proceedings. Compared to their husbands, wives suffer considerably more stress, anxiety and depression. They are two single factors to account for the relative distress of wife. They are the Pygmalion Effect and the housewife role. The **Pygmalion Effect** is a phrase adopted from George Bernard Shaw's play Pygmalion, which deals with the re-socializing of a working class girl into an upper class lady. In terms of marriage, the Pygmalion effect refers to wife's redefinition of the self and an active reshaping of the personality to conform to the wishes or needs of husband's. Various studies have shown that, in marriage, the wife rather than the husband makes the adjustments, conforms too increasingly and comes to resemble them. The housewife role in the changing times has the following characteristics.

- It is exclusively allocated to women
- It is economically dependent on men
- It has the status of "non-work" compared to "real" work
- Which is economically productive
- It takes precedence over all other roles as the role for women

Housework is unpaid, privatized and isolated. The housewife works long hours, and her work is accorded little prestige.

Changing Feminine Role and Family

Women's changing status and traditional Division of Labor within the Family: Because the past two decades have witnessed a new effort on the part of women in the society to achieve greater equality within the marketplace as within home, it is important to consider the extent to which the division of labor within home has changed because of women's participation outside it.

Even without any ideological pressure towards a more equal division of household responsibilities, one might suppose that husbands and wives would move toward a greater sharing of domestic duties when the wife is engaged in full time occupation, just as the husband is. That is, since both are spending more time at work, it would seem likely that not only fairness, but the simple recognition of limited time and energy, would shift the burden considerably. But at this time, very few bits of data suggest that this commonsense expectation is correct.

Let us consider the woman's time budget over past two decades. The introduction of household labor saving devices did not reduce the number of hours housewives devoted to domestic tasks. Though the machines have increased the productivity of household as an economic unit, they did not decrease the number of hours women worked. This is mainly because of the direct care of the children in the family. Men contribute very little to the total amount of domestic work accomplished. Two thirds of the husbands are reported to do no household work at all.

During the later stages, husbands increased their participation by only a small amount. The most important change is that the wives reduced the number of hours they devote to various tasks in the household.

The most pressing problem in a family as a result of this change among the status of women is that of child care. A majority of working mothers pay for child care, even if not on daily basis. Most wives manage to obtain help, from time to time, from the relatives.

Women have not only coped but began to change their attitude as well. They began to change their attitudes in the direction of greater approval of more equal sex role behavior, and thus a more equal sharing of house work. Many women started maintaining egalitarian attitudes, and attitudes against a traditional division of labor, with respect to housework, major decisions, and which kinds of jobs or tasks men and women should have. Younger women, women with more education, wives with better educated husbands, and those who held jobs for many years are more likely to move towards egalitarian sex role attitudes.

It is to be emphasized here that the women's structural position is not an independent one, and therefore we should not expect any substantial changes as yet in the allocation of domestic tasks, which remain predominantly the responsibility of women. However in some societies, the changes are substantial.

Changing Status of Women and Marital adjustment: Since the women enter the labor force for a wide variety of reasons and work at very different jobs, while their husbands vary substantially toward this move, we can suppose that the impact of changing status of woman on marital satisfaction would be fairly substantial. In most societies, until possibly a few decades, most men in comfortable financial situations would have forbidden their daughters and wives to go outside the home to work. Even in the contemporary society, many men feel that it is their duty to make enough money so that their wives "don't have to work", and they feel some failure if financial need forces them to accept that new situation. In addition men have supposed that they would lose control over their wives and daughters if they took jobs outside the home, both because they could not continue to monitor their sexual behavior, and because an independent income would make them less willing to accept male domination. On the other hand, now as in the past, husbands or fathers have derived economic benefits from the additional income. And wives have not always been eager to take outside jobs, because it was evident that they were expected to continue discharging their regular household duties, whatever the demands for the outside work.

We should expect, in any event, that studies made in different parts of the world, at different time, would reflect a very different set of outcomes for husbands and wives. As a higher proportion of the labor force is made of women, more women will be found in higher level occupations, thus returning a larger income to the household that loses her services for part of the day. As more challenging work opportunities are opened up over time, more women actually want to work and will be unhappy if they are not given that chance. Many children object to their mother's working because they fell deprived of her attention; while they may also be proud of her accomplishments. Thus, in reviewing the evidence, we have to be aware that changes in labor force composition which now includes and provides a status for women, and the attitudes of men, women, and children will affect whether or not people feel greater satisfaction when the mother enters an occupation on a full time basis.

In spite of all these, some relationships seem fairly likely, as we have noted earlier. One is simply that wives with more education, who therefore obtain more challenging and higher paid jobs, are more likely to go to work out of choice, and also to report more marital satisfaction. If their husbands approve of that employment, they are also likely to report greater satisfaction with their marriages. On the other hand, most women can enter only relatively uninteresting jobs with modest pay, and they continue to shoulder most of the burden of housework. Their husbands, in turn, feel deprived of some of the services they normally would expect. Moreover, most studies show that when wives work, they obtain a stronger voice in family decisions. This effect is greater toward the middle and lower social strata, because the difference in income between husbands and wives is smaller there than in upper middle or upper class positions. If the difference between the incomes is likely to be still smaller, the wives' share in the family decision is even greater.

Some studies have reported that husbands of working wives experience less satisfaction with their marriages and a generally lower mental and physical well being than husbands whose wives stay at home. Women who work part time only, as well as their husbands, are more likely to report their marriages as good - perhaps because in this case the husband loses fewer of his wife's services but still gains from the added income. It should be kept in mind that these observations tend to become dated simply because attitudes and behavior change over time. Men whose wives do not go out to work may be married to women who themselves hold traditional attitudes, in harmony with the traditional attitudes of their husbands. Some of lesser marital satisfaction of men whose wives go out to work may come from the fact that these women are already less willing to remain under the control of their husbands, and

Children and Working Mothers: When most mothers in the labor market were of lower class, relatively less social concern was expressed as to whether this might have a bad effect on their children. However, as women have come to constitute a larger proportion of labor force, and have entered middle and higher class occupations, they have threatened men somewhat more and have also made stronger claims to equality in the workplace as in the domestic sphere. Consequently, more voices have been raised to predict that the children of the future will be harmed by these changes. What can we say about the effects of the changing status of women on the development of their children?

Perhaps the most important finding is that it has not been possible to demonstrate that children who grow up in households with working mothers develop psychological problems or are more prone to various kinds of deviance than children whose mothers stay at home to supervise them. The small difference that do appear seem to be simply a reflection of class differences; more working mothers with or without a husband are to be found toward the lower middle or lower social strata, where some what more juvenile delinquency and poor school performance are likely to be reported.

A second important finding negates another widespread fear; many studies have been made of the effect of child care agencies and organizations in various countries, and these show that children who spend part of their day in the care of substitute mothers in such organizations do not show evidence of psychological harm or social delinquency. In rural regions, of course, these substitute agencies are likely to be simply relatives of the working mother, while in various countries the agencies are likely to be supervised by the government and staffed by professionals.

Children whose mothers work part time are less likely to feel deprived. Part time workers have more hours at their disposal and it is possible they represent a different sample - that is, mothers who simply wish to devote more time to their children. Children of mothers who like their work are also less likely to feel deprived. This pattern is made up of several elements. Women who like their work are more likely to be engaged in somewhat higher level jobs that pay more and somewhat more fun. They bring more material comforts to the home, and try to make up to their children for their lesser gifts of time. On the other hand, the women who do not like to work are more likely to be lower class and to have less pleasant jobs. Such mothers may therefore feel put upon and are more likely to insist that their sons shoulder some of the burden of household chores. Such mothers feel less need to compensate for their absence, and their daughters are more likely to feel somewhat neglected.

Children of mothers who hold higher level jobs may not suffer much from neglect for another reason. Although such jobs may be more demanding, there are more likely to bring more satisfaction to the mothers who engage in them. As a consequence, such mothers report more marital satisfaction, and thus psychologically are better able to give more affection and attention to their children. The added income may also help the family to hire more household help or child care services.

Of the most important for the behavior of future generations is the effect of sex role attitudes on the children. In general, when mothers work their children are more likely to approve of mothers working and of a more egalitarian division of domestic tasks. Girls are less likely to accept traditional feminine roles, and are more likely to take jobs themselves. Lower class boys with working mothers are less likely to evaluate their fathers as highly as lower class boys whose mothers stay at home. Middle class boys of working mothers are more likely to view their fathers as warm and nurturing. Both boys and girls with working mothers are more likely than others to view women as competent.

A Movement towards equality?

Recent changes in the structural position of women in the society or market place should not be overstated, but they must not be viewed as trivial either. Should we focus on the radical changes in the societies or on their failure to reach equality? The question of women's liberation is theoretically important, and it should be treated as a part of our continuing analysis of how societal forces affect relations within the family and vice versa. If women continue to improve their position in the society, will they also move somewhat more toward equality with their husbands in the home? Or will men manage to

It has to be remembered that in every major country women are now attempting to assert their claims to equality and not only in the area of work. Their 'rebellion' is a part of worldwide demand for equality, not just pressed by women, but by ethnic and racial groups, castes, colonies and sub-national groups. Oppressed groups all over the world are no longer willing to admit they deserve their lowly position. They increasingly argue that they have been victims and each year a larger percentage of them clamor for equality. The first stage of liberation is often the recognition that one's misery or deprivation is not personal; it is caused by social institutions, in this case familial institution. In any country, the more educated women and the younger women are more likely to feel this than others and of course rural women are less likely to do so, but the movement can be observed worldwide. More and more women are experiencing this revelation. If the movements continue, it will have important consequences for the family.

Will the movement towards equality continue? Running the risk that all prophets of the future will run, we assert that males will stubbornly resist but reluctantly adjust. They will do so because women will continue to want more equality than they now enjoy, and they will be unhappy if they do not get it. Men, on average, will prefer that their women be happy. The adjustment will continue because neither women nor men will be able to find an adequate substitute for the other sex, and neither will be able to find an alternative social system. When dominant classes or groups cannot rig the system as much in their favor as they once did, they will work within it just the same. To revise an old adage, if this is the only roulette wheel in town, men will continue to play even if it is honest and fair.

If there is greater equality between husbands and wives, the divorce rate is unlikely to drop; we suppose that it will continue to rise. This will occur because far more women will be able to live independently than in the past. In addition, although giving both parties an equal voice in making decisions, and independent actions may eventually create a strong solidarity if the unit endures, it also creates substantial conflict. We do not believe that egalitarian relations within the family will necessarily yield more happiness, although to be sure those who suffer or those who feel oppressed under the present system would be happier under different arrangements. We simply do not know which marital arrangement might yield the greatest happiness for its participants, and thus have no way of predicting whether greater equality within the society and the home will make people happier with their lot.

UNIVERSALITY OF FAMILY – A CRITIQUE

Many a social scientists have maintained that the nuclear family even when embedded in other kinship structures is universal and that universality is based on this necessity for carrying out the basic and necessary sexual, economic, reproductive, and educational functions required by every society (Murdock 1949). Although some theorists have praised this family structure as being necessary for producing healthy personalities, others have condemned it as having reactionary influences on children and as creating an oppressive situation for women. The question of whether the nuclear family structure is universal or necessary is becoming increasingly relevant in today's society, with divorce prevalent and o many families headed by a single parent. One society that has attempted to divest itself of the nuclear family is that of the Kibbutz (Spiro 1974).

Kibbutzim are collective agricultural settlements in Israel. The Kibbutz was created by European Jews who wanted to establish a community built on social justice and the economic principles of "from each according to his ability and to each according to his needs". Private property would be done away with the community rather than family would be the most important group. Women, who had been limited to a secondary role in the traditional East European nuclear family, would have a new chance to become full human beings, equal with men, working alongside them and not limited to the private domestic sphere of family life. Although communal child rearing originally started out as an expedient to allow women to work, it has since grown into an important part of Kibbutz ideology. The degree to which communal child rearing is considered essential varies a great deal; some Kibbutzim adhere to a communal child-rearing policy much more strongly than others.

Typically, an infant born on the Kibbutz is raised in an infants' house almost from birth and is cared for with several other infants by a trained nurse. The infant is regularly visited by the mother and is usually breast-fed and the mother also comes to put it to bed. Thus, this is a time of close emotional contact between mother and infant. Later, the growing child lives with its peers, cared for by a trained caretaker. By the age of three or so, the children eat with the peer group, rather than their parents, feeding themselves under the caretaker's supervision. As they grow older, the peer group becomes the main factor of continuity in their life and the major agent of enculturation. The group does everything together eating, playing, bathing, studying and sleeping. Studies of the personalities of Kibbutz children seem to indicate that they feel themselves to be "children of the Kibbutz" and regarded as such by adults. They feel that they belong not to individual families but to the whole community. There is little evidence of serious pathology, deviance, or delinquency on the Kibbutz and the research indicates that its children can grow up emotionally healthy and productive.

Furthermore, in the Kibbutz the basic economic unit, both for production and consumption, is also the whole community, rather than the nuclear family. Eating is a communal activity not only for children but also for adults. Although there is a division of labor between males and females - women tend to predominate in "service" activities such as education, washing, and cooking and men dominate in agriculture, where heavy machinery is used and is not found at all in the educational system from infancy to junior high school (Spiro 1979). The division of labor does not characterize the relationship that exists between couples. Each mate works in some aspect of the economy, each is an independent member of the Kibbutz on his or her own, and each as a member, receives his or her equal share of the goods and services that the Kibbutz distributes. Neither engages in economic activities that are exclusively directed to the satisfaction of the needs of the mate. There are no sanctions on sexual relations among adult single members of the Kibbutz; two single persons who wish to have a more intimate and permanent relationship request permission to share a room and the granting of this request is the Kibbutz's acknowledgement that they are now "a couple". Becoming a couple, which may often not involve a marriage ceremony until the birth of the first child, does not change any of the communal economic responsibilities of the couple. Thus, it would seem that the Kibbutz is a society in which sexual, reproductive, economic and educational functions are met in the absence of a nuclear family structure. Yet, the issue is more complex. In spite of the absence of formal structure, the nuclear family is a recognizable unit in Kibbutz life (Spiro 1974). Affective ties are stronger between men and women who are married to each other than between other Kibbutz comrades. Children's affective ties to their own parents are also of a different and more intense quality than their ties to other caretakers. Furthermore, although the Kibbutz, rather than the family, provides the basic necessities of life, small luxuries and extras are provided within the nuclear family.

Melford Spiro indicates that the absence of the nuclear family structure is keenly felt by Kibbutz women, who are increasingly agitating for more "feminine prerogatives" in particular for the right to keep their children in their rooms overnight. This is consistent with the fact that the Kibbutz has always seemed to have a "woman problem", in that men are more satisfied as members than women are, and more women than men are likely to want to leave. Women are also more likely than men to violate Kibbutz principles regarding the family structures. Can this be explained by pointing to the importance of the nuclear family in meeting the emotional needs of human beings in a way that no other structural unit can?

Although Spiro (1979) and others see the desire to return to more of a nuclear family structure as indicative of some basic biological need in women, other anthropologists have given different answers. It appears, for example, that in spite of the Kibbutz ideology of sexual equality, women have not, in fact, participated equally in the high-prestige positions such as agriculture, and non-productive service sectors. This has resulted in less political influence and participation in Kibbutz life. Further, the threat of warfare in Israel has led to a higher value being placed on the male-dominant values that underlie a state in which military combat has assumed a great national importance. The constant threat of war has also led to an increased emphasis on the maternal role for women, who are expected to play a supportive role for their sons. It has also led many mothers to insist on keeping their own children with them at night in

lack of success in the arena of sexual equality. Thus, many women in the Kibbutz may feel that since they cannot gain satisfaction from their work or contribution to the community, they should at least be able to have the satisfaction that comes from the maternal role. In short, we cannot assume that the experiment to do away with the nuclear family has failed because of some inherent factor in human nature that requires it. Rather, the Kibbutz research stresses that rigid definitions of family types are not the most useful way of understanding the family as it exists in specific cultural contexts. It is more useful to examine the different components of the nuclear family "complex" and investigate how these various rights, obligations, activities and functions are actually distributed and with what costs and benefits in different societies.

2.5 KINSHIP

CONSANGUINITY AND AFFINITY

Kinship has to do with two types of relationships - The relationships by blood or consanguinity and the relationships by marriage or affinity. All cultures distinguish various categories of consanguines (blood relations) and affines. These categories, with their associated patterns of rights and obligations make up kinship system. In some societies every individual is, or thinks he is, related by consanguinity or affinity to every one else; in others, including most western ones, a man's kin and affines are limited for practical purposes to a few close relatives. But in every society some relationships of kinship and affinity are culturally recognized.

In a majority of western societies and other "westernizing" societies kinship plays a little or no part in this complex network of political, economic and religious association. But in many small-scale societies, the social importance of kinship is paramount. Where a person lives, his group and community membership, whom he should obey and by whom be obeyed, who are his friends and who his enemies, who he should and should not marry, from whom he may hope to inherit and to whom pass on his own status and property - all these matters and many more may be determined by an individual's status in a kinship system.

In all the human societies, even the most technologically simple ones, the basic categories of biological relationship are available as a means of identifying and ordering the multifarious social relations. This is so even though some of these categories may be differently defined in different cultures. Everywhere people are begotten of men and born of women and in most societies the fact of parenthood and the bonds of mutual dependency and support that it implies are acknowledged. This leads to the recognition of other links, such as those between siblings, and between grandparents and grand children. So, even in the simple societies kinship provides some ready to handle categories for distinguishing between the people and ordering one's relation with them. Apart from sex and age, which are also of prime social importance, there is no other way of classifying people which is so "built in" to the human condition.

Biologically it is not just the human beings but also animals possess kinship. But the vital point is that unlike other animals, human beings consciously and explicitly use the categories of kinship to define social relationships. When an anthropologist speaks of a parent-child relationship, or of relationship between cross-cousins, he is not primarily concerned with the biological connections between these kinds of kin, though of course he recognizes the existence of such relations. What is important in the analysis and understanding of any kinship system is the recognition of social relations; the fact that in the culture being studied, they involve distinct types of social behavior and particular patterns of expectations, beliefs and values.

When social anthropologists deal with kinship relations, they are really dealing with relations of a very different kind, that is, with social ones. Kinship relations are not a special kind of social relationships like economic or legal relations. Rather the categories which kinship affords actually provide a context and idiom for many different kinds of social relationships. It is the anthropologist's task to determine, in the culture he is studying, what these are.

A kinship system is not just a collection of distinct and mutually exclusive terms, each denoting a different kind of genealogical and social relationship. It is rather a whole way of life, and it can be understood only by a thorough investigation of the language, values and behavior of people who have it. Often the denotation of kinship terms is not fixed but depends on the social contexts in which they are used, so that the same genealogical relationship is invoked by use of the same term in different situations. To give a simple example, in many cultures the term which we translate `brother' may (though it need not) denote many relatives besides the son of one's parents; sometimes it may refer to people who are not biologically kin at all. What it does denote can only be determined in the light of a through knowledge of culture. Kinship may provide a guide to a very great many of the social relationships in which a person is likely to be involved in the course of his life. It is very commonly used and is important for two related purposes.

1. It provides a way of transmitting status and property from one generation to the next.
2. it serves to establish and maintain effective social groups.

PRINCIPLES AND TYPES OF DESCENT (वंश)

The rules governing kinship and relationships among the members of a given society are known as the rules of descent. They arise because many societies must deal with problems which cannot be handled by even the largest of the extended families. For example, it may be necessary for the members of one local group to be able to claim support and protection from individuals in another. Some ways to share rights in means of production, such as farm land, is also essential. By application of a rule of descent, sets of kin are identified which can deal with such problems. Each individual can then trace a chain of parent-child links back to a common ancestor (who may be real or fictive) and by doing so, establish his place in a descent group in which he has clearly defined rights and privileges. To operate most efficiently, membership in a descent group ought to be clearly defined. Otherwise, the membership overlaps and it is not always clear where one's primary loyalty belongs. The various principles of descent are discussed here.

UNILINEAL DESCENT

Unilineal descent is also called as the unisexual descent or unilateral descent. This rule establishes the kinship exclusively through male line or female line. The patrilineal or the agnatic descent recognizes the links through males and the matrilineal or the uterine descent recognizes the links through the females. The various sorts of unilineal descent groups are the lineages and the clans.

In a lineage, the criterion of the membership is known. In such a descent group, the relationship between the individuals can be clearly demonstrable. In a clan, the relationships between the individuals or the members of the descent group cannot be demonstrated and can only be assumed. The members of a lineage trace their descent to an ancestor who is known to have lived a number of generations back. In a clan, the members frequently trace their descent to an ancestor who is thought to have lived at some time in distant past, thus at a greater genealogical distance. The clan sometimes claims a symbolic association with a plant, animal or an object called totems and this belief is called as totemism. The lineages and their clans trace the descent to a common ancestor and hence are ancestor-focused groups.

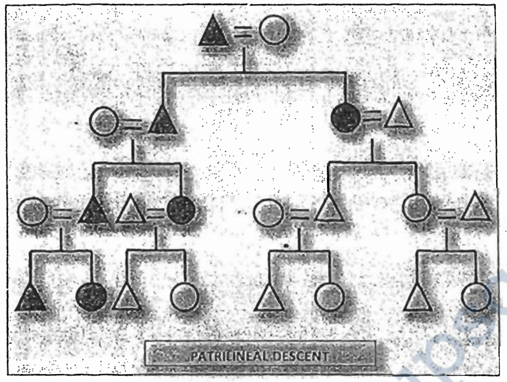
Sometimes, the clans sub-divide over a period of time, with each segment still claiming descent from the original common ancestor. The several clans that make the claim of a common descent are together known as a **phratry**. Sometimes, the society as a whole may be sub-divided into two groups for the purpose of exchanging women through marriage. Each of these groups consists of a number of other larger groups, clans or phratries. These dual groups are called the moieties which are seen in the Miwok Indians of Central California. In this society every lineage belongs to any one of the two moieties - land or water.

There are two different types of Unilineal descent – **Patrilineal Descent** and **Matrilineal Descent**, depending on the sex of the relative through whom descent is reckoned.

Patrilineal Descent

Patrilineal descent traces the ancestry through the male line. A patrilineage consists of a man (the founder), his sons and daughters, his son's sons and daughters, his grand son's sons and daughters and so on. Women such as the founder's daughters and the founder's sons' daughters and sons are the part of the patrilineage. But these women cannot pass on their rights and duties within their lineage to the offspring. These can be only through the males in the line. In patrilineal descent systems, relations of descent, authority and residence reinforces one another.

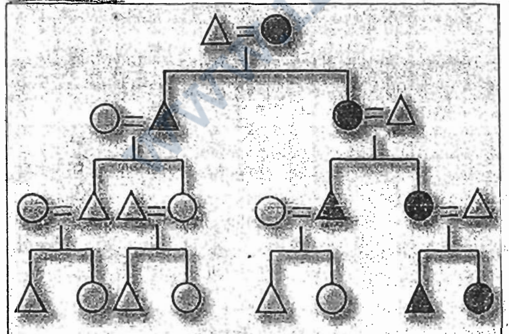
Amongst the Yoruba of West Nigeria the social order depends on the integration of political, economic and religious activities through systems of patrilineage called as the Idilies. The oldest male member of the group is acknowledged as the head of an idilie. He exercises religious and political authority over his lineage mates. The female members of the Idilies marry males from other Idilies and move to the communities of their husbands. Most male members live in single community with their wives. Members of other lineages may also live but in small numbers. But for all the practical purposes, political, economic and religious, a community is identified with its predominant idilie.



PATRILINEAL DESCENT

In the patrilineal societies, marriage is of considerable importance. The women who are married into a patrilineage are important because they produce the heirs that allow the lineage to perpetuate itself. The patrilineages are exogamous. The females who are married into the patrilineages belong to their own patrilineage but not her children. Patrilineal societies are usually associated with patrilocal residence.

Segmentation: As generations pass, the patrilineage expands. The patrilineage acquires so many members that it outgrows the resources available to it. When such a situation arises, the members seek alternative resources and move to other locations, and sometimes travel long distances. The patrilineage then subdivides. A patrilineage has equal chances of this kind of a sub-division after the death of a father who is the unifying factor, when the sons divide to head different sub-groups of their own. This sub-division of a clan or a lineage is called as segmentation. Large descent groups, whether lineages or clans, are the candidates for segmentation.



Matrilineal Descent मातृवंशानुक्रम

Matrilineal descent traces the ancestry through the female line. A matrilineage consists of a woman (founder), her sons and daughters, her daughter's sons and daughters, her grand daughter's sons and daughters etc. It is only through the founder's female line or the offspring that the rights and duties are passed on to the next generation. In the matrilineal descent, the women must mate with the men from the other groups.

Although the inheritance rights are

vested in males in many instances, giving brothers the control over their sister's children. The brothers provide competition to any relationship she may have with a husband, who is an outsider in her family. The crucial relations in a matrilineal society are between the mother and daughter, brother and sister, mother's brother and sister's son. Consequently, the conjugal relationship is relatively unimportant and the matrilineage has little need for the social roles of a husband or a father.

An important point to be noted is that the matrilineal and the patrilineal descent are not the opposites. In a patrilineage, the residence and the authority are combined within a descent group and in a matrilineage this patterning of relationship is seldom affected. The matrilineal organization does not mean a high status to the females within the matrilineage. As already noted, although the primary rights are passed through the female line, the authority is often vested in the males of the matrilineage. Problems arise as a result of this discrepancy of residence and descent on the one hand and the authority on the other. The matrilineages which are exogamous must establish relationships with men from outside in order to reproduce. But the rule of descent keeps the rights and duties out of the hands of the males marrying into the group. In a matrilineal system then, men generally retain power and control within the lineage of their mother and sisters but the inheritance passes through their sister's sons.

Solution to male control and female inheritance: The Nayars have developed a kind of a social organization as a solution to this problem. They have a matrilineal group called *Taravad*. In this society there is no significant marital alliance and the residence is matrilocal. In this society the authority vests in the hands of the elder brother, a system called **avunco-potestality**.

In the Navaho a different kind of solution is attempted. In this society the residence is matrilocal and divorce is very easy. The Trobrianders, on the other hand, have an altogether different solution for the male control and the female inheritance. The child in this society lives with his/her father till puberty and then goes to the mother's brother's place to live. The residence is thus virilocal and avunculocal.

PARALLEL DESCENT

Parallel descent is a possible form that is extremely rare. In such a type of a descent rule the males reckon their descent through the male line and the females reckon their descent through the female line. According to a majority of the anthropologists such a type of a descent can be possible but no instances are provided by any society in the world. Because of the latter reason they conclude that this descent system does not exist.

But in 1975 Jane Safer, has reported this type of a descent rule among the Saha, who live in Santra Marta Mountains near the Caribbean coast of Columbia, close to the Venezuelan border. This being the only society that has been reported to have such a type of the descent principle, this type of a rule is not popular and widely talked about in anthropology.

NON-UNILINEAL OR COGNATIC DESCENT GROUPS

Cognatic means "a kin to both the parents". The number of societies with such a type of a descent rule is comparatively less than the ones whose members reckon their descent through the unilineal descent rules.

Cognatic descent groups do not have a clear-cut membership as that of a unilineal kin group. The cognatic descent group can be any of these two types.

1. **Double Descent:** Double descent or double unilineal descent, where descent is reckoned both patrilineally and matrilineally, is very rare. In this system descent is matrilineal for some purpose and patrilineal for others. Generally where double descent is reckoned each lineage takes corporate action in different spheres of society.

   For example among the Yako of eastern Nigeria property is divided between patrilineal line possessions and matrilineal line possessions. Patrilineages own immovable property such as land

matrilineal line is somewhat more important in religious matters than the patrilineal line. Because of the existence of the double descent rule, a Yako individual might inherit grazing lands from the father's patrilineal group and certain ritual privileges from the mother's matrilineal line.

2. **Bilateral Descent and the Kindred:** Bilateral descent, a characteristic of Western society, relates a person to other close relatives through both sexes; in other words, the individual traces descent through both parents *simultaneously*. Theoretically, all relatives on both the mother's and father's sides of the family are his relatives. Thus, this principle relates an individual lineally to all eight great-grand parents and laterally to all third and fourth cousins. Since such a huge group is too big to be socially practical, the group is usually reduced to a small circle of paternal and maternal relatives called the **kindred**. The kindred may be defined as a group of people closely related to one individual through both parents. Unlike unilineal descent groups the kindred is laterally rather than lineally organized. The Ego or the focal person from whom the degree of each relationship is reckoned is the center of the group. We are all familiar with the kindred; we simply call them "relatives". It includes the relatives on both sides of the family whom we see on social occasions at family reunion and at funerals. Most of us can identify the members of our kindred up to second cousins and grandparents. In our society the limits of the kindred are variable and indefinite; no one is ever really certain which relatives to invite to a social function and which to exclude. The kindred is thus amorphous and vague, lacking the distinctiveness of the unilineal descent group. It is also temporary, lasting only as long as the function it has been assembled to attend.

The kindred possess one feature which sets it apart from all other descent groups: because of its structure, kindred are never the same for any two persons except siblings (brothers and sisters). Thus, no two people (except siblings) belong to the same descent group. Ego's father's kindred for example, range lineally to the father's grandparents and laterally to cousins too distant for ego to know; the same is true of his mother, and his maternal and paternal aunts and uncles. Thus, the kindred are not composed of people with an ancestor in common, but of people with a relative in common ego.

The Ego center of the kindred: Kindred are referred to as "ego-centered" or "ego-focused" groups because ego, or the person viewing the group, is at its center. Even in relation to ego the membership of the group is constantly changing as ego moves through life. When he is young it consists of his parents, siblings, and other close consanguineous relatives, most of whom are usually older than he is. As ego grows older and has children, the composition of his kindred changes; it consists of his descendants and the remaining relatives of his own generation. Thus, because of its vagueness, temporary nature, and changeableness, the kindred are a weaker social unit than other descent groups. For example, it cannot function as a group except in relation to ego. Unlike other descent groups it is not a self-perpetuating group - it ceases with ego's death. It has no constant leader nor can it hold, administer, or pass on property. In most cases it cannot organize work nor can it administer justice or assign status. In non-western societies, for example, head hunting and trading parties are composed of kindred groups. The group is assembled, goes on the hunt, shares the spoils, then disbands. Thus, kindred assemble only for a specific purpose.

Because of its shortcomings, the non-Western bilateral group usually exists side by side with more useful unilineal descent groups. Kindred are found mostly in complex societies where mobility weakens contact with relatives. Individuality is emphasized in complex societies and a strong kinship system is not important as it is in a traditional society.

Unilineal descent provides an easy way of restricting descent group membership so as to avoid problems of divided loyalty and the like. A number of societies, many of them in the Pacific and Southeast Asia, accomplish the same thing in other ways, though perhaps not quite so neatly. The resultant descent groups are known as non-unilineal or cognatic, descent groups.

Cognatic descent provides a measure of flexibility not normally found in unilineal descent; each individual has the option of affiliating with either the mothers' or the father's descent group.

Cognatic Descent among the Iban: An example of a cognatic society is found among the Iban of the Bilek region of Sarawak, studied by J.D. Freeman. The Iban descent group is called the Bilek. The husband and wife, when newly married, may affiliate with the Bilek of either set of parents, depending on their choice of residence. Thus, the land rights, ritual obligations, and other activities controlled by the Bilek are decided at marriage. A couple that affiliates with one Bilek relinquishes its claim on the other; there can be no overlapping of membership. Their children can belong only to the Bilek of their parents, and like the parents, when the children marry, they must decide with which Bilek they will live. The distinctive trait of the cognatic descent group is the possibility of changing one's permanent affiliation by changing one's residence. A person can decide to his own advantage whether or not he will honor his original group obligation.

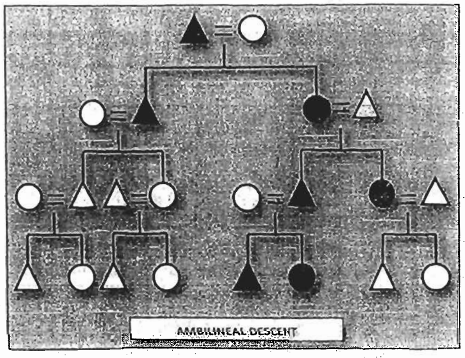
Among the Iban, an individual may belong to only one Bilek at any one time; thus, Iban society is divided into discrete and separate groups of kin. However, other cognatic societies, such as the Samoans of the South Pacific and the Bella Coole and the southern branch of the Kwakiutl of the Pacific Northwest Coast, allow overlapping membership in a number of descent groups. As George Murdock notes, too great a range of individual choice, it interferes with the orderly functioning of any kin-oriented society.

Rise of the Cognatic Descent Groups: It appears that ambilocality, ecology, and the rise of cognatic descent groups are interrelated. Cognatic descent groups are often associated with ambilocality in which the newly wed couple may live with either the wife's kinsmen or the husband's kinsmen. Cognatic groups may have arisen as a result of pressure from overcrowding. An excellent example of this relationship is found on the Gilbert Islands of Micronesia. The cognatic extended family on the islands is the corporate landholding unit related to other social units through a series of cognatic kin ties and supported by ambilocal residence. This unit held titles to certain plots and cultivating a particular plot grew too large to share in the profits derived from it. The entire family or some members would leave the corporate unit to join similar units with which it had kin ties.

Another theory regarding the emergence of cognatic descent groups is that they act as a means of increasing populations where certain important resources are found in abundance. For example, anthropologist M.J. Harner found that among the Indians of the Northwest Pacific Coast important resources such as salmon and sea mammal occurred in vast numbers, but only sporadically. The ambilocal residence pattern of the Indian cognatic descent group allowed population to adjust to the uncertainties of this situation by changing residences, so that these food sources could be exploited wherever and whenever they appeared.

AMBILINEAL DESCENT

An Ambilineal descent group is a kinship-based group whose members believe they have descended from only one person in each generation. That means, an individual traces his/her ancestry through the father in one generation but through the mother in another generation. In each generation an individual has an option regarding the lineage to which he affiliates.


AMBILINEAL DESCENT

FORMS OF DESCENT GROUPS

In many parts of the world, a descent group is more than just a group of relatives providing warmth and a sense of belonging; it may be a tightly organized working unit providing security and services in the course of what is often a difficult and uncertain life. The tasks performed by descent groups are manifold.

One of their most important social functions is generally the regulation of marriage by establishing which person a member of the group may marry. Since unilineal descent groups are usually exogamous, members of the group must look beyond its membership for eligible mates. In Turk society of the Western Pacific for example, the largest group is the matriclan and a person cannot marry a member of his matrilineage or matriclan. Instead he must go outside his descent group to seek a partner.

The descent group also acts as an economic unit providing mutual aid to its member; it may support the infirm or help in case of marriage or death. But the unity of the descent group is perhaps most apparent on a political level, especially in time of war. The descent group also acts as a repository of religious traditions. Ancestor worship is a powerful force acting to reinforce group solidarity.

The groups which are formed on the principles of kinship are the Kinship based groups. **Lineage, Clan, Phratry and Moiety** are the examples of kinship based groups. Kinship based groups are the ones which constitute kinsmen. The members of a kinship based group can be related to each other through birth or marriage. These are also called as **Consanguineal kin or Affinal kin**, respectively. The kinship based groups listed above are the ones which constitute people who are related to each other through parentage i.e., consanguineal kin. These are also called as **Descent groups**. The membership in the descent groups is determined by rules or the principles of descent which we have discussed earlier. Allocation of individuals to a descent group is technically known as **Filiation.** Filiation can be through the father's line or mother's line or both.

The descent groups can be further classified on the basis of the rules of descent governing that group. In this context, they can be classified as unilineal descent groups, *ambilineal* descent groups, double unilineal descent groups and mixed descent groups.

A Unilineal descent group is a kinship based group whose members reckon or trace their descent through one sex only. Thus, unilineal descent groups may be Patrilineal or Matrilineal, the former constituting the members who trace their descent through the male line and the latter with those who trace their descent through the female line. A patrilineal or matrilineal descent group can be a lineage, clan, phratry or moiety.

A Double unilineal descent group is also called as double descent group. Here the members believe themselves to have descended from both the father's patrilineal group and the mother's matrilineal group.

Kin groups based on different forms of mixed descent may be of several varieties. In parallel descent groups, sons affiliate themselves with their father's kin and daughters affiliate themselves with mother's kin. In cross-sex descent groups sons affiliate themselves with mother's kin group and vice-versa.

In the following pages we shall understand the structure and working of unilineal descent groups.

LINEAGE

A unilineal group of kin who trace their descent from a known common ancestor is a lineage. A lineage is a unilineal descent group and is a consanguineal group. The members of a lineage claim their descent from a common known ancestor and at the same time they can actually demonstrate the links between themselves and their known ancestor. This shows that lineage is based on **Demonstrated Descent.**

Depending upon the types of rules of descent on which the lineages are based, they can be classified into patrilineages, matrilineages and ambilineages.

A unilineal group of kin who trace their descent from a known common male ancestor is a patrilineage. It is based on demonstrated patrilineal descent. Patrilineages are found among the Witoto Red Indians of Amazonia, Yanomamo Red Indians of Southern Venezuela and Miwok Red Indians of *California*. They are also found among the Nuer of Africa and also among the agricultural societies of India and China.

A unilineal group of kin who trace their descent from a known common female ancestor is a matrilineage. It is based on demonstrated matrilineal descent. Matrilineages occur among the Veddas of Ceylone, Kurtchin of Northern Canada, Tikopia of South Pacific and in India, among Khasi and Garo of Meghalaya.

A consanguineal kin group each of whose members can trace their descent from a known common ancestor, either a male or female, constitutes an ambilineage. It is also called a ramage or a **sept**. Ambilineages occur among Nukuros of Micronesia, Samoans of Polynesia and Iban of Sarawak and also among the pastoralist societies of Tibet. Ambilineages are also reported from the agricultural societies of Japan.

Characteristics of Lineages

1. **Lineages are named:** They can also have labels, symbols or even designations. In a very few societies, lineages are not named.
2. **Lineages are exogamous:** Since the members of a lineage are consanguines, i.e., related by blood, they have to choose their spouses from other lineages. Thus lineages in every society regulate marriages through exogamy.
3. **Lineages have common religious obligations:** The lineages may have their own deities, priests and peculiar rituals for dealing with the supernatural. Lineages involve in the veneration of their respective ancestors. In fact, ancestor worship is one of the most important mechanisms through which lineages organize their living members.
4. **Lineages are characterized by corporate property ownership:** In a majority of the societies, lineages act as a corporation because it owns property and controls the use and inheritance of this property. In this sense each lineage functions as a corporation in many societies. However in some societies the individual families within a lineage own property. In few societies lineages do not own property.
5. **Every lineage is a corporate enterprise:** Its members may co-operate for economic purpose such as hunting, fishing, and, or even ceremonial purposes. In some societies, other types of kinship groups may act as corporate enterprise.
6. **Lineages are units of social control:** It regulates the behavior of its members. Every lineage may have its own laws to regulate and punish the members of its group. Thus a lineage is playing a deliberate role in enforcing the laws of the society among the members of its group.
7. **Lineages are characterized by mutual aid:** A lineage supports its members on important occasions in the life cycle. Lineages come to the rescue of its members in the time of need.
8. **Lineages also constitute feuding groups:** Lineages within a single clan feud with each other and then at times unite to fight the members of other clans. The Nuer of Sudan and Tiv of Central Nigeria are the examples of the societies where the lineages are feuding groups.

CLAN (गोत्र) कुल

A unilineal descent group that claims but cannot trace their descent from a remote common ancestor is a clan. A clan is a unilineal descent group and its members have a remote ancestor who might have lived many generations back and their presence is rooted in the mythologies associated with the clan. The blood ties are numerous and hence cannot be traced to the ancestor successfully and virtually these blood ties are even unknown. The members of the group have only a tradition of belonging to the same group rather than being able to tell just how all the members are related. In other words, clan members can only stipulate their descent but cannot demonstrate their descent. Hence clan is based on the principle of **Stipulated Descent.**

A lineage is a part of the clan and two or more lineages together constitute a clan. Lineages are not always the integral parts of clans just as clans are not always the composites of lineages. Some societies have clans without lineages, some societies have lineages without clans and others have clans that are sub-divided into lineages.

Depending upon the various forms of unilineal descent, clans may be classified into two broad categories – Patriclans and Matriclans.

A kinship group whose members claim but cannot trace descent from a remote common male ancestor is a Patriclan. It is based on the principle of stipulated patrilineal descent. On the other hand, a kinship group whose members claim but cannot trace descent from a remote common female ancestor is a matriclan. It is based on the principle of stipulated matrilineal descent.

Clans occur in the societies of all levels of development and complexity and in all major geographical area of the world. The examples of patriclans are the Chippewa Red Indians of United States, Nuer of Sudan and Swazis of South Africa and also in traditional China and several parts of India.

Matriclans occur in societies like Kwakiutil, Tlingit and Haid Red Indians of British Columbia, Navaho, Hopi, Zun and Cherokee Red Indians of United States, Ashanti, Tonga, Bemba and Yao of Africa and Trobriand Islands of Malanesia and also among the Nayars of Kerala, India.

Characteristics of Clans

1. **Clans in a majority of societies are named:** In the primitive societies usually the clans are named after plants or animals or even certain natural phenomenon.
2. **Clans are exogamous:** As the clan members are related to each other through blood, they have to select their spouses from other clans.
3. **Clans are characterized by common religious obligations:** A clan will have its own religious affiliations. They are characterized by ancestor worship. The members of every clan observe common taboos and cooperate in religious ceremonials. Their religion will be rationalized body of mythology and explains the origin of their clan.
4. **A clan, like a lineage, is a corporate group:** It acts like a corporation. It may own shrines, economically valuable lands and club houses etc. According to William Stephens, a clan not only owns property but also regulates the distribution and controls the inheritance of property among its members.
5. **Along with being a corporate group, a clan is also a corporate enterprise:** In accordance with its corporate character, a clan may act as a unit on several occasions. Members of a clan show their solidarity by coming together on ceremonial occasions. They clan co-operate in carrying out economic activities offer socio-economic support to a needful member. Through the narration of myths the corporate character of a clan is reinforced and it identifies itself as a group set apart from others. Members of a clan have the obligation to extend hospitality and mutual aid to one another. In some societies like the Kipsigis of Kenya, the members of a clan work as an association to aid each other.
6. **Clans also have a legal function:** A clan normally represents its members in law suits and legal matters. It also becomes responsible for the illegal acts of its members. Clans account for the conduct of their members.
7. **Like lineages clans are also feuding groups:** A clan is not only a political unit but is also a legal instrument and a military unit. Every member of a clan is protected and aided in all sorts of hazards. In some societies a clan has its own code of laws and power to punish a member who breaks the law. This means that each clan has a government of its own, like for e.g., The

PHRATRY

A phratry can be defined as a unilineal descent group composed of two or more clans. The members of a clan may feel they have particularly close ties with other clan or clans of the phratry. Phratries are found in very few societies of the world. They were reported from Hopi, Navaho and some other red Indians from United States, Muria Gonds of Madhya Pradesh, Rabhas of Assam, the Ao Nagas of Nagaland and the Raj Gonds of Andhra Pradesh are the examples from India.

Based on the principles of descent, phratries can also be classified into two types: Matriphratries, and Patriphratires.

The phratries in a society can be named or may not be named. They may be or may not be exogamous. Like for example, among the Hopis, the phratries are exogamous and among the Crow Red Indians, they are endogamous. The phratries are characterized by common religious obligations and observe common religious rites. A phratry may constitute an important political unit. Among the Aztecs of Mexico the phratries are important political units in the structure of the empire. A phratry may be associated with totemism like among the Muria Gonds.

A phratry constitutes a group characterized by solidarity. The clans in a phratry retain their separate identity but each clan has some kind of special affinity with the phratry. The term "Phratry" is derived from a Greek word "Phrater" which means a brother. Thus, in the final analysis, a phratry is a kin group of brotherhood in which there are several clans combined together.

MOIETY (गोत्रार्ध)

A kinship group which is one half of a dual division of the society is a moiety. The term "Moiety" is derived from a French word meaning half. When a society is divided into two groups so that every person is necessarily a member of one or the other groups, the dichotomy results in the formation of two moieties.

Compared to Phratries, moieties have a wider occurrence in the various societies of the world. Murngin in Australia, Tingit Red Indians of British Columbia, Winnebago Indians of United States, the Ao Nagas, Rengma Nagas and Angami Nagas of Nagaland, Gonds and Korkus of Madhya Pradesh, the Bondos of Orissa and the Andhs of Adilabad district in Andhra Pradesh and the Todas of Nilgiris, are the examples of the societies where moieties are present.

On the basis of the principles of descent governing the formation of the moieties, they can be classified into patrilineal and matrilineal moieties.

Moieties can be named like among the Todas and may also be unnamed like among the Australian societies. A moiety is usually exogamous and rarely endogamous. Moreover a moiety may constitute a totemic group like among the Bondos of Orissa. A moiety is always associated with a dual organization. Moiety is a half society. Hence wherever moieties occur, there should and will always be two moieties. This kind of dual organization helps an easy detection of kinship relationships. In dual organizations one moiety may be linked to the other through complementary roles in the form of exchange of specific services.

Along with the above mentioned kinship based groups i.e., lineage, clan, phratry and moiety other types of kinship based groups based on principles other than unilineal descent may occur like the kindred in the case of bilateral descent.

(Kindred is discussed under Bilateral Descent)

Evolution of the Descent Groups

Just as different types of families occur in different societies, so do different kinds of descent systems. Descent groups, for example, do not appear at all in simple hunting and gathering societies where

pastoral or many intensive agricultural societies, however, the descent group provides the structural framework upon which the fabric of the society rests.

Lewis Morgan and other nineteenth century anthropologists believed that the descent group progressed in an evolutionary manner from promiscuity to matrilineal to patrilineal organization. In so-called promiscuous societies, paternity was never certain and descent could be traced only through the mother; hence the emergence of the matrilineal group. The accumulation of wealth in the form of land and other valuable material possessions was responsible for the rise of the patrilineal system, for wealth resided in the males. A means of passing wealth from male to male down the generations was required. Finally, civilization, with its complex patterns of individuality, specialization of labor, and greater mobility, brought with it the consideration of both paternal and maternal descent rules. This combination resulted in the bilineal or bilateral kinship system of modern western civilization.

Morgan's evolutionary sequence was declared invalid by George Murdock, who found that the simplest of arctic hunter-gatherers practiced bilateral descent. Descent rules, according to Murdock, bore no relation to the level of technological or social development. Most scholars agree that Morgan's evolutionary thesis is incorrect. However, some relation between a society's subsistence pattern and its descent system does exist.

STRUCTURAL PRINCIPLES OF KINSHIP

Kinship refers to social relations which are rooted in biological facts. Structure means a more or less lasting pattern of social relationship. Thus, structure of kin groups refers to those persisting patterns of relationships which form the basis of their organization.

Robin Fox has identified certain conditions which have to be met by every kinship system in order to survive and sustain its own self. He has called these conditions as "structural principles of kinship" because the manner in which these conditions are fulfilled shape the structure of the kinship system. These structural principles of kinship are:

1. **Men impregnate women:** Hence in every society arrangements have to be made for maintaining sexual relations between men and women on a sustained basis for the purpose of procreation to recruit new members into the group. This is purely a biological fact which comes to be culturally recognized.
2. **Women bear the children:** This is again a biological fact but child bearing debilitated women from participating in the strenuous activities of earning livelihood. Thus, they must depend on men to provide them the means of livelihood while they themselves are engaged in bearing and rearing the children to incorporate them into the kinship group. Thus, the relation between men and women must extend beyond simply participation in procreation.
3. **Men control the Economic activity:** In all societies the confinement of women to bearing and rearing of children necessitates that men should manage property and exercise control. Thus men exploit the property, control and channelise the resources, produce commodities and exchange them. In other words, the control of the economic activity of the kinship group is vested in the hands of the men.
4. **Incest is Taboo:** The primary kin are prohibited from mating or marrying in all societies. Hence all kinship systems should make arrangements to get men or women from outside for mating purpose. The prohibition of incestuous mating helps in the extension of the web of kinship relations.

These four conditions have to be met by all kinship systems. The way these conditions are met will determine the structure or pattern of relations in the kinship system.

One way to meet these conditions is that the men born in the kinship group are allowed to stay in the

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hand, the women born in the kin group are dispersed or given out as wives to other kin groups, while women from other kin groups are brought in as wives for the men to the kin group. This arrangement fulfills all four conditions. Sustained mating relation between men of the kin group and their wives are ensured. Incest taboo is not violated and consanguineously related men are available to cooperate for the management of the property to provide means of livelihood for the group. Such an arrangement gives rise to patrilineal, patrilocal and patriarchal type of a kinship system. Patrilineal system provides the easiest way to meet the structural conditions stated by Robin Fox and therefore is the most commonly found kinship system in the world.

An alternate way to fulfill the structural conditions is to keep the women born in the kin group together. Now, to meet the first condition of sustained mating relationship men have to be brought from outside because incest taboo prohibits mating relations between brothers and sisters. However if men who are brought from outside for mating relationship, the third condition becomes difficult to be fulfilled, because cooperation among affinally related men for the management of property is very difficult to achieve. Thus meeting of the four structural conditions becomes the puzzle in those kinship systems, where women born in the groups are preserved within the group. Such kinship systems are called matrilineal systems. Given the fact that matrilineal puzzle is inherent in the system, matrilineal systems are very uncommon as compared to patrilineal systems. Only in those societies where men tend to be absent from home for long periods either for trade or commerce or on a battle trail, matrilineal systems have come into existence.

In different societies the matrilineal puzzle has been resolved in different ways. One of the solutions to the matrilineal puzzle is to be found among the `Nayars' of Kerala. In a Nayar family both men and women born in the group are preserved together. Thus Nayar family consists of only consanguineously related men and women. The property is inherited by the women along the female line. But it is managed by their consanguineously related men. In order to fulfill the third condition and to avoid incestuous relations, the Nayar society has weakened the affinal bond. Thus the relations between men and women for mating purposes are not permanent relations. The men from other kin groups are allowed to maintain mating relations with the women of the group, but these mating relations do not lead to a permanent affinal bond. In fact Nayar women were allowed to have mating relations with a number of men. The children born of such unions were looked after by their mother's brothers who play the role of a social father.

Thus by weakening the marital bond, the Nayars could fulfill all the four structural conditions. The Trobrianders and the Ashanti of Ghana are also matrilineal societies. Thus from the above examples we can say that the way these four structural conditions are met determine the structure of kinship groups.

KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

It was the pioneering work of Lewis Henry Morgan that drew attention to the importance of kinship terminology in the study of kinship systems. The verbal element in the kinship systems consists of terms by which each kin comprehends other. Though personal names are often used, many societies use the kin terms in addressing one another.

The ways in which kinship relationships are defined in any society are subject to elaborate cultural rules. Each society has a particular way of assigning the individual to his place in the descent group. A set of terms designate the individual's position within the groups to which he belongs. These labels are called kinship terms. The whole classificatory system is called as the Kinship Terminology.

All the kinship terminologies accomplish two important tasks. First, they group particular kinds of persons into single specific categories. Second, they separate different kinds of persons into distinct categories. Generally, two or more kin are merged under a same term when similarity of status exists between the individuals.

CLASSIFICATION OF THE KINSHIP TERMS AND THEIR ANALYSIS

The label, name or designation applied to a relative is called a kinship term. For instance, we designate our male genitor as "father". Therefore the designation, label or name `father' is a kinship term. Kinship terms can be classified in three different ways by their mode of use, by their linguistic structure and by their range of application.

1. **Classification by Mode of Use:** Kinship terms can be used either in direct address or in indirect reference. A **term of address** is one used in speaking to a relative and a **term of reference** is one used to designate a relative in speaking about him to a third person. It is a word denoting a person who occupies a particular kinship status. For example, in Telugu, people refer to their father's sister as *"menatta" but* address her as *"atta"*. But people refer to other relatives like brother and sister as "*anna*" and "*akka*" and they also address them by the same terms. Thus, with regard to some relatives, the terms of reference as well as address are similar but with regard to other relatives the terms are different.

2. **Classification by Linguistic Structure:** According to their linguistic structure, kinship terms are distinguished into elementary, derivative and descriptive types. An **elementary term** is an irreducible word. For example, the English *"father"* cannot be analyzed into component lexical elements with kinship meanings.

   A **derivative term** is similar to the English words *"grand-father", "sister-in-law", and "step-son"*. It is a compounded form of an elementary term with some kinship meaning and a lexical element which does not have primarily a kinship term. For example, in the term *"grand father", "grand"* is a lexical term without any kinship meaning and is different from that of *"father"* which has a kinship meaning.

   A **descriptive term** is one like the Swedish word *"farbror"* (father's brother) which combines two or more elementary terms to denote a specific relative.

3. **Classification by Range of Application:** The range of application refers to the number of terms covered by each kinship term. Kinship terms are differentiated into denotative and classificatory types with regard to the range of application. A **denotative term** is the one that applies only to relatives in a single kinship category as defined by generation, sex and genealogical connection. It denotes only one category of kin. For example, in English kinship terminology "father" "mother" "husband" and "wife" are denotative terms.

   A **classificatory term** is one that applies to persons of two or more kinship categories as defined by generation, sex and genealogical connection. For example, the English kinship terms like grandfather, cousin, uncle and aunt denote more than one category of relative.

   If a system of kinship terminology contains more denotative terms than in classificatory terms, it is said to be a narrow range one and if it contains more classificatory terms than denotative, it is said to be a broad range one.

ANALYSIS OF KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

Pioneering researches of Kroeber (1909) and Lowie (1929) resulted in recognizing nine criteria for the classification of relatives. These criteria have a logical basis and kin terms are classified by applying these criteria.

1. **Criterion of Generation:** Following this criterion relatives belonging to different generations are differentiated. Most kinship systems give extensive recognition to the principle of generation. In those kinship systems where this criterion is ignored, it results in classifying relatives belonging to two different generations under one classificatory term. The best examples for this are the Omaha Red Indians and the Crow Red Indian types of cousin terminologies. In Omaha type of

children with maternal uncles and aunts. In Crow type of cousin terminology Fa Si's children are called by same terms as paternal uncle and aunt while Mo Br's children are classified with fraternal nephews and nieces.

2. **Criterion of Sex:** This criterion is derived from the fundamental biological difference between sexes (male and female). Many kinship systems recognize the difference of sex in the use of kinship terms. It is ignored in the use of the term "cousin". Cousin can be a male or a female.
3. **Criterion of Affinity:** This criterion arose from the universal social phenomena of marriage and incest taboos. Marital partners cannot be close consanguineal relatives. Hence, many societies make a terminological difference between consanguineal and affinal relatives. In those societies where preferential cross-cousin marriages are common, this criterion is ignored. Accordingly Fa Si Da is equated with Wi and Fa Si with Wi Mo.
4. **Criterion of Collaterality:** This criterion rests on the biological fact that among the consanguineal relatives of the same generation and sex, some are closely related to the ego and some are not. A direct ancestor is more closely related to ego than sibling or a cousin. Majority of the societies ignore this criterion. Ignoring this criterion and thereby clubbing of the lineal and collateral relatives is known technically as **merging**. The relatives commonly merged are siblings and parallel cousins, wife and wife's sister, son and nephew, daughter and niece.
5. **Criterion of Bifurcation:** This criterion applies to secondary and more remote relatives and it rests on the biological fact that they are linked to ego through either male or female connecting relative. In those societies where this distinction is recognized, a person has to use separate kinship terms to one's Fa Fa and Mo Fa. This criterion is ignored in many societies.
6. **Criterion of Polarity:** This criterion is based on the biological fact that it requires two persons to constitute a social relationship. Linguistic recognition of this criterion produces two terms for each of the relationship by which each participant can denote. If it is ignored, both participants use the same kinship term to each other as we find in the use of the term 'cousin' in English system of kinship terminology.
7. **Criterion of Relative Age:** This criterion rests on the biological fact that the relatives of the same generation are rarely identical in age. One must be elder or younger than the other. In those societies where this criterion is recognized, we find separate terms for younger and elder siblings. For example in Telugu, people use separate terms namely *"anna"* and *"tammudu"* for elder brother and younger brother respectively.
8. **Criterion of Speaker's Sex:** This criterion is recognized in some societies. Accordingly, son and daughter use different kinship terms for designating father and mother. For example, in Haida society there are two terms for father, one used by the daughter and the other by the son.
9. **Criterion of Decedence:** This criterion recognizes the condition of life of the person (living or dead). This is not operative in many societies. But in a few Red Indian societies living around California two kinship terms for relatives, one used during life time and the other after his death are used.

TYPOLOGY OF KINSHIP TERMINOLOGICAL SYSTEMS

Six different systems of kinship terminology result from the application of the above principles. They are Hawaiian, Eskimo, Iroquois, Omaha, Crow and Sudanese systems. Each of these six systems can be identified according to the way cousins are classified.

Hawaiian System:

The Hawaiian system of kinship terminology, practiced mainly in Hawaii and other Malayo-polynesian system is also called the **generational system** since all relatives of the same generation and sex are referred to by the same term. For example, in one's father's generation, one's father, his brother, and one's mother's brother are all referred to by the single term "father". Similarly, one's mother, her sister, and one's father's sister are called "mother". In Ego's generation, male and female cousins are distinguished by sex and are equated with his brother and sister.

The Hawaiian system reflects the absence of a strong unilineal descent group and is usually associated with cognatic descent. Because cognatic descent rules trace descent through both sides of the family, and members on both father's and mother's side of the family are looked upon as being more or less equal, a certain degree of similarity is created among the father's and the mother's siblings. Thus, they are all simultaneously recognized as being similar relations and are merged together under a single term. In like manner, the children of the mother's and father's siblings are considered related to oneself in the same way as one's brother and sister are.

Eskimo System:

The Eskimo system of kinship terminology, comparatively rare among all the systems of the world, is the system used by Anglo-American cultures. It is also used by a number of hunting and gathering peoples. The Eskimo system or **lineal system** of terminology emphasizes the nuclear family by specifically identifying mother, father, brother, and sister, while merging together all other relatives such as maternal and paternal aunts, uncles, and cousins, without differentiating among them. For example, one's father is distinguished from his father's brother (uncle) but one's father's brother is not distinguished from his mother's brother (who is also called uncle). In addition, one calls all the sons and daughters of his aunts and uncles "cousin", without distinguishing their sex or the side of the family to which they belong.

Unlike other descent terminologies, the Eskimo system provides separate and distinct terms for each member of the nuclear family. Perhaps this is because the Eskimo system is generally found in societies where the dominant kin group is the bilateral kindred, in which only the closest members of the family are important. This is especially true of our society in which the family is independent, living apart from and not directly involved with other kin except on ceremonial occasions. Thus, we distinguish between our closest kin (our parents and our siblings) but use the same terms (aunt, uncle, cousin) for other members on both sides of the family.

Iroquois System:

In the Iroquois system of kinship terminology, one's father and his father's brother are referred to by a single term (father), as are one's mother and one's mother's sister (mother); however one's father's sister and one's mother's brother are given separate terms. In one's generation, brothers, sisters, and parallel cousins of the same sex are referred to by a single term, whereas cross cousins are distinguished by separate terms.

Such a method of differentiating is called a **bifurcate merging system**, a strange term which simply means some of the family members are separate (or bifurcated) and given different names, while other kin are combined (or merged) under a common term.

The Omaha and the Crow systems are examples of bifurcate merging forms. Iroquois terminology is very widespread and is usually found with unilineal descent group, particularly in weak matrilineal system of social organization. However, the Iroquois system has also been found among other types of descent groups as well.

Omaha System:

In the preceding terminology systems some relatives were grouped under common terms, while others of the same generation were separated and given different labels or terms. In the Omaha and Crow systems, another variable enters the picture. Both systems ignore the distinction that occurs between generations among certain kinsmen

The Omaha system, found in many parts of the world, is associated with a pattern of strong patrilineal descent and thus groups relations on the father's side and relations on the mother's side of the family differently. Cross cousins on the maternal side are merged with the parental generation (mother's sister or mother's brother), while those on the paternal side are merged with the generation of Ego's children. Otherwise, the system is much like the Iroquois system.

From our point of view, such a system is terribly complex and illogical. Why does it exist? The Omaha system is found where strong patrilineal descent is the rule. Thus, maternal cross cousins are terminologically merged with the lineage of Ego's mother, the lineage which figuratively speaking, sired ego. Ego's lineage, in turn, stands in the same relationship to the children of his father's sister and ego's own sister; they are "sired" by ego's lineage.

Crow System:

The Crow system, named after the North American Indian tribe, is the matrilineal mirror image of the patrilineal system. Thus one's mother and one's mother's sister are called by the same term, whereas one's father and one's father's brother and father's sisters' son are merged together under a common label, as are one's father's sister and one's father's sister's daughter. Similarly, one's male parallel cousins receive the same term as one's sister.

Sudanese System:

In this relatively rare system, one's mother's brother is distinguished from one's father's brother, as in one's mother's sister from one's father's sister. Each cousin is distinguished from each other, as well as from siblings. It is therefore more precise than any of the other systems. This may be one reason why it is so rare. In few societies all one's aunts, uncles, cousins, and siblings treated differently from one another.

DETERMINANTS OF KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

We shall now examine the various factors that determine kinship terminology. These factors have been proposed as determinants of kinship terminology.

1. **Multiple Historical Influences:** Kroeber is the leading exponent that multiple historical factors influence kinship terminology. Kroeber says that kinship terms are subject to modifications from within and without. To understand how kinship terms came into use we should view them historically. He says that kinship terminology can change as a consequence of historical events.

2. **Morphological Difference in Language:** Scholars supporting this view say that variations in kinship terminology are due to morphological differences in language. Gifford says that kinship systems are first of all linguistic phenomena and only secondarily social phenomena. Hence, kinship terms are words which conform to the morphological principles of a particular language. For example, the use of more descriptive terms in Africa is due to morphological features common to the languages of the area.

3. **Elementary Psychological Processes:** Kroeber says that the terms of relationship reflect psychology. For example, if a kinsman whom a ego denotes by term A has any primary relative whom ego denotes by the term B, then ego will also tend to use the term B to any comparable relative of any other kinsman whom he calls A.

4. **Universal Sociological Principles:** Radcliffe-Brown, Edward Sapir and others say that certain sociological principles influence a kinship terminology. For example, bifurcate merging type of kinship terminology may result from the operation of sociological principle of levirate.

5. **Customs of Preferential Marriages:** Rules of marriage may affect the kinship terminology. Sapir suggests that preferential levirate and sororate marriages may produce or help to produce kinship terminology of the bifurcate merging type.

6. **Constitution of Kin and Local Groups:** Murdock says that exogamous kin groups like lineage, clan, phratry and moiety tend to be associated with bifurcate merging type of kinship terminology.

DESCENT, FILIATION AND COMPLEMENTARY FILIATION

As already stated, the membership in the descent groups is determined by rules or the principles of descent which we have discussed earlier. Allocation of individuals to a descent group is technically known as **Filiation**. Filiation can be through the father's line or mother's line or both.

Complementary filiation was a term introduced by the group of anthropologists who are often referred to as 'descent theorists', foremost of whom was M. Fortes. The phrase referred to the fact that in societies with unilineal descent groups, people nonetheless recognize kinship links with relatives who do not belong to their own descent group. Thus, in societies with patrilineal descent groups, individuals have important socially-defined links with members of their mother's family, such as, for example, their mother's brother or their maternal grandparents, while in matrilineal societies individuals have similar ties to their father's family.

Originally the concept was used to describe an important ethnographic characteristic of many African societies, such as the Tallensi of Ghana studied by Fortes, and the anthropologists' theory was little more than a paraphrase of the theory of the people they had studied. Thus Fortes described how Tallensi individuals saw their complementary filiation links as different from their lineage links, yet essential to their well-being (Fortes 1949). While lineage links always have a political and hierarchical character, complementary filiation is more emotional and more personal. This is because all members of a descent group have different ties of complementary filiation from one another, but are undifferentiated on the basis of descent, so that complementary filiation gives an idiom to feelings of individuality and independence. This sociological perspective is, argued Fortes (1961), also reflected in the religious domain. J.Goody (1962), following in the same tradition, stressed the importance of inheritance and showed how, while one inherited a certain type of property and status inside the descent group, one also inherited different types of property and status along the lines of complementary filiation.

In Fortes's later work the notion of complementary filiation was used to support a much more general claim. Fortes and a number of other anthropologists argued that the existence of groups was, at bottom, always similar and always involved the recognition of the complementary role of the two parents. Thus, in patrilineal societies, while for political, jural and military purposes lineages ignored links through mothers, there nonetheless existed a domestic level where links through women were recognized in the form of complementary filiation.

ALLIANCE AND DESCENT

Alliance system connotes a set of affinal or marriage rules through which descent groups are linked. The importance of alliance in kinship systems and its invaluable information for anthropological inquiry was for the first time highlighted by French anthropologist Claude Levi Strauss.

According to Levi Strauss it is the universality of incest taboo that gives rise to alliance systems all over the world. It is because people cannot marry or mate with people within their own descent group (which is a set of people related to each other by blood or consanguineal relationships), they enter into alliance or marriage contracts, thereby enabling themselves to get mates from outside their own descent groups or other descent groups.

To put it very simply, since men are prohibited to mate with women from within their own descent groups, they are forced to "exchange" women with other descent groups. This situation results in marital alliances. These marital alliances are social forces which promote wider alliances between different groups. (Read our discussion on prohibition of incest taboo in the chapter on Marriage).

CLASSIFICATION OF KINSHIP STRUCTURES

Levi Strauss classifies the kinship systems into two types – Elementary Structures and Complex Structures. **Elementary Structures** according to him are those systems of kinship in which the kinship nomenclature itself provides an easy determination of the circle of consanguines and a set of affines. Societies with elementary structures of kinship are dominated by prescribed marriage system and hence he calls this system of exchange as **"Closed System"** of exchange.

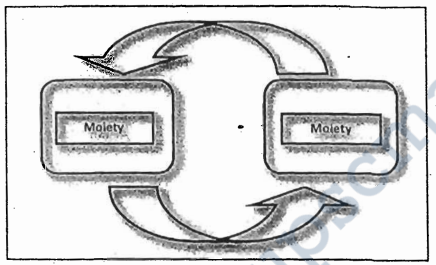
Complex Structures, according to Levi Strauss, are those systems which at best define a circle of "relatives" i.e. consanguines and leave the choice of finding a spouse to "other mechanisms". Hence, he calls this system an **"Open System"** of exchange.

Thus alliance is a crucial and inevitable mechanism towards integration in the society. Once alliance relationships are established, they are usually perpetuated and hence the **"Solidarity"** between the groups.

Levi Strauss views the **Cross-cousin Marriages** as the most elementary forms of exchange. A cousin is the child of a parent's sibling. If the sibling is of the same sex as that of the parent, the cousin is a **Parallel Cousin** and if the sibling is of opposite sex, then it is a **Cross Cousin.** Thus, the children of siblings of the same sex are parallel cousins and the children of siblings of opposite sex are cross cousins.

Levi Strauss explains three possible types of elementary structures based on or rather constructed on the basis of two types of exchange systems – Restricted Exchange and Generalized Exchange.

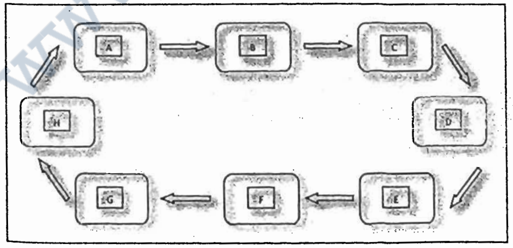
Restricted Exchange



Restricted exchange is commonly found in those societies where there are dual organizations which we ealier explained as Moieties. This type of exchange involves a direct transaction between two groups, say A and B, where A gives a woman to B and B inturn reciprocates by giving a woman to A. This relationship is hence charecterized by Levi Strauss as **"Symmetrical"**. Moreover, in this system, the "Wife-givers" also play the role of "Wife-takers".

This system of exchange usually involves **Bilateral Cross Cousin Marriage.** A bilateral cross cousin is a woman who is both a mother's brother's daughter and also father's sister's daughter (A situation where the ego's paternal aunt and maternal uncle are married to each other). In such a system the kinship terminology is only required to differentiate between "parallel" or "cross cousin" without having to differentiate whether they are patrilateral or matrilateral.

Generalized Exchange



If in restricted exchange there are only two groups that are involved in exchange of women, in the case of generalized exchange the number of groups involved in exchange are more. Moreover, another difference between restricted and generalized exchange lies in the nature of exchange itself. Generalized exchange is more or less an indirect form of exchange because if A gives a woman to B, B gives a woman to C and so on and at some stage

is **"Asymmetrical"** as opposed to the symmetrical forms of exchange as seen in the restricted form. This is because in the case of generalized exchange, the "wife-givers" and the "wife-takers" are not one and the same.

If Restricted Exchange is found in societies with dual organizations with bilateral cross cousin marriages, Generalized Exchange is often found in societies that practice **unilateral cross cousin marriages.** The kinship terminology system in such societies differentiates between patrilateral and matrilateral cross cousins.

Levi Strauss contends that if the alliance system is based on Mother's Brother's Daughter marriage, the exchange is "continuous", thus putting into action a long cycle of what he calls a **"Circulatory Connubium"**. In case of the Patrilateral cross cousin marriage, i.e. if the alliance system is based on Father's Sister's Daughter marriage, the exchange is "discontinuous".

Levi Strauss concludes by justifying the popularity of matrilateral cross cousin marriages all over the world. He says that the matrilateral cross cousin marriage is of greater significance because it establishes relationships between several groups of people in a connubial cycle and thus promoting the integration between different groups within and outside the social circle. This contribution towards enhancing the integration has made this form of marriage system more adaptive as opposed to the other two types – bilateral and patrilateral cross cousin marriages. Strauss expands his theory on elementary structures to the analysis of **Complex Structures** saying that elementary structures can be employed to illuminate complex structures of kinship in which there are no marriage rules. Complex structurescan be explained as a result of the development or combination of elementary structures and thus putting all forms of kinship structures on a same continuum.

However, this **"solidarity theory"** put forward to explain the popularity of matrilateral cross cousin marriages, has been attacked from different quarters. For example, Schneider and Homans have propounded an alternate theory to explain why matrilateral cross cousin marriages are numerically preponderant all over the world. According to their hypothesis, which has come to be known within anthropological literature as the **"Sentiment Hypothesis"**, it is the distribution of jural authority that defines the choice of one's wife, either the mother's brother's daughter or the father's sister's daughter. In the case of a patrilineal society, the jural authority lies with the father, a situation of patriarchy. As an extension of this even the father's sister also wields considerable jural authority. Whereas in these societies the mother and as an extension the mother's brother have considerable "affectionate" relationships with the ego. As a consequence the ego prefers the mother's brother's daughter to the father's sister's daughter for a wife. The corollary is true in case of the matrilineal societies. However, since the patrilineal societies are more compared to matrilineal societies, matrilateral cross cousin marriages are more popular in the world.

The **Demographic Hypothesis** of Rose and Reid provides another alternative to Levi Strauss's Solidarity Theory. According to this explanation, since women usually marry and reproduce at an earlier age than their brothers, their children are likely to be older than their brother's children. Hence, it is easy for a man to find women of younger and appropriate age only amongst his mother's brother's daughters, thus contributing to the popularity of matrilateral cross cousin marriages in the world.

3. ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

MEANING, SCOPE AND RELEVANCE OF ECONOMIC ANTHROPOLOGY

While defining "economics", we usually come across the terms like "freedom of contract", "property rights", "exchange" etc. These are the factors which govern the various economic discussions on any economic system. But one important feature that often is not recognized or rather ignored in the study is that these very factors are in turn influenced to a major extent by the culture in a given society. This very idea forms the basis of Economic Anthropology.

Earlier, anthropologists have never concentrated on the economic aspects of the community they studied. In fact Herskovitz stated that the failure on the part of earlier anthropologists to recognize and treat the fundamental economic facts in their studies of the non-literate people or societies is extra ordinary. A breakthrough in this field has occurred when Malinowski for the first time attempted to explain the concept of "material culture" in the primitive societies in 1922 and later many anthropologists have followed his path. Economic anthropology owes its evolution to the anthropologists who, in an attempt to study the diverse features of the mankind, started doing so in the economic affairs of man.

Economics today is mere academic work consisting of research on reports and statistics, recorded data and mathematical equations. In such a situation the realities of life are ignored. Economics then becomes an abstract science. While studying the economic affairs of man one has to study, measure and analyze other social or individual economic behaviors. There should be a kind of an inter-disciplinary approach. This makes economic anthropology a frontier science.

When we draw similarities between economics and anthropology and their study orientation, they two share a common area - Psychology. In an economic system there is always a role played by the psychology of an individual. According to **Marshall**, *Economics is a study of man in the ordinary business of life.* Hence, economics would be much benefited if it availed an anthropological methodology. Anthropologists use the concepts from economics in their attempts to explain aspects of the material conditions of human existence. Both economics and anthropology can contribute to each other. For example, economists use the term *"ceteris paribus"* (other things being equal) - to cover non-economic phenomena and the anthropologists can fill in the blanks with the information not usually considered by the economists. When anthropologists concentrate on the social framework of the economic activity, economists can contribute supply and demand analysis, techniques for measuring transactions and general ideas about allocation of resources.

What then is the task of Economic Anthropology? It is first of all to describe the variety of economic arrangements developed by human kind in different times and places. As **Manning Nash** puts it, *"economic anthropology must develop a body of theory which will explain the gift giving of the plains Indians, the pig exchanges of the new Hebrides, the circulation of valuables in the Solomon Archipelago, the persistence of hundreds of separate pottery produces in the single Mayan Indian community, the effects of wage labor and cash cropping in New Guinea... and a host of other real, significant and puzzling economic and cultural facts".*

To an economic anthropologist it is the total cultural system, the total society that provides the context for investigating and interpreting the systems of production and exchange. For instance, consider the simple monetary transaction "I will give you Rs.10/- for dozen eggs" or a non-monetary transaction like "I will give you a kilo of rice for a dozen eggs". There is more going on in such transactions than simply exchange of commodities. The anthropologists are interested in finding out such information as where the commodities come from, who produces them, and how they are produced, what is the relationship of the parties involved in the transaction, who can participate in the exchange and so on. In comparison to economics, economic anthropology takes more a holistic approach. Economic anthropology is a fusion of the anthropological variable of culture and economics.

The tribal culture is cognate to tribal economics and the economic system of the tribes can be understood in the purview of the cultural factors. Economic anthropology envisages economic activities of man in his social and cultural framework. In other words, economic anthropology is an analysis of economic life as a sub-system of the society. Economic anthropology deals primarily with the economic aspects of social relations. Economy is an important constituent of the community life and plays a deciding role in the formation of the cultural and social structure of society. The economic life of the tribal people helps us understand important features of their culture.

Every community has its own way to meet its basic needs for the existence of its members failing which they are threatened with extinction. Nature here comes forward and joins hands with them to fulfill their needs, fashioned of course, in their own way depending on their customs, traditions, demographic structure, etc. Owing to this, people with the same natural surroundings have developed different economic processes to meet their ends.

In a community like tribes where the price system is normally absent and social tradition regulates the economic activities, general economic theories would hardly be applicable in their original spirit. According to **Herskovitz**, *"in no conventional treatise on economic theory is primitive man depicted in a manner either in harmony with the facts of non-literate societies as known to anthropologists or in line with the anthropological theory concerning the nature of interaction between man, his environment and his traditions"*.

Earlier anthropologists did recognize the economic facts of non-literate societies but they too failed in analyzing the economic activities of man. For an assessment of the tribal economy, special analytical concepts are necessary because social organization and culture, kinship, political organization, and religion affect economic organization and performance so directly and sensitively in tribal communities that only a socio-economic approach which considers explicitly the relationships between economy and society is capable of yielding insights and generalization of any importance. This purpose is served by economic anthropology. This kind of study was done by Good Fellow among Bantus for the first time, then follows Firth's study of Tikopia economies. There the social and religious setting of economy is accorded full recognition as an effective force in shaping economic effort, yet the focus of the discussion remains continuously on the economic implications of the data and on the economic institutions.

The methods of economic anthropology are the basic methods of social and cultural anthropology. In the Indian context, Vidyarthi gave a good account of the Maler economy which revolves around hill cultivation. In 1967, Rai studied the tribes in the context of their home forest irrespective of their economic types. A comparative insight into the nature and functioning of the economic system or organization of the tribes will present a true picture of their economic life which is a system of mutual dependence and the influence of social forces on their economic behavior.

PERSPECTIVES IN ECONOMIC ANTHROPOLOGY

FORMALISM, SUBSTANTIVISM AND CULTURALISM

The three paradigms of Economic Anthropology are Formalism, Substantivism and Culturalism.

Substantivism and formalism constituted important streams of thought that have contributed to the growth of economic anthropology. For some time now anthropologists have borrowed theory and concepts from the discipline of economics in an attempt to understand certain economic relationships of the non-literate people. Since the field of economics has concentrated its attention on the study of the allocation of scarce goods and service in industrial society, it is a matter of controversy as to what modifications must be made in order for the economic theory to be applicable to the non-industrial societies. Can we speak of the profit motive, capital goods and all the other concepts that economists use, in relation to the non-industrial societies? Some anthropologists adhere to the point of view that there is little to be learned from the study of market economy where the principle motivation is profit, in studying scholars, who adhere to the school of thought known as **Formalism** and take a different view. Formalists claim that economic theory really has to do with the ways people get the greatest personal satisfaction in saving things and in distributing scarce resources. If this is true, the economic theory is certainly general enough to apply to all the societies.

FORMALISM

According to Formalists, Economics is all about fulfilling the unlimited wants of humankind with limited resources or scarcity. Economies need to allocate their resources efficiently. Underlying the laws of supply and demand is the concept of utility. Utility represents the satisfaction a person receives from consuming a good or a service.

Formalism is closely linked to neoclassical economics. The formalism approach makes the following assumptions:

1. Individuals pursue utility maximization by choosing between alternative means. They will always choose means that maximize their utility often with specific informational or transaction cost constraints.
2. Individuals will do so based on rationality using all available information to measure the cost and utility of each means and considering the opportunity costs involved compared to spending their time and effort on other utility maximizing pursuits. Lack of information can be modeled as information asymmetry or as a transaction cost. Whether by conscious forethought, instincts, or traditions, individuals are able to undertake the relevant calculations. In order to make rational choices individuals will seek to obtain all relevant information up to a point where the opportunity cost of information-gathering equals the additional utility gained from having been able to make better-informed choices.
3. All individuals live under conditions of scarcity of means while at the same time having unlimited wants.
4. Underlying individuals' pursuit of utility maximization is the principle of diminishing marginal utility. Marginal utility is the additional satisfaction, or amount of utility, gained from each extra unit of consumption. Although total utility usually increases as more of a good is consumed, marginal utility usually decreases with each additional increase in the consumption of a good. This decrease demonstrates the law of diminishing marginal utility. Because there is a certain threshold of satisfaction, the consumer will no longer receive the same pleasure from consumption once that threshold is crossed.

Formalists such as Raymond Firth and Harold K. Schneider assert that the neoclassical model of economics can be applied to any society if appropriate modifications are made, arguing that the principles outlined above have universal validity. All human cultures are therefore a collection of "choice making individuals whose every action involves conscious or unconscious selections among alternative means to alternative ends" whereby the ends are culturally defined goals. Goals refer not only to economic value or financial gain but to anything that is valued by the individual, be it leisure, solidarity or prestige. A traditional assumption many formalists borrow from neoclassical economics is that the individual will make rational choices based on full information, or information that is incomplete in a specific way, in order to maximize whatever that individual considers being of value. While preferences may vary or change, and information about choices may or may not be complete, the principles of economizing and maximizing still apply.

SUBSTANTIVISM

The substantivist position, first proposed by Karl Polanyi in his work The Great Transformation, argues that the term 'economics' has two meanings: the formal meaning refers to economics as the logic of rational action and decision-making, as rational choice between the alternative uses of limited (scarce)

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means. The second, substantive meaning, however, presupposes neither rational decision-making nor conditions of scarcity. It simply refers to study of how humans make a living from their social and natural environment. A society's livelihood strategy is seen as an adaptation to its environment and material conditions, a process which may or may not involve utility maximization. The substantive meaning of 'economics' is seen in the broader sense of 'economizing' or 'provisioning'. Economics is simply the way society meets their material needs.

Polanyi's term "great transformation" refers to the divide between modern, market-dominated societies and non-Western, non-capitalist pre-industrial societies. Polanyi argues that only the substantive meaning of economics is appropriate for analyzing the latter. Without a system of price-making markets formal economic analysis does not apply, for example in centrally planned economies or preindustrial societies. Individual choice in such places is not so much based on the maximization of economic profit but rather on social relationships, cultural values, moral concerns, politics or religion. Production in most peasant and tribal societies is for the producers, also called 'production for use' or subsistence production, as opposed to 'production for exchange', which has profit maximization as its chief aim. These types differ so radically that no single theory can describe them all.

According to Polanyi, in modern capitalist economies the concepts of formalism and Substantivism coincide since people organize their livelihoods based on the principle of rational choice. However, in non-Capitalist, pre-industrial economies this assumption does not hold.

Unlike their Western capitalist counterparts, they are not based on market exchange but on redistribution and reciprocity. Reciprocity is defined as the mutual exchange of goods or services as part of long-term relationships. Redistribution implies the existence of a strong political centre such as kinship-based leadership, which receives and then redistributes subsistence goods according to culturally-specific principles. In societies that are not market-based reciprocity and redistribution usually occur together. Conversely, market exchange is seen as the dominant mode of integration in modern industrial societies, while reciprocity may continue in family and inter-household relations, and some redistribution is undertaken by the state or by charitable institutions.

Another key concept in Substantivism is that of 'embeddedness'. Rather than being a separate and distinct sphere, the economy is embedded in both economic and non-economic institutions. Exchange takes place within and is regulated by society rather than being located in a social vacuum. For example, religion and government can be just as important to economics as economic institutions themselves. Socio-cultural obligations, norms and values play a significant role in people's livelihood strategies.

Consequently, any analysis of economics as an analytically distinct entity isolated from its socio-cultural and political context is flawed from the outset. A substantivist analysis of economics will therefore focus on the study of the various social institutions on which people's livelihoods are based. The market is only one amongst many institutions that determine the nature of economic transactions. Polanyi's central argument is that institutions are the primary organizers of economic processes. The substantive economy is an "instituted process of interaction between man and his environment, which results in a continuous supply of want satisfying material means"

The concept of embeddedness has been very influential in the field of economic anthropology. In his study of Chinese ethnic business networks in Indonesia, Granovetter found individual's economic agency embedded in networks of strong personal relations. In processes of clientelization the cultivation of personal relationships between traders and customers assumes an equal or higher importance than the economic transactions involved.

Economic exchanges are not carried out between strangers but rather by individuals involved in long-term continuing relationships. Granovetter describes the neo-liberal view of economic action as separating economics from society and culture, thereby promoting an 'under socialized account' that atomizes human behavior: "Actors do not behave or decide as atoms outside a social context, nor do they adhere slavishly to a script written for them by the particular intersection of social categories that they happen to occupy. Their attempts at purposive action are instead embedded in concrete, ongoing systems of social relations."

CULTURALISM

For some anthropologists the substantivist position does not go far enough in its criticism of the universal application of Western economic models on societies all around the globe. Stephen Gudeman, for example, argues that the central processes of making a livelihood are culturally constructed.

Therefore, models of livelihoods and related economic concepts such as exchange, money or profit must be analyzed through the locals' ways of understanding them. Rather than devising universal models rooting in Western understandings and using Western economic terminologies and then applying them indiscriminately to all societies, one should come to understand the 'local model'. In his work on livelihoods Gudeman seeks to present the "people's own economic construction" that is, not just examining the cultural construction of values as in which products people like to buy and how much they value leisure, but people's own conceptualizations or mental maps of economics and its various aspects, i.e. their understanding of concepts such as exchange, property or profit.

His description of a peasant community in Panama reveals that the locals did not engage in exchange with each other in order to make a profit but rather viewed it as an "exchange of equivalents", with the exchange value of a good being defined by the expenses spent on producing it. Only outside merchants made profits in their dealings with the community, and it was a complete mystery to the locals how they managed to do so...

Gudeman not only rejects the formalist notion of the universal 'economic person'; he also criticizes the substantivist position for imposing their universal model of economics on all preindustrial societies and so making the same mistake as the formalists. While conceding that Substantivism rightly emphasizes the significance of social institutions in economic processes, Gudeman considers any derivational model that claims to be of universal nature, be it formalist, substantivist or Marxist, to be ethnocentric and essentially tautological.

Gudeman brings post-modern cultural relativism to its logical conclusion. Generally speaking, however, Culturalism can also be seen as an extension of the substantivist view, with a stronger emphasis on cultural constructivism, a more detailed account of local understandings and metaphors of economic concepts, and a greater focus on socio-cultural dynamics than the latter Culturalists also tend to be both less taxonomic and more culturally relativistic in their descriptions while critically reflecting on the power relationship between the ethnographer (or 'modeler') and the subjects of his or her research. While substantivists generally focus on institutions as their unit of analysis, Culturalists lean towards detailed and comprehensive analyses of particular local communities. Both views agree in rejecting the formalist assumption that all human behavior can be explained in terms of rational decision-making and utility maximization.

CRITICS OF APPROACHES

Formalism:

Its central assumptions about human behavior have been questioned. In particular, it has been argued that the universality of rational choice and utility maximization cannot be assumed across all cultures. But also with regards to modern Western societies the economic reductionism in explaining human behavior has been critiqued. Prattis notes that the premise of utility maximization is tautological; whatever a person does, may it be work or leisure, is declared to be utility maximization.

For example, a person may sacrifice his or her own time, finances or even health to help others. Formalists would then pronounce that s/he does so due to placing a high value on helping others, and so sacrificing other goals in order to maximize this value and thereby to gain utility (e.g. meaning, satisfaction of having helped, approval from others etc.). But this is simply an assumption; the motivation

of this person may or may not coincide with this inferred explanation pattern. Similarly, Gudeman argues that Western economic anthropologists will invariably "find" the people they study to behave "rationally" since that is what their model leads them to do. Conversely, formalism will consider any behavior that does not maximize utility based on available means as irrational. However, such "non-maximizing acts" may seem perfectly rational and logical for the acting individual whose actions may have been motivated by a completely different set of meanings and understandings. Finally, there is the substantivist point that both economic institutions and individual economic activities are embedded in the socio-cultural sphere and can therefore not be analyzed in isolation. Social relationships play an essential role in people's livelihood strategies; consequently, a narrow focus on atomized individual behavior to the exclusion of his or her socio-cultural context is bound to be flawed.

Substantivism:

Substantivism has not been without its critics, either. Prattis (1982) [1] argues that the strict distinction between primitive and modern economies in Substantivism is problematic. Constraints on transactional modes are situational rather than systemic (he therefore implies that Substantivism focuses on social structures at the expensive of analyzing individual agency). Non-maximizing adaptation strategies occur in all societies, not just in "primitive" ones. Similarly, Plattner (1989) [6] argues that some generalization across different societies are still possible, meaning that Western and non-Western economics are not entirely different. In an age of globalization there are probably hardly any "pure" preindustrial societies left. Conditions of resource scarcity can be said to exist anywhere in the world. It is significant to note anthropological fieldwork that demonstrates rational behavior and complex economic choices amongst peasants (cf. Plattner, 1989:15). [6] Also, individuals in e.g. communist societies can still engage in rational utility maximizing behavior, e.g. by building relationships to bureaucrats who control distribution, or by using small plots of land in their garden to supplement official food rations.

While market exchange is dominant in the West, redistribution can also play a very significant role particularly in the more socialist or welfare state Western societies such as France, Germany or Sweden. State and charity or religious organizations collect donations and then distribute them to needy groups (or use the funds to offer free or inexpensive social services).

Culturalism:

Culturalism can also be criticized from various perspectives. Marxists would argue that Culturalists are too idealistic in their notion of the social construction of reality and too weak in their analysis of external (i.e. material) constraints on individuals that affect their livelihood choices. If, as Gudeman argues, local models cannot be objectively appraised or held against a universal standard, then there is also no way of deconstructing them in terms of ideologies propagated by the powerful that serve to neutralize resistance through hegemony. This is further complicated by the fact that in an age of globalization most cultures are being integrated into the global capitalist system and are influenced to conform to Western ways of thinking and acting. Local and global discourses are mixing and the distinctions between the two are beginning to blur. Even though people will retain aspects of their existing worldviews, universal models can be used to study the dynamics of their integration into the rest of the world.

UNDERSTANDING SMALL SCALE ECONOMIES

It is very difficult to find a simple and precise definition of the tribal economy. In this connection some points should be emphasized. The socio-economic structure in tribal communities is markedly different from that of the non-tribal or advanced groups of people. They have a very simple technology which fits well with their ecological surroundings and conservative outlook. Moreover, their economy is of subsistence type. They practice different types of occupations to sustain themselves and live on "marginal economy". We find the tribes of India belonging to different economic stages, from food gathering to industrial labor. And the last point to be emphasized is that a tribe is usually considered an economically independent group of people having their own specific economy and thus having a living pattern of labor, division of labor and specialization, gift and ceremonial exchange, trade and barter, credit and value, wealth, consumption norms, capital formation, land tenure, and good-tangible and intangible-economic status. All these have their own specialty which identifies the tribal economy in the broader setup of total economy.

Economy: The semantics of the word "economy" has no size dimension attached to it. It may be of a hunting tribe to a big nation. Still all economies share three basic features and in this sense are similar:

1. **An economy of some sort:** Whatever a human grouping is called - tribe, village, nation, society - it consists of people who must eat to stay alive, acquire or produce material items and specialist services to sustain social and community life. The acquisition or production of these material items and services necessary for physical and social existence is never left to chance because deprivation means death. All societies therefore have economy of some sort that is structural arrangements and enforced rules for the acquisition and production of material items and services.

2. **Make use of resource:** All economies make use of natural resources (land) human co-operation (division of labor) and technology (tools and knowledge). What we call economic organization or economic structure or economic institutions are the rules in force through which natural resources, human cooperation, and technology are brought together to provide material items, and services in a sustained repetitive fashion. Each of these features is structured; natural resources, division of labor and use of tools require social rules i.e., specified rights and obligations.

3. **Superficial devices and practices:** A third similarity is the incorporation of superficially similar devices and practices in economies differently organized. They may make use of market-place devices for measuring some type of trade or transaction.

To sum up, all societies have structured arrangements to provide the material means of individual and community life. Economics is no wonder, the study of man in ordinary business of life.

Economic Activity: People make certain choices in determining how the available resources are to be used in production, distribution and the consumption of the material goods and the services of some kind or the other are associated with them. These activities are called the economic activities. Before we continue, two important points are to be made:

1. It is an extremely difficult exercise to isolate or identify the economic activities from other activities in most of the societies and more so in the case of the non-Western societies. As Manning Nash puts it, in every society, one can observe economic activities and the activities which have an economic aspect. For example, the temple dancer in the Bali dances; the dances as such are not any kind of economic activities but, when the dancer gets a gift, it is an economic activity.

2. The economic activities can be both conscious and unconscious. It is sometimes argued that the members of peasant and primitive societies do not usually make rational or calculated economic choices. They are said to have supposedly little foresight or sense of value. But, even this were so it does not mean that their choices are irrational. If those choices work i.e., if they achieve the desired results, then they are the proper choices for them.

Production: Production is defined as the various modes used by the members of a society to procure their material means of existence. The concept of production encompasses a vast array of economic activities. These activities range from food gathering, hunting, horticulture and craftwork to highly organized industrial operations. Every production process is made up of an ordered series of activities that develop in accordance with the resources of environment and the social realities of the particular society. The productive operation represents a combination of three primary factors that depend very heavily on one another – land, labor and capital.

Land and labor are necessary for the subsistence. It is obvious that one cannot practice settled agriculture when there is a lack of fertile land. It is also not possible to see a large amount of livestock where there is a scarcity of water holes. The labor may be scarce when the children are still young, since the family acts as a productive unit in the primitive economies.

As for the capital, the equipment and the supplies used in the production, there is some debate regarding the question what, if anything can be labeled as capital in the subsistence economies. In modern industrial economies, capitalism is the means of production. A system of capitalism is characterized by the relationship and the separation between those who own the means of production and those who actually do the work of production. The real problem arises when one attempts to define the capital in the non-capitalist economies. What is then capital in the absence of separation of the productive roles? In defining a capital in a subsistence economy, we should see that it does not separate the owners of the capital from the workers. Broadly defined, the capital in the non-capitalistic economies is any goods or services, be they livestock, gardens, cultivation tools, factory equipment or the muscle power used to produce more goods.

The small scale economic systems are usually difficult to understand. A convenient way of viewing the small scale economies was provided by **Manning Nash (1977)**, who divided the concept into four themes.

1) Technology and Division of Labor
2) Structure of the Productive Unit
3) Systems and Media of Exchange
4) Control of Wealth and Capital

Technology and Division of Labor: Technology can be defined as the tools and process by means of which material goods can be produced in greater quantity and with which less physical effort can be used. The type of technology available to a society plays an important role in its mode of production. It is very obvious that the industrial economies have a much greater technology than the subsistence economies. The tribal and the peasant societies are relatively simple in that they have few tools for making tools, they do not have a wide variety of different productive tasks and do not use or create much energy.

The division of labor in the primitive societies is based primarily on sex, age and sometimes rank. The workers are largely interchangeable. The people here learn socially appropriate skills in course of growing up and within age and sex groups, any workers can easily replace any other workers. As the men have more strength and are not hampered by carrying their children on their back, they very often do the works which are heavy. The relative simplicity of the technology with little use of the machinery means the lack of a high degree of specialization.

Structure of the Productive Units: In the small scale societies, there are no organizations whose only task is production. Such a kind of feature is seen in the modern economies like the factories. In the primitive society, there is no lasting social unit which is solely based on the productive activities. It is often the family which is the major productive unit in the primitive societies. But the reasons of the existence of the family as a productive unit and its activities go far beyond the economic considerations. The economic life depends on other kinds of social relationships like kinship bonds, political bonds, and territorial bonds.

In the primitive societies, there is little specialization and each household provides its own food, clothing and shelter. Along with the advanced technology comes greater specialization and division of labor. Fewer and fewer people are needed to produce food, while the remainder exchange for food, the reward they get for whatever other work they do.

Systems and the Media of Exchange: Another feature of the tribal and the peasant economies is that the people are seldom obligated to calculate the costs of doing one thing rather than the other, calculating the costs are often impossible or rather unnecessary, since the uses of time, resources and the people occur

Control of Wealth and Capital: In small scale societies, the investments take the form of using resources to expand the existing social systems rather than to transform the society. Hence many societies have a kind of leveling mechanism, whereby the people are forced to spend the accumulated capital in ways that are not necessary for production but are conductive to the perpetuation of the social traditions like the loans to the relatives, hosting large feasts etc. These are the two ways of scrambling wealth so that the social relations will remain unchanged.

THE FORMS AND MEDIA OF EXCHANGE

Distribution refers to the manner in which the goods are divided among the members of a society. Exchange is a process whereby those receiving goods are in turn, obligated to reciprocate by giving the goods in return. What are reciprocated may be other goods or something of equal value such as money.

Although we have separated the four features that characterize small scale economic systems for easier discussion, the organization of production in any society is by no means independent of its system of distribution and exchange. Any exchange of material goods is one aspect of an on going social relationship, a relationship that shapes and limits the nature of material transaction.

In the following discussion, we shall focus on the social relationship surrounding the exchange and distribution of services and goods. We shall also focus on the transactions themselves. Exchanges of the goods follow the normal pattern of social interaction in a society. But also the material transactions may initialize or underlie the social relationships.

The systems of exchange of goods and services are necessary to all forms of organized societies. Such systems can be divided into three types:

1) Reciprocity
2) Redistribution
3) Market Exchange

This classification system, originally proposed by **Karl Polyani**, is used by most anthropologists in their treatment of the economic systems of various societies. It is important to note that although every society is organized around at least one of those systems, most are organized around two and many around all the three.

RECIPROCITY

Reciprocity is an exchange transaction that involves direct movement of the goods or the services between two parties. \`A' gives something to \`B', and \`B' in turn gives something to \`A'.

Reciprocity is sometimes viewed as simply a process of balancing values, a one for one exchange. Various kinds of exchange are included in the term reciprocity. **Marshall Sahlins** (1972) has pointed out that these can be arranged on a continuum according to the degree of balance involved. At one end of the continuum is the **generalized reciprocity**, goods, services or assistance freely given in kind, to friends and neighbors without any explicit statement that any thing is expected in return! In the middle of the continuum is the **balanced reciprocity**, the expectation of the goods or services of roughly equal value in return for what one gives. At the other extreme is **negative reciprocity**, in which the goods or services are obtained through force or deception. The intervals between the points on the continuum are not only intervals between the degrees of balance but also the intervals of the degrees of social distance, which is important in exchange transactions. The intervals also represent intervals of time within which the reciprocal exchange takes place (at some distant time, if ever; at about the same time; never). Sahlins emphasizes that these categories have "moral" as well as "mechanical" implications, as will become clear when we study each in turn.

Generalized Reciprocity: Sahlins labels as generalized reciprocity, any transaction that at least appears to be altruistic, such as help, sharing and hospitality. The obligation to reciprocate if it exists at all is vague. In transactions of this type, the material aspects of the exchange are much less significant then the social aspects. Children are not expected to reciprocate the parents in direct ways (though in later years children may wince at the often repeated phrase, "after all we have done for you..."). In most cases of free giving it is understood that the recipient should at some undefined future time, reciprocate, if possible. The value or the quantity of the return to the donor is also undefined. Finally, despite the vague obligation to reciprocate, failure to do so does not usually stop the giver from giving again.

Balanced Reciprocity: Balanced reciprocity is direct exchange - one thing is exchanged for another of equal value, without delay. Perfectly balanced reciprocity, in which the same types of goods in the same amount are exchanged, sometimes occurs. You may borrow a cup of sugar or an egg from your neighbor which you return in kind. But the term usually applies to transactions in which a return of equal value is made with definite time, such as **buying, selling, trade and payment**. These are known as generally balanced transactions. The social relationship underlying balanced transactions is less personal and more economic than that underlying generalized reciprocity. The two-side balanced transactions are economically and socially distinct. The material aspects of the transactions are at least as important as its social aspects; and the values of the goods and services are calculated fairly precisely. One way flows of goods or services are not tolerated.

Negative Reciprocity: Negative reciprocity involves trying to get something for nothing. It includes gambling, theft and the like. This is the most impersonal form of exchange and the most "economic", in that the material aspects of the transactions are all-important. The two sides are entirely opposed, and there is not necessarily any interaction between them. The inflow of the goods is in one direction but the act is one of taking and not giving.

Factors Influencing Reciprocity: Kinship has a significant effect on the nature of the transactions between the individuals. Kin ties tend to create generalized reciprocity. This is related to the multiplex nature of the relationship, i.e., the over lapping of multiple and diverse interests. Generalized reciprocity therefore occurs frequently in simple, small scale societies, in which a large percentage of social life is based on the kinship. Other factors that influence the reciprocal transactions are social rank and prestige; relative wealth; and the type of goods involved. The effect of rank difference is roughly opposite to kinship. The reciprocity between a person of high rank and the person of low rank tends to be generalized. Polynesian chiefs for example, have immense obligations to their people. For a Tikopia Chief, generosity is the prerogative of office; he is expected to give away the food and other things that accumulate. If a commoner accumulates goods, and then disperses them in a chiefly fashion, he is likely to incur severe penalties. In short, "to be noble is to be generous". Since, to be noble is often also to be wealthy, differences in economic status influence reciprocity in a same way that differences in social status and rank influence it. In societies in which no clear cut differences are apparent, such as those of hunters and gatherers, anyone who has food is expected to give anyone who has none - to such an extent that Eskimo hunters have been known to give all their food to others and have none left for their families (Spencer, 1959). All of these factors, kinship, rank and wealth sometimes influence an exchange transaction. Any one factor cannot be separated from the others in such cases, except for the purposes of discussion.

Functions of Balanced Reciprocity: Balanced reciprocity implies willingness to give in exchange for what is received. It means giving up self-interest or hostility for the sake of mutual benefit. Hence, it serves as a vehicle for many types of social contracts. This is not to say that the exchange itself is not mutually beneficial, rather we mean to say that the basic purpose of such transactions is to generate a friendly feeling, a degree of sociability, regardless of the material values involved. It is important to note that while the basis of reciprocity is the exchange of gifts, and gift carries with it an obligation of return, either expressed or implied. This fact is of primary economic importance for it stimulates the circulation of goods. Some of the types of contracts that often involve balanced reciprocity outlined by Sahlins are formal friendship or kinship, group alliances, peace making and marriage transactions.

The Kula System: A classic example of reciprocity is the circulating exchanging of valuables in Eastern New Guinea, described by Malinowski in 1920. The Kula is a special system of trade, separate from the exchange of items such as pottery, dried-fish, or canoes. It consists of the circulation of two items that have high value but no practical usefulness; shell armbands ("mwali") and shell disc-necklaces ("soulava"). They are intended as ornaments but are rarely used for this purpose. The Kula covers an immense area that includes the islands to the East of New Guinea, Woodlark Island, the Trobriand Archipelago and several other islands. In addition to the Kula trade, the trade of the material goods also takes place.

Kula is carried on according to definite and complex rules. First, viewing the geographic area covered by the system as a circle, the soulava travel only clockwise and the mwali travel only counter clockwise. Second, neither item remains for very long in the possession of any individual, both are continually being exchanged. Third, Kula trade is only one form of interaction between individuals living in different communities who have established a specific, life long relationship with each other. Chiefs have more such relationships than younger men. In short, Kula is an elaborate system of the relationships in which both social and economic relationships are governed by the rules of exchange. It is distinctly different from common barter, "gimwali", since it involves a higher level of trust. The Kula expresses the value placed on generosity and honor because the equivalence of gifts and counter gifts cannot be enforced. The temporary possession of a Kula article brings its owner prestige; but so does the way in which he gives it away.

To put Kula into perspective, it should be noted that most members of the "ring" are also involved in other forms of material exchange in addition to this form of reciprocity. However, the Kula transaction forms the basis for other kinds of transactions including the trade of consumer products.

REDISTRIBUTION

Redistribution is a pooling transaction in which the goods are collected from the members of a group by a central authority and then divided among the members of the group. An example of this type of an exchange is the old testament story in which Joseph interpreted Pharaoh's dream of seven years of plenty to be followed by seven years of famine and Joseph himself was put in charge of collecting and storing the food during the years of plenty in order to redistribute it during the years of famine. One difference between reciprocity and redistribution is implicit in this story, and that is the social organization of these two types of exchanges which is quite different. Redistribution is a collective action among several parties, where as reciprocity is the action and reaction of two parties, and requires only two sides; redistribution requires a social centre. For this reason, redistribution is associated with groups headed by a central authority, such as a chief. Interestingly, some archaeologists have hypothesized that the buildings of the pyramids and other monumental architectures in ancient Egypt were also a part of the larger system of redistribution in which both goods and services were "pooled", so that such works were constructed during the periods of economic stagnation. Thus they see them as a huge kind of welfare system.

Redistribution may be a matter of custom, law or special decision. Sometimes there is actual collection, storage and redistribution of goods. At other times, collection is not physical but consists of assignment of the right to use the goods in a particular area (i.e., group A may have the food grown in this section of field; group B may have the yield from that section). The reason for redistribution can vary too. For example, it may stem from the fact that different regions from a large country produce things that other regions may not produce, or that the time at which food is needed and harvest time may be several months apart. Finally redistribution may apply not only to whole societies but to smaller groups as well.

The presence of redistribution implies the existence of hierarchy i.e., redistribution is impossible unless someone is given an authority to carry out the redistribution; Hence the frequent association of redistribution with chieftainship. Indeed this relation may create the leadership role itself. In most hunting and gathering societies, the central authority needed to redistribute the goods is lacking and

surplus to make it worth while. As a result, redistributive exchange is found in production systems that are somewhat more advanced than that of simple hunting and gathering societies.

Potlatch: The word potlatch means, simply "giving" in the Chinook Jargon, a widely used trade language in the North Pacific Coast. The potlatch of the North West Pacific Coast Indians was a ceremony at which one chief and his group gave away goods - usually trade blankets or copper plaques to another chief or chiefs and their groups. The gifts were distributed according to the ranks of the recipients.

Among the Kwakiutl Indians of British Columbia, the potlatch is the most important public ceremony for the announcement of significant events and the claiming of hierarchical names, hereditary rights, and privileges. Such announcements or claims are always accompanied by the giving of gifts from a host to all guests. The guests are invited to witness, and later to validate, a host's claims and each receives gifts of varying worth, according to his rank.

Potlatches are held to celebrate births, marriages, deaths, adoptions or the coming of age of young people. They may also be given as a penalty for breaking a taboo, such as behaving frivolously or performing ineptly during a sacred winter dance. A potlatch to save face can be promoted by an accident even as trivial as the capsizing of a canoe or the birth of a deformed child. Among the most extravagant potlatches are those given for rivalry or vengeance.

All potlatches are public. The host, with the support of his family, "numima" (the next largest tribal sub-division), or tribe invites other families, numimas or tribes. The size of the gathering reveals the affluence and prestige of the host. At the ceremony, he traces his line of descent and his rights to the claims he is making. No announcement or claim is made without feasting and the distribution of gifts. Gifts are given to guests in the order of their tribal importance and or a value relative to this prestige. Clearly, high ranking chiefs receive more gifts than lesser men. But the value and quantity of gifts distributed at a potlatch reflect less on the recipients than on the donor. The gifts he gives away or in some cases the property he publicly destroys are marks of his wealth, rank, generosity, and self-esteem. Over a period of time, they also measure the power and prestige that he will be able to maintain over others of high status. For at a later potlatch, each high-ranking guest will try to return as much or preferably more than he received. To keep track of the gifts distributed and the precise hierarchy of guests, each donor has the assistance of a "potlatch secretary" whose records are needed to maintain correct social form and avoid offense.

Potlatch gifts vary widely, from money to property. They include boats, blankets, flour, kettles, fish oil and in former times, slaves. More recently gifts have included sewing machines, furniture, even pool tables. Probably the most valuable potlatch material has little intrinsic worth but enormous symbolic value. These are coppers - large pieces of beaten sheet copper shaped like shields with a ridge running down the contour of the lower half. They are painted with black lead and a design is inscribed through the paint. Each copper has a name and its potlatch history determines its value. One copper, called "all other coppers are ashamed to look at it", had been paid for with 7500 blankets; another known as "making the house empty of wealth" was worth 5000 blankets.

During a potlatch which can last several days and long into each night, speeches, songs, and dances are mixed with the giving of gifts, snacks and more lavish feasting. The host is not the only speaker; usually high-ranking guests also speak or supervise the singing, dancing, and drumming. Elaborate ceremonial costumes are worn by the speaker, who holds a "speaker's staff", by dancers and musicians; the hall where the potlatch is held is decorated with painted hangings and tribal insignia.

All potlatch ceremonies are marked by exacting standards of etiquette and behavior. Impropriety, whether intentional or accidental, requires an immediate response. Mistakes in procedure, public quarreling, or an accident witnessed by others brings a sense of shame and indignity on its perpetrator, who must immediately "cover (or wipe off) the same", making a payment or re-establish his self-esteem.

The Kwakiutl respond similarly to insults. Potlatchers sometimes deliberately insult a guest by calling his inappropriate portion of food. The offended guest retaliates immediately by giving gifts himself, or by destroying something valuable of his own while denouncing the potlatcher. Violence sometimes erupts. On some occasions the host ignores a face-saving gesture of a guest and this may precipitate a rivalry potlatch. If a host mistakenly offends, a guest restores his pride by giving the host a reprimand gift. Embarrassed by his carelessness, the correct host will make restitution in double the amount of the reprimand gift.

Rivalries also develop when two men compete for the same name, song or other privilege. Each contestant recites his closest genealogical connection with the claim and tries to out do his rival in the amount of property he can give away. In the heat of such rivalries, contestants sometimes break off a piece of copper, thereby destroying its value, and give the piece to their rival. The rival might then bring out his own copper of at least equal value, break it, and give both pieces back to the opponent. Great merit came to the man who threw his copper into the sea, "drowning it", thus showing his utter contempt for property and implying that his importance was such that what he destroyed was of little concern to him. At times this ostentatious destruction of property included canoes, house planks, blankets and even slaves in former days.

The witnesses to these dramatic acts of the potlatch act as judges to the claims; ultimately, they decide the victor. A powerful and prestigious man can sway public opinion by recognizing the claim of one contestant over another at a subsequent potlatch. Indeed, this is a basic principle of the potlatch; successful potlatch in itself cannot legitimize a claim. It is behavior of other hosts at later potlatches that validates a claim for once and for all.

According to Stuart Piddocke, potlatch is not a practice because of surplus but because of scarcity. Among the populations in which such a practice is seen are self-subsistent. According to Stuart, potlatch has a pro-survival and a pro-subsistent function.

While the effect of a potlatch was to redistribute goods, it served important social functions as well. It was a declaration by the host himself of his status. Also, it strengthened the bond between the individual and the group on the one hand, as well as the ties between the host group and the guest group on the other. The latter relationship was reciprocal; the guests were expected to return the gifts by having potlatches to which the hosts would be invited (much as dinner invitations are returned in the societies).

The potlatch has sometimes been described as irrational behavior because it differs from the acquisitive behavior that the most of us consider normal. But it just as rational as any other way of procuring honor and power, such as committing oneself to heavy mortgage or auto loan payments for the sake of the status that comes with owning the prestigious house or luxurious car.

The potlatch was the fundamental means whereby the political influence and social position were established and maintained among the Indians of the north-west coast where social rank was extremely important. The assumption of any new status was validated by a potlatch to which the important people in the society were invited. The distribution of food and other material valuables served as an important mechanism for the distribution of the goods. But the primary purpose of the potlatch was to proclaim and confirm a particular status, which was frequently accompanied by an honorific title. To assume a title was to assert certain rights. These rights had to be reaffirmed at subsequent potlatches when the title or rank came into question. The potlatch is a significant example of exchange because it is based on the principle of reciprocity which is fundamental to all systems of exchange. In this case, however, the reciprocal obligation is perhaps more apparent than it is in other systems.

MARKET EXCHANGE

Market exchange is a price-setting mechanism and is characterized by bargaining behavior. Each party to the exchange wants to arrive at a price that is as favorable to him or her as possible. The important point is that prices can fluctuate; they are not set or predetermined. And since each party is trying to gain an advantage at the expense of the other, the nature of the social relationship involved is basically

The concept of market exchange is inevitably tied to the concept of money. Economists generally define money as a medium of exchange that has no other use and that is taken in exchange for goods and services. The coins, bills and cheques that we use in our society are of course considered money. They are an impersonal, commercial commodity. The people from small-scale societies, however, may have included as money, the cowrie shells that peoples of Oceania use as media of exchange. Others have argued that the shells are not money because their exchange value is limited to containing only certain goods or products. The problem of definition stems from using western money as a model and trying to see whether cowrie shells, cattle, dog teeth, and the like fit the model, rather than trying to find out how the similarities and differences between various types of moneys relate to similarities and differences between various types of economic systems.

Unlike reciprocity and redistribution where social and political roles of those involved are important, a market exchange is impersonal and occurs no matter what the social position of the participant is. It's also called "money exchange" or "commercial exchange". These exchange systems evolve when economy develops to a point where supplies of food regularly exceed the needs of those engaged in food production.

Features of Market Exchange:

1. Buyers approach the sellers because of their direct need. Similarly, sellers wish to exchange their goods because they need money it will bring - they do so because they have an immediate need for other goods and services.
2. Individuals try to maximize their profit by getting maximum number of goods and services for least expenditure of their own resources. This implies that prices change from day to day in relation to supply and demand.
3. Exchange determines the parties to be involved. Buyers and sellers attempt to get the most for their limited resources; they will choose to deal with the individual who gives them the maximum value. Thus, it facilitates exchange between strangers. Ideally hence, market exchange is suited to large and complex societies of today.
4. Market exchange leads to setting of value of goods and services in terms of each other. Value of each commodity under exchange in the market becomes related. The worth of one commodity will eventually be stated in terms of values of another good or service.

Markets in Simple Societies:

Simple societies might have market sites but not market principles. They serve not only the economic functions, but also social, political and recreational functions. The urban market features like high Division of Labor, spirit of competition and exploitative relations are missing.

If money is not a mode of payment, the exchange is termed as barter. If exchange takes place without involvement of parties concerned, it is termed as silent barter or dumb barter.

A perfect market is the one in which the prices are set by forces of demand and supply. An imperfect market is the one where there is a political intervention in price setting mechanisms, in terms of subsidies, tariffs, controlled price mechanisms etc. This latter case is usually seen in the socialist countries while the capitalist nations have perfect markets.

The question is then what is money? Money may be used for three basic purposes:

1. **As a medium of exchange:** Money enables people to exchange things they want less for things they want more without having to find someone in the opposite situation. Without money, if one needs a specific item, such as a piece of cloth, and has something that he or she is willing to give up such as an extra chicken, the person may be obliged to hunt high and low before finding someone who wants a

chicken and is willing to give a piece of cloth in exchange for it. With money both individuals can go to a market and buy the cloth and the chicken.

2. **As a Standard of Value:** Money enables people to compare chickens and cloths, so to speak. Every item that can be exchanged is given a monetary value, and this facilitates its exchange.
3. **As a Means of Payment:** Money enables people to obtain their choice of a wide variety of products and services.

In Western societies, money performs all three of these functions. In other societies, however, this is not always the case. Anthropologists therefore distinguish between two types of money: 1) General Purpose Money and 2) Special Purpose Money.

General Purpose Money: In a true market economy such as our own, money serves a general purpose. It makes it possible to place a value on all goods and services regardless of their type so that they may be readily purchased. It also serves as a general standard of value and is universally used in making payments. Everything from natural resources to finished goods can be bought in the appropriate market, as can services of all kinds, as well as ceremonial and religious goods. Taxes are paid with money as are fines. Gifts are bought with money and then given or the gift itself may take the money. In a market economy, even redistribution (taxation) and reciprocity (gift-giving) are transacted means of money.

Special Purpose Money: On the other hand, in small-scale economies money may exist, but its purpose is often limited. Such money is termed special purpose money. Different objects may be used in different types of transactions. Moreover, the objects used may not be "full-time" money in that they may have other uses as well. Such objects may perform one or two of the functions listed earlier as a medium of exchange, a standard of value, or a means of payment - but not all three. Special purpose money tends to be used in non-commercial transactions. When tools are exchanged for a bride, the transaction is reciprocal. The tools cannot necessarily be used in other types of transactions but are required for the bride wealth transaction. Similarly cows, shell armbands, and so forth serve some of the functions that Western moneys serve but in non-commercial situations. In each case, they are used only for specific transactions.

Many small-scale societies do not have a single type of money for everything they exchange. Some commodities are used in some kinds of exchange and others, in other kinds. That is, various spheres of exchange are separated from one another and use various types of special purpose money.

TRIBAL MARKETS

As a specific institution, exchange penetrates through the social fabric and may be thought of as a network holding the society together. Exchange is rationalized by a price system. There are many exchange systems as there are types of society. One form of exchange is the market system.

Market is a system which produces self-regulating prices. The self regulation is through the interaction of buyers and sellers who operate impersonally, that is a without regard to factors such as those of kinship, prestige, status emotion or in any other way than as buyer and seller. Market place trading has been a long established tradition. There are several factors contributing to this innovation. They are:

1. Security of law and order which has made it possible for persons of differing tribal groups to exchange goods.
2. Introduction of cash as a medium of exchange, to facilitate exchange between persons of differing culture, in the absence of barter or other prestation conventions.
3. Growth of transport and communications.
4. Growing dependence of producers upon agricultural cash crops seeing a market.

Market Place Systems: In the tribal societies, the market place is a focus and distinctive feature of the network of exchange which binds the economy together. The tribal system, of which the market place is a part, is characterized by the following features:

1. A large proportion of the produce does not find its way into the market place at all.
2. The market place frequently exists alongside prestation systems, and may be interlinked with them.
3. Market place systems are today normally part of national systems which contain industrial and commercial sectors which impinge upon the market place but yet separated from it.
4. Tribal market places facilitate trading in small lots, and the buyers and sellers are innumerable.
5. The storage function of market place is noteworthy. It applies even to perishable commodities, since it is an analytical rather than literal function. For example, a person may sell commodities which he is now unable to consume them himself, but by retaining the proceeds may be able to buy back similar commodities from other producers when his own production is in short supply. This suggests that markets emerge where surplus exists.
6. Also the market does not come into existence to enable persons to dispose of surpluses. It comes into existence as a function of the division of labor, so that who concentrate on production of one sort may obtain the produce of others.

Social Relations of the Market Place: Exchange being though of as a primary form of interaction, exchange patterns can define group composition, the relation between group members and interaction across boundaries. Trade and marketing constitute a concrete form of exchange and hence give one major indication of social structure.

A market system exhibits the class system since it combines elements of both vertical and horizontal flow. For example, in Mesoamerica, exchange takes between peasants and also between peasants and other townsmen.

One interesting finding is that in tribal markets two nearly contradictory features coexist. That is market place is a typically fabricated network of impersonal relations. At the same time among the tribes, the profit motive is absent.

PRINCIPLES GOVERNING PRODUCTION, DISTRIBUTION AND CONSUMPTION IN COMMUNITIES SUBSISTING ON DIFFERENT LEVELS OF ECONOMY

Using subsistence technology as a criterion, anthropologists classify the tribal economies into two broad types with their sub-types:

1. Food-collection economy
    - (i) Food-gathering economy
    - (ii) Hunting-fishing economy
2. Food-production economy
    - (iii) Pastoral economy
    - (iv) Horticultural economy
    - (v) Agricultural economy

Food-collection economy is defined as that economy based on all forms of subsistence technology in which food getting is dependent upon naturally occurring resources in the environment i.e., wild plants and animals. Food-collection economy includes two sub-types: food-gathering economy and hunting-fruits and vegetables that grow wild and hunting of the animals in wilderness. Those societies which are dependent upon food-gathering economy are known as hunters and gatherers, hunters and collectors, hunters-gatherers, foragers and pre-farming societies. Hunting-fishing economy is based on the subsistence technology of hunting as well as fishing. The tribal societies with hunting-fishing economy obtain fruits and vegetables by foraging. They supplement their diet by hunting. To call a society a hunting-fishing society, then, it simply indicates that fishing and hunting are its most important subsistence activities.

Food-production economy is that economy which is based on the subsistence technology of domestication of plants and animals. It reveals how the tribal societies domesticate food sources and acquire control over certain natural processes such as animal breeding and plant seeding. Food-production economy includes three sub-types of economy: horticultural economy, pastoral economy and agricultural economy. Horticultural economy is based on the subsistence technology of cultivating the gardens by using hoe or digging stick. Pastoral economy is based on the subsistence technology of domesticating the animals such as cattle, buffaloes, camels, horses, reindeer and llamas. Agricultural economy is based on subsistence technology of cultivation by using plough. It is also called an economy based on plough cultivation.

EVOLUTIONARY SEQUENCE OF ECONOMIES

Food gathering is the oldest mode of human existence. Human societies were food-gatherers throughout most of their history. Obviously, for the several hundred thousand years of Paleolithic, not until the Neolithic some eight to ten thousand years ago did any human society develop food-production. As gatherers, humans have evolved, dispersed over much of the inhabited world, and laid the broad foundations for human culture.

Archaeological evidence suggests that the earliest humans depended primarily on vegetable foods, supplementing this diet with eggs, insects, and such small game as might be captured without weapons. This is because the people of early times had no weapons for hunting other than stones, clubs, crude hand axes, sticks and spears with wooden points. Early humans lived almost wholly by collecting wild vegetable foods and to some extent by hunting. Thus food-gathering economy based on the subsistence strategy of collecting wild plants and killing wild animals for food has been a major activity. Almost 10,000 years ago humans were all food-gatherers.

The transition from food-gathering to food production brought a major change in the relationship between humans and their natural resources. Beginning about 10,000 years ago certain people, in widely separated geographical locations in Old World and New World, made the revolutionary changeover to food production; that is, they began to cultivate and then domesticate plants and animals. For the first time, humans were able to augment the productivity of their environment and to gain some degree of control over their food supply. Domestication of food sources in the form of horticulture, animal husbandry and agriculture crept into several places in Old World and New World through the forests, unheralded and probably spurned by many of the inhabitants who, for a long time, preferred their accustomed way of life dependent upon game supplemented in some places by fish. Even when agriculture was accepted by many human societies, it seems to have been done so grudgingly, with the focus of interest remaining on the gradually less productive pursuit of hunting and gathering. Today, most people in the world depend for their food upon some combination of domesticated plants and animals.

The above account gives the evolutionary sequence of various economies. Food-collection combined with gathering and hunting is the oldest type of human subsistence and economy. In the early times it was the universal activity through which human beings in all parts of the globe were seeking the satisfaction of their nutritive wants. From this economic level, human societies evolved and developed the other economies. In this economic development from the early food-collection stages, however, the course followed by different human societies was by no means uniform. Some societies evolved into the stage of

stage of agriculture. However, some societies evolved into the stage of pastoralism, then into the stages of horticulture and agriculture. With this exception regarding which stage that each human society had experienced before it finally reached the stage of agriculture, all human societies had first food-collecting economy, and then acquired food-producing economy. Today there are many tribes on the agricultural level who get part of their subsistence by food-collection from natural sources. They keep a few domestic animals, and have some artisan skill in one line or the other. Even food-collectors keep some animals. Contemporary tribal societies have also evolved their economies. Centuries later, they may reach higher levels of economy. However, the present levels of tribal economies have their remarkable characteristics.

FOOD-GATHERING ECONOMY

Distribution

Today, the tribal societies with food-gathering economy include only 250,000 people in a world population of about 3.4 billions. Thus the food-gatherers form about 0.003 per cent of world population and live in the world's marginal areas namely frozen arctic tundra, deserts and dense tropical forests. Food-gatherers have generally been exposed to more technologically `advanced' societies.

Examples

1. In Africa, the pygmies and the Pygmoid tribes, the Bachwa along the equator, some of the Bushmen tribes are food-gatherers.
2. In Asia we find food-gathering tribal societies widely scattered over India, Malaya and the adjoining Islands. In India, food-gathering tribes are found mainly in the South and in Andaman Islands. The Paliyan, the Iruka, the Panyan, the Yanadi, the Kurumba and the Chenchu in South India and the Onge, Jarawa and Sentinelese in Andaman Islands are food-gatherers. The Semang and Sakai of Malaya and the Ainu of Japan, the Veddas of Ceylon, and the Pygmies of Philippines are food-gatherers.
3. In Australia, the south-eastern tribes such as the Kariera, the Kulin and the Murngin and western tribe of Ngatatjara living on the edge of the Gibson Desert and the central tribe of Arunta are food-gatherers.
4. In South America, the Ona of Tierra Del Fuego, the Siriono of Bolivia and many other tribes are food-gatherers.
5. In North America, food-gathering tribes can be found in North Central California and in the Algonquin, North-Eastern and Central Parts of United States and Polar Regions of Canada. The Shoshone, the Miwok, the Ojjibwa, the Washo and the Winnebago Red Indians of United States and the Central Eskimo of Canada are the food-gathering tribes in North America.

Characteristics

1. Food-gathering economy is characterized by nomadism and semi-nomadism because activities in search of food and water in different parts of the forest, desert or tundra often necessitate several wandering or seasonal moves.
2. Food-gathering economy has the characteristic of supporting the lowest population density. The population of food-gathering tribes is sparse. In the most cases the total population of the entire tribe does not exceed a few thousands.
3. Food-gathering economy is characterized by small size self-sufficient local groups. The local group is a self-sufficient economic unit. It is invariably a small nomadic band or some semi-nomadic settlement in which 25 to 30 individuals are clustered.

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4. Food-gathering economy is characterized by simple economic resources namely technology, division of labor, land ownership and capital.

   a) Food-gathering economy is characterized by simplest technology. The tools and instruments used for collecting the plants and for killing the animals are often few. Digging stick and collection basket are used for collecting food from the forest. Special baskets may be used for collecting honey. Several types of containers such as bags, nets and baskets are also used for collecting seeds, nuts or fruits. For the purpose of hunting, the use of bow and arrows and spears is fairly common. Several variations can be noticed in the shape and size of the bows and types of arrows used by tribal hunters. Some form or the other of the axe too is found being used by them. In some tribes of Africa, United States and Canada, the use of spear-thrower and missiles is also in evidence. In Australia a throwing stick known as boomerang is used in hunting. Boomerang is of two types: the returnable one which hits the target and returns to the tribal hunter and the non-returnable one which hits the target and stops there itself without returning to the tribal hunter. Several tribal hunting societies in America use war clubs. In almost all hunting societies, hunting is done with the help of traps, death pits and snares. The commonest methods of hunting are those of beat and chase. Decoys too are employed by some of the tribal societies. Generally speaking, the technology of food-gathering tribes varies according to local resources. Even then it is simple and it is learned and passed on to succeeding generations for a tribe to be able to survive.

   b) Division of labor runs on simple lines. Full-time craft specialization is absent. In fact there is no individual, group or regional specialization. The main division of labor is between the sexes. In many societies men engage themselves in hunting. Women often go in parties to do most of the gathering, which often means digging for roots and tubers with digging sticks. In several societies even men go in parties for collecting wild fruits, flowers and tubers. Individual and collective hunting is also practiced. When hunting parties are organized, they call for considerable resourcefulness, concerted action and some specialization for successfully bagging sufficient game to satisfy the needs of the group.

   c) Land Ownership is practiced according to specific rules. Hunters and gatherers determine who can hunt and gather and where. Collecting areas and hunting zones of the different local groups within a tribal society are marked out by convention. They are the property of the group, and not of any particular individual. Among the Bushmen of the Kalahari, for example, camps are located near water holes. The traditional area exploited by a local group is measured by one day's round trip walk (about 12 miles from the camp) in all directions. Thus each camp has a core area of about 6 miles surrounding each water hole.

   d) Capital in food-gathering societies is very limited. The capital of hunters and gatherers consists of few and simple tools because of the need for nomadic or semi-nomadic life. Hunters and gatherers share tools in exchange for the products of their use.

5. Food-gathering economy is often characterized by plenty of food and rarely characterized by food shortage. The tribes that engage in food-gathering collect wild produce which is a major part of their diet. Wild fruits, roots, tubers, leaves, plants, herbs, mushrooms and honey are all eagerly sought by them. Ostrich eggs, turtle eggs and lizards are also collected. Several varieties of animals are hunted. Most of the tribes have their special techniques and processes for preserving wild foods and meat derived from game for short intervals.

6. Food-gathering economy is characterized by absence of surplus and trade. One remarkable feature of food-gathering economy is that the tribes have no surplus or rarely have little surplus left with them after satisfying their needs, which they could use for barter, exchange or trade. The food-gathering tribes have what could be called a `forest to mouth' existence. A few societies like the Veddas of Ceylon practice silent trade, dumb barter or covert exchange. These societies do not have surpluses;

points. Thus, neither surpluses nor any reserves and trade are present among the tribes with food-gathering economy.

7. Food gathering economy favors informal political leadership. The general tone of the socio-political organization of the tribes dependent on food-gathering economy is almost always democratic. Even if they have any Chiefs they are practically nothing more than elders and have neither a halo of princely grandeur around them nor any ruling authority.

HUNTING-FISHING ECONOMY

Distribution

Historically, hunting-fishing economy is probably the second oldest type of economy. It emerged about 11,000 years ago. The actual practice of fishing was, of course, even older and more widespread and had provided a supplementary source of subsistence in hunting societies, at least 35,000 years ago. However, hunting-fishing as the main source of livelihood came into existence only 11,000 years ago.

Hunting-fishing economy is limited to only those tribal societies which are located near sea coast, lake areas and riverine environments. For these societies, fish, rather than land animals, are the objects of the chase. They hunt fish with the help of arrows, harpoons and spears, trap fish and sometimes capture fish after stupefying them. They do kill some land animals for food, hence they are also hunters. For this reason they are called hunters as well as fishers. Tribal societies depending on hunting and fishing are simply specialized hunting and gathering societies, but adapted to aquatic environments rather than terrestrial environments. They stand midway between hunting and gathering and horticultural societies.

At present hunting-fishing economy can be found distributed in the North-Western part of North America namely Oregon, Washington, British Columbia, Alaska and the arctic regions of Canada. They also occur in isolated parts in northern Asia, among the Pacific Islands in Polynesia and Micronesia, in scattered parts of Africa and South America.

Examples

a) The tribes living in the North-Pacific Coast of North America extending from northern California to Western Alaska are depending upon hunting-fishing economy. Some of the tribes of this region are the Blackfoot, Lbellacoola, Haida, Kwakiutil, Nootka and Tlingit Red Indians, the Braffinland Eskimos and Alaskan Eskimos. The copper Eskimo of northern Canada are also hunters and fishers.

b) In lowland South America there are some Red Indian tribes living close to rivers and obtaining much of their protein from available fish resources, although most also hunt. The Alaculuf, the Chono and the Yahgan or Yaghen Red Indians living on the coastline of Chile are also hunters and fishers.

c) In Africa the tribes living in Dahomey, Ivory Coast and several scattered places among the west coast are dependent upon hunting-fishing economy.

d) The inhabitants of the Pacific Islands in Polynesia and Micronesia grow a range of crops and raise pigs, yet they depend on fish as their protein source, particularly on the smaller coral atolls, where large lagoons surrounded by reefs provide a major breeding ground for edible fish. The reefs also protect the lagoons from the high seas, and fishing within them is safe.

Characteristics

1. Hunting-fishing economy is characterized by sedentary life. Although hunting and gathering tribes are forced to lead a nomadic or semi-nomadic existence, fishing societies often live in permanent settlements because fishing usually provides a more plentiful and stable food supply than hunting and gathering.

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2. Hunting-fishing economy has the characteristic of supporting higher population density. Population densities in fishing societies are high. This reflects the facts that much edible energy can be secured fairly close to the shoreline villages.

3. Hunting-fishing economy is characterized by large self-sufficient local groups. As the fishing economies usually have a potential for supporting larger, more sedentary populations, the local groups are usually the sedentary villages facing the sea. Among the North-West Coast Indians each local group of village contains 1500 to 2000 people.

4. Hunting-fishing economy is characterized by elaborate economic resources namely technology, division of labor, land ownership and capital.

    a) Hunting-fishing technology is almost always characterized by an elaborate technology. The Eskimos have canoes, kayas, igloos, dogsleds, harpoons, spear throwers and some nets for hunting as well as fishing. The Red Indians living in North America use canoes, harpoons, spears, nets, hooks and traps. The fishing societies in other parts of the world use canoes, harpoons, spears, nets, hooks, traps, arrows and intoxicating material.

    b) Division of labor is based on age, sex and specialization. Often the fishing activities are performed by men. Sometimes men may also go for hunting wild animals. Women often go for gathering vegetable products, turtle eggs, crabs and some marine animals washed ashore. Men and women work together in processing, curing, and storing the fish. Some men specialize in part of the time, spending the rest of their days in fishing and hunting. Some specialize in wood-working, canoe-building and basket-making. All manufacturing is carried out by handicraft, without the aid of machines.

5. Hunting-fishing is often characterized by plenty of food and protein. A variety of smaller fish including candle fish, herring and smelt spawned along the shores, mussels, clams, sea urchins, crabs and other offshore forms, seal, porpoise, sea otter and other deep water marine animals make up a large part of the diet of the fishing societies.

6. Hunting-fishing economy is characterized by surplus production and trade. Fish are easily stored when dried or smoked. Especially when other techniques like gathering some vegetable produce from the forests, hunting the land animals and raising some crops, are followed for additional subsistence. Intensive exploitation of the sea, the river, the lake or any other large body of water readily produces a surplus beyond what a given worker or his family can consume. This surplus becomes available for trade. All fishing societies are more or less involved in trade activities in which their surplus fish are sold or exchanged for other products.

7. Hunting-fishing economy favors formal political leadership. All fishing societies have formal political leaders. This is in sharp contrast with the informal political leadership existing among the hunting and gathering societies. More pronounced formal political leadership exists in the fishing societies of the North-West Coast of North America. In these societies the fishing economy presents three distinct features of socio-political organization. First, the organization of the work-parties is not democratic; it is under a leader. Second, the distribution is not equal; the leader gets a major share and chief gets tributes. Third, these politico-economic inequalities have built up a hierarchy of formal leaders for maintaining the village and tribal solidarity.

PASTORAL ECONOMY

Distribution

Historically, pastoral economy came into existence at about the same time when horticultural and agricultural economies came into existence in the Old World. In fact, animals were first domesticated about the same time plants were cultivated, and the two practices typically went hand in hand in the

insufficient rainfall, the shortness of the growing season, or the mountainous character of the terrain. This was true of much Central Asia, the Arabian, peninsula, and North Africa, and parts of Europe and sub-Saharan Africa. Though horticulture and agriculture were not feasible, it was often possible to raise livestock. It was only several hundreds of years later the societies have also adopted horticulture and agriculture on a small scale as a subsidiary economic activity. This new type of economy based on herding of animals, continues to be in Central Asia, Arabian Peninsula, North Africa, parts of Europe and Sub-Saharan Africa.

Examples

1. The pastoral economy of some of the European Arctic and the Lapps of Finland and the Chuckchee of Russian Siberia is based on reindeer herding.
2. The pastoral economy of the Kazak, Kirghiz, and Basseri in Central Asia, is based on the herding of horses, camels, cattle, sheep and goats, that of Tibetans is based on Yak, sheep, cattle, and horses, that of Kalmuk Mangols in Mongolia is based on horses and cattle' and that of the Todas in India is based on buffalo herds.
3. The pastoral economy of the African tribes like the Nuer, Dinka, Masai, Heroro and the Barabaig is based on Zebu-types of cattle keeping besides raising the sheep, goats and donkeys.
4. The pastoral economy of Navajo in United States is based on domestication of sheep and horses introduced by Spaniards.
5. There are about 5 million pastoralists in Siberia and Central Asia, 2 million pastoralists in South West Asia and North Africa, more than 10 million pastoralists in eastern and southern Africa and 2 million pastoralists in the rest of the world.

Characteristics

1. Pastoral economy is characterized by nomadism, semi-nomadism or sedentariness. As pastoral groups move from place to place in response to their animals needs, they are nomads. They are seasonally nomadic moving with their herds over large territories searching for better grazing grounds. They move over fixed routes, living mostly in tents as in Central Asia, Arctic Europe, Mongolia, Siberia and Tibet.

2. Pastoral economy has the characteristic of supporting a low population density.

3. Pastoral economy is characterized by small size communities. On the average they are a bit smaller than fishing communities and much smaller than horticultural communities. The explanation for the small size of pastoral communities is primarily environmental. Given the limited resources of their territories, large and dense settlements are impossible.

4. Pastoral economy includes moderate economic resources.

    a. Technology includes several tools, utensils and containers besides numerous techniques of stock-raising. Plates, buckets, milking stools, bags, sacks, pouches of skins, saddles, made of skin and leather and calabashes. Wooden and metal bells, leather straps, horn decorative substances and leather belts meant for cattle are also used. Branding irons, castration equipment, and a variety of knives for trimming the tails and ears, for shearing the wool and for cutting the meat are also used.

    b. Land ownership is governed by specific rules to determine who have rights to watering places and grazing lands, as well as by specific rights of access to land over which they move their herds.

them and do numerous other activities. Women attend to the preparation of curds, butter, cheese, and yogurt. There is little specialization also. Some men may specialize in branding the animals, some in trimming the horns and tails, some in offering armed protection to their caravans and some in welfare activities.

5. Pastoral economy is characterized by plenty of food and frequent food shortages. Pastoralists are often partially dependent on the plant foods grown by their agricultural neighbors. The Tibetans, for example, plant no crops but they purchase barley, dried fruit, and tea from settled people. Hunting is an important secondary source of food.
6. Collection of wild produce is done by women. However, some pastoralists, like those in several parts of Africa, grow plant foods of their own, although they generally subordinate cultivation activities to the work and mobility demands of their animals. Besides they supplement pastoral activity with hunting and gathering.
7. Pastoral economy is characterized by some surplus and trade. In the form of meat and dairy products, wool, hides, ropes, some woolen blankets, bags, carpets, rugs and ropes, pastoral economy yields only a limited surplus of food supply. To pay for the goods they require such as cereals, millets, weapons, riding gear, containers and clothing from the wider society, the pastoralists put on the market a modest surplus of cheese, live animals, hair, wool, skins and meat. Especially to be noted is the interdependence between pastoral people and agricultural groups. That is, trade is usually necessary for pastoral groups. In fact, a large proportion of their food may actually come from trade with agricultural groups. But as said above, because of their dependence upon agriculturists who are themselves often short of food, the pastoralists are also subject to frequent food shortages.
8. Pastoral economy favors part-time and full-time political leadership. Raiding and warfare are frequent activities and this stimulates the growth of political authority. But within the tribe all adult male members participate in decision making. Special agencies for the administration of law are rare in the pastoral societies.

HORTICULTURAL ECONOMY

Distribution

Ten thousand years ago, inhabitants of the Middle East discovered that plants grow from seeds and applied this new insight to humanity' perennial problem of obtaining food. In fact, this discovery was made by women, not men. Women harvested wild grasses, brought the cereals home, stored in storage pits and took the grain from the storage pits to prepare it for eating. Once in a while some grain was probably left in a storage pit long enough for it to sprout, and occasionally a few shoots must have survived long enough to become recognizable as young plants of the parent species. Motivated by curiosity or necessity, women transplanted a few of these young shoots and discovered that grains planted in this way would yield many times their number. Thus women laid the foundation for a significantly new kind of societies, one that could produce its own food, or the major part of it, and no longer be dependent on hunting and gathering. This same foundation later served as the basis for agricultural economy.

Tribal societies, following horticultural economy are now distributed in four parts of the world: the islands of the pacific, southern Asia, Africa below the Sahara, and the New World. Their number runs to several millions of individuals.

Examples

1. The Hopi and the Zuni Red Indians in North America, the Apinaye, the Tarahumara, the Camayura, the Ynamanao and the Jivaro Red Indians in South America are following horticultural economy.

2. The Azande, the Bemba, the Kpsigis, the Chagga, the Ganda, the Hehe, the Tiv, the Tallensi, the Youruba, the Yako, the Nyakyusa, the Kpelle and several other tribal societies in Africa are dependent upon horticultural economy.
3. The Sobanum and Ifugao in Phillippines, the Muria Gond, Rengma Naga, Ao Naga Abor and many other tribes in India besides several tribal societies in various parts of Indonesia, Burma and Malaya are dependent on horticultural economy.
4. The Kurtachi, the Kiwal the Wogeo, the Arapesh, the Trobrianders and many other tribes of Pacific Islands practice horticultural economy.

Characteristics

1. Horticultural economy is characterized by more sedentarism. Compared with modern hunting and gathering societies, their settlements are much more permanent or sedentary in nature; most groups move only very few years, when forced to, by the exhaustion of the soil.
2. Horticultural economy has the characteristic of supporting low to moderate population density. Horticulture practices yield more food from a given area than is generally available to hunting and gathering people. Consequently horticulture is able to support larger, more densely populated communities.
3. Horticultural economy is characterized by small to moderate size self-sufficient local groups. Self-sufficient economic units are usually villages of scores or hundreds of persons, rarely if ever is a village as large as 2000 people.
4. Horticultural economy is characterized by simple to moderate economic resources.
    a. Technology includes simple hand tools and simple methods of farming. Small amounts of land are worked at one time mostly with hand tools namely digging stick, hoe or spade.
    b. Division of labor is based on age, sex and some specialization. Women's contribution to subsistence activities is greater than that of men in horticultural societies.
    c. Horticultural economy is characterized by plenty of food and infrequent food shortages. Horticulture yields maize, finger millet, pearl millet, and manioc in Africa, maize, banana, peanut, corn, sweet potato, potato and manioc in America, yam, banana, coconut, breadfruit, taro and sugarcane in Oceania, rice millets and some root crops in Asia. All these food items provide plenty of food and they are supplemented by meat and fish. Among horticulturists food shortages are very rare because of the dependable yields of the crops.
    d. Horticultural economy favors some part-time political leadership. Some persons may be part-time craftsmen or part-time political officials; and certain members of a kin group such as lineage heads, tribal chiefs, shamans and priests may have more status than other individuals in the society.

AGRICULTURAL ECONOMY

Distribution

Almost eight thousand years ago, there were many important advances in farming. Scores of new plants were brought under cultivation. A large number of new animals were domesticated. The principles of irrigation, fertilizing and weeding were discovered. But none had the impact of the plough. In fact, agriculture is called plough cultivation as against horticulture. Cultivation with animal drawn plough exists in North Africa, Europe and Asia including Indonesia.

Examples

Some of the tribal societies which practice agriculture are the Baiga, the Bhil, the Bhuiya, the Ho, the Lepcha, the Oraons, the Purum and the Santals in India, the Dusu of Indonesia, the Tanala of Madagascar, the Kachim of Burma and the sixteenth century Aztecs of Meso-America.

Characteristics

1. Agricultural economy is characterized by sedentarism. In contrast to horticultural tribal societies, those with agricultural economy have the most sedentary communities because they have attachment to lands used for continuous cultivation for generations.

2. Agricultural economy has the characteristic of supporting the highest population density. Agricultural societies reveal some of the greatest densities so far encountered, some times 1000 per square mile.

3. Agricultural economy is characterized by permanent rural and urban communities. It supports large villages, towns and cities. Towns and cities grow up from agricultural settlements spurred by higher crop yields and increased population

4. Agricultural economy is characterized by complex economic resources.

   a) Technology includes complex agricultural and several methods of cultivation. The equipment consists of animal drawn ploughs, harness, levelers, Knives, spades, sickles and others. Agricultural operations include preparation of the soil, sowing, caring for the crops and harvesting. Irrigation and weeding comprise essential parts of caring the crops.

   b) Division of labor based on age, sex and a high degree specialization exists in all tribal societies dependent on agricultural economy. Women in agricultural societies contribute less to subsistence then do women in horticultural societies. Co-operative work groups are found everywhere, but they are not always voluntary. Craft specialization is present to a high degree in all tribal societies dependent on agriculture. The patterns of work involved in the production of agricultural goods follow the seasons.

   c) Land ownership includes a set of complex rules relating to allocation of land resources. In many societies individual ownership of land is rare and all individuals have complex rights of access to land. Ownership by lineage, clan or even a phratry is common in all such societies. In a few tribal societies individuals have titles to land and access to water supplies for irrigation and rights to sell the land.

   d) Capital includes money, draught animals, ploughs, levelers, spades, manures and other artifacts and materials. As the tools and other productive goods are more complex and difficult to make individual ownership in them becomes more absolute. Rights to ownership are more rigorously applied.

5. Agricultural economy is characterized by frequent food shortages and very important trade. Agricultural societies cultivate rice, millet, pulses, peanuts, root and tuberous crops. They rely on their own cultivation for a considerable part of their food supplies but supplement their farming with produce purchased in the market. Agricultural societies are also more likely to face food shortages, even though agriculture is generally more productive than horticulture. The reason is that agriculture, which is practiced mainly in non-tropical areas where rainfall can be unreliable, is more vulnerable to severe drought which can hurt, and even destroy, the entire food supply. Further agriculturists are more likely to face food shortages because they are often selling a part of their produce for purchasing other food requirements. If the market demand drops, they may not have enough cash to buy all the other food they need.

6. Agricultural economy is characterized by presence of wide individual differences in wealth. Agricultural success provides for economic inequalities. Individual differences in wealth exist in terms of land, in terms of number of animals and in terms of money.

7. Agricultural economy favors the existence of many full-time political officials. Because economies and politics are always tightly intertwined in agrarian tribal societies, those who dominate the economic system also dominate the political system. Wealth tends to follow power.

CHARACTERISTICS OF TRIBAL ECONOMY

1. **Production without Technological aids:** The tribals being illiterate and isolated, from the civilized world to a large extent, they generally carry out their production without much of technological aids. The result of such a lack of technology is very low production.

2. **Mixing Economic Activities with Religion:** The tribals live in such a type of an environment where there is always a dependence on nature to utmost degree. Their religion is generally naturalistic and hence they tend to amalgamate their economic activities with religious beliefs. Their means of production usually has religious overtones like the Naga, for example, who sprinkle human blood to increase the productivity of the land and also perform sacrifices before harvest.

3. **Production for Consumption:** In the absence of technological development, the rational behind production is solely for consumption. This leads to lack of exchanges. In such a kind of economy, food, shelter and clothing are given primary importance in the production patterns.

4. **Non-Monetary Economy:** Tribal economy will not use money as a means of deciding the value or quantum of production. Usually barter and other types of exchanges prevail without using money as a means of production.

5. **Non-Market Economy:** Because of the lack of purely economic mentalities in the tribal economy, there is no market situation. Moreover there is no monopoly and market cannot exist without the business and competitive spirits.

6. **Non-Profit Oriented Economy:** A tribal economy is a non-profit oriented economy because of the lack of money to judge the profit and moreover the economy is a part of the existing social structure. It is a means of widening the social relations and not terminating the latter by formal profit oriented relationships.

7. **Communal Economic Activities:** The aim of any economic activity is fulfilled through community oriented approach. The activities are co-operative and there is a constant interdependence between various activities.

8. **Absence of Specialists:** In the tribal economy there is no complex division of labor but it is purely based on sex, age and at times on rank. This lack of division of labor leads to lack of specialization in the tribal society.

9. **Concept of Property:** Personal property is recognized in almost all the tribal societies to some extent. Group or community owned properties are decided by them. The group properties usually are the forests, water resources etc.

10. **Economic Backwardness:** The concept of economic backwardness is not absolute but is relative. Compared to the industrial development, the tribes are very primitive in their economic organization. Though they are in a subsistent level, even till today they are unable to control the means of production. Nature to a large extent has an impact on their economy and it governs their production means instead of their economy governing the necessary means of production.

Globalization and Indigenous Economic Systems

The lives of indigenous peoples are often inextricably linked with their relationship to the environment. Their traditions often demonstrate an attachment to land and a strong responsibility for preserving it for future generations. In fact, many indigenous people have a profoundly spiritual relationship with nature, one that ties the land to their very existence. There is also a strong correlation between areas of high biological diversity and the presence of indigenous peoples in those areas around the world.

Because indigenous groups have tended to preserve their lands, there are often abundant resources available on their lands that mainstream society may want to access, such as oil, lumber, and farmable land. These economic pressures can seriously threaten both the environment, but also the indigenous groups who depend on the land for their way of life. Therefore, the protection of this land as well as indigenous rights to preserve their group's land is integral to indigenous survival.

Indigenous peoples are on the cusp of the crisis in sustainable development. Their communities are concrete examples of sustainable societies, historically evolved in diverse ecosystems. Today, they face the challenges of extinction or survival and renewal in a globalized world. The impact of globalization is strongest on these populations perhaps more than any other because these communities have no voice and are therefore easily swept aside by the invisible hand of the market and its proponents. Globalization is not merely a question of marginalization for indigenous peoples it is a multi-pronged attack on the very foundation of their existence and livelihoods, for example:

- Indigenous people throughout the world sit on the "frontlines" of globalization's expansion; they occupy the last pristine places on earth, where resources are still abundant: forests, minerals, water, and genetic diversity. All are ferociously sought by global corporations, trying to push traditional societies off their lands.
- New advances in technology, the reorientation toward export-led development, and the imperatives of pleasing global financial markets are all driving forces in the extermination of countless native communities, which stand in their way.
- Traditional sovereignty over hunting and gathering rights has been thrown into question as national governments bind themselves to new global economic treaties.
- New trade and investment agreements, which are opening up previously inaccessible territory to industrial extraction of natural resources, has forced indigenous peoples to defend their homelands under an invasion of unprecedented rate and scale: Big dams, mines, pipelines, roads, energy developments, military intrusions all threaten native lands.
- Global rules on the patenting of genetic resources via the WTO has made possible the privatization of indigenous peoples' genomes, the biological diversity upon which they depend, and the very knowledge of how that biodiversity might be used commercially.
- National governments making decisions on export development strategies or international trade and investment rules do not consult native communities.

The reality remains that without rapid action, these native communities may be wiped out, taking with them vast indigenous knowledge, rich culture and traditions, and any hope of preserving the natural world, and a simpler, more holistic way of life for future generations.

Indigenous peoples are also an important source of cultural diversity: 4,000 to 5,000 of the world's 6,000 cultures are indigenous. Further, approximately three-quarters of the world's languages are spoken by indigenous peoples. These languages are disappearing rapidly due to the pressures being placed on indigenous peoples.

The forces of globalization are reducing the number of cultures around the world and strengthening ties

their differences. The reason all this is important to consider is that the promotion of homogenous cultures could pose a serious threat to human survival. Researchers are recognizing that cultural diversity drives changes in civilization, just as biodiversity enables biological evolution.

Importantly, a significant amount of ecological knowledge is accumulated by the indigenous peoples who live in rare and poorly understood ecologies. Their knowledge is held in their language, so with the loss of their language the world loses the intimate knowledge of the plants that could provide future medical treatments, or technological advances. In fact, the U.S. National Institutes of Health concluded that "traditional knowledge is as threatened and is as valuable as biological diversity. Both resources deserve respect and must be conserved".

But, beyond the direct benefits that can be gained for science or industry, the protection of language and culture hold merits in its own right. Indigenous peoples' rights seek to protect this special class of minorities that are particularly vulnerable to the encroachment of the modern state and the wider societies they support. Language and culture are key attributes that define these peoples' identities and therefore deserve special efforts of protection.

4. POLITICAL ORGANIZATION AND SOCIAL CONTROL

Status and hierarchy are closely linked with politics and leadership. These features are characteristic to human organizations. Although political relations are probably as old as human society, political anthropology as a distinctive field of study is relatively new. Before 1940 anthropologists did not explicitly study the political activities of the members of any given society as a separate field of enquiry. During the past 50 years however, there has been an increasing emphasis on the competitive aspects of politics i.e., on the political factions, politics of decision making and political change. Anthropologists now distinguish between the administration of the political systems and the struggle of/or the control of that system. The subject matter of political anthropology is not clearly defined as that of other branches of the discipline. The study of kinship for example, is a clearly delimited field of inquiry with a vocabulary of its own. This is not yet true of political anthropology.

Political anthropology studies the organization and the conduct of behavior relating to the use of power in all the societies. Political anthropology also studies and deduces certain principles or laws regulating the political behavior of all the societies. Legal anthropology is concerned with the study of law and decision making in all human societies.

Swartz (1966) describes political anthropology as "the study of the processes involved in determining and implementing public goals and in the differential achievement and use of power by the members of a group concerned with these goals". According to Swartz, politics is characterized by three essential qualities.

1. It is public rather than private in nature.
2. It always concerns goals or benefits for which there is competition.
3. It involves differences in power i.e., control among the members of a group.

The concept of power is at the centre of any treatment of politics. Attempts to define power and distinguish it from authority, make up a major portion of the study in political anthropology. Political anthropology today focuses on political processes. This emphasis calls attention to the fact that politics is concerned with the arena of political action. It also entails the study of conflict itself as well as the resolution of conflict. Political anthropology leads us to focus on the political activities of groups ranging from small factions to entire societies, rather than mere structure of those groups. The structure of a political system refers to the executive, legislature and the judiciary and political anthropology is concerned in dealing with the study of these structures of various political systems of the societies in the world. Political anthropology also deals with the differences in modern and primitive political organizations. It studies the state and stateless societies and also the law and justice in various political systems in the societies under study.

Political anthropology has emerged only recently in terms of academic time but already shows signs of developing into a healthy and mature science. This can best be seen in the kinds of questions it has undertaken to answer:

a) What is politics?

  a) What are political "process" and political "action"?

  b) Are political actions the same in whatever context they appear?

b) What is a political system?

c) How many kinds of political system have there been in human history, and how did they develop?

d) What effect (if any) do differences among political systems have on political action?

e) What is the effect of the political system upon its constituent individuals and their culture?

f) What is the effect of the non-industrial political system upon the modernization process in the contemporary world?

These are the main questions we ask. When we discover the answers they will provide us with part of the solution to that most basic of all social science puzzles: What is man? And in so doing they will allow us to understand what helps and what hinders us in our search for a better life.

WHAT IS POLITY

The word "polity" is originally taken from the Greek word "polis" which provides common root for three distinct notions in English language - polity, policy and politics. "Polity" refers to a political unit, political body or a political community. Polity or a political community is a group of people whose membership is defined in terms of a common territory and whose function is under the direction of a political leader. Every polity has the following features:

1) Spatial or territorial aspect - the spatial or territorial aspect may be small or large in terms of population and also the amount of territory occupied.

2) Organizational aspect - in terms of its component units.

3) Leadership aspect - in terms of the types of its leaders.

4) Legal or customary aspect - has a system of custom or law by which decisions are made by leaders.

5) Inter-polity aspect - in terms of relationship between one polity and another.

The term "policy" or "public policy" refers to any guidelines that can lead directly to action. The term "public" refers to the people that a policy will affect. The people that a policy will affect are the members of a polity or the political community. The term "politics" or political process refers to the events and actions that lead to the formulation and enforcement of public policy. It refers to the on-going maneuvering by which formulated policy is followed by the polity.

TYPES OF POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS

Basic Types: Anthropologists have been investigating the political systems of primitive societies since the beginning of the present century. The earliest important breakthrough for a systematic study of different political systems of tribal societies came in 1940 with the publication of "African Political System", edited by Meyer Fortes and Edward Evans-Pritchard (1940). Meyer Fortes and Evans Pritchard distinguished three basic types of political systems: the band, the stateless society and the state. Researches since 1950s have shown that there are two basic types of political organizations among the tribal societies: uncentralized and centralized. The sub-types of these basic types are clearly defined since 1960s.

The centralized political organization is a uni-centric authority system. In uncentralized political organization there will be no centralized authority applicable to the tribal society as a whole. On the contrary in a centralized political organization, there will be a centralized authority applicable to the whole tribal society. The uncentralized political organization is also called stateless political organization or acephalous political organization while the centralized political organization is also called non-acephalous political organization.

Sub-types: The uncentralized and centralized political systems can be classified into several sub-types. Of the centralized political organization, band organization is the least complicated form. In this type of political organization each band within a tribe serves as a political community. As against band organization, there is tribal organization in which separate bands, lineage, clans, age-sets, secret societies or clubs form as sub-units. Usually, tribes having this type of political organization are cultivators.

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orders are arranged around lineages and clans, they are classified into those which are based as age-sets, secret societies, military and dancing clubs. Each tribe consists of one small autonomous unit (lineages, clans, secret societies or clubs) that then form alliances and are usually of an informal and temporary nature. Apart from the uncentralized, multi-centre, stateless, acephalous political organizations, there are centralized, uni-centre or non-acephalous political organization which are based on states and chiefdoms.

UNCENTRALISED POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS

Band Organization: Band organization is the least complicated form. In band organization, the kinship relations and the political structure are the same. Bands are small autonomous groups usually found among the hunter-gatherers and other nomadic tribes. Each band is an exogamous kin group. It occupies a common territory. Its population density is very low. All adult members of the group make decisions by consensus. Rank specialization of labor and formal political organizations are absent. The leaders are usually elders who have demonstrated expertise in a number of important areas, besides having good sense, skill and luck. Wrong doers are judged and regulated by public opinion. The Eskimo political system is an example of band organization. It serves, therefore, to demonstrate almost total lack of specialized roles consistent with such simple political structures. The Eskimos live in small bands of about a hundred members who are nearly always related by blood or marriage. The political structure of the Eskimo band contains only two significant roles, the shaman and the headman. The shaman is primarily a religious leader, but he also punishes those who violate religious taboos, even to the point of ordering exile, which for an Eskimo is nearly tantamount to the death sentence. The headman makes decisions relating to hunting, settlement, and work but his authority does not extend into matters concerning social order. When problems of social order do occur, the headman has obvious influence but no legitimate authority to force action or behavior. Social disagreements are usually solved by fist fights, song duels, and either forms of contest which the rest of the band watches in order to enforce the contest roles. For example, if two men have been quarreling over a woman, they might finally engage in a duel to settle the claim. In cases of extreme quarrels, family feuds sometimes erupt. Those guilty of repeated crimes (violence, murder, theft) that threaten the whole band are given over to an executioner who acts on behalf of the band at its request.

Tribal Political Organization

Clan based Political Organization:

Clan based political organization is one form of tribal organization found in many societies. In many tribal societies each clan serves as the seat of political authority. In some tribal societies, clan elders form a council that acts within the tribe to settle disputes or acts for the tribe in dealings with outsiders. Among the Winnebago Red Indians of Wisconsin, there are twelve clans, each with specific political functions. The tribal chief comes from the thunder bird clan. An important function of thunder bird clan is the preservation of peace in the tribe. The warrior clan, as its name implies, provides war leadership. The beat clan supplies the village policemen and the hunt policemen. The buffalo clan provides the camp carrier and aide - de camp for the chief. The wolf, water-spirit and elk clans have lesser political tasks.

Lineage based Political Organization:

Lineage based political organization is another form of tribal organization. It is similar to the clan based political organization but less extensive and relatively rare. The horticultural Tiv of Nigeria and the pastoral Nuer of Sudan are typical examples of lineage based political organization. Among the Nuer and Tiv, lineages are subdivided into smaller segments. Such segments are called segmentary lineage. The Nuer, for example, is split into a number of lineages. The lineage is thus a maximal lineage. Each maximal lineage is divided into many a minimal lineages. The minimal lineage contains three to five generations and is the basic permanent descent group that functions in day-to-day activities. Members of a minimal lineage live in the same village and regard each other as the closest relatives. The minimal lineages are politically independent and there is no formal or central leadership above this level. Among the Nuer, feuds are of common occurrence. Feud is actual hostility between minimal segments. Blood feud refers

lineages, it results in a state of internal war rather than a state of feud. Nuers are more prone to fighting. The fightings are: a dispute about a cow, or goat eats a man's millet and owner strikes it; adultery, watering rights in the dry season and pasturage rights.

In a strict sense Nuer do not have a law. There are only conventional compensations for damage, adultery, loss of limb, death etc., judicial and executive functions are not invested in any persons or councils among the Nuer. One way of settling disputes is to use Leopard skin chief as a mediator. What we find among the Nuer is that a sort of moral obligation to settle disputes by conventional methods and not in the sense of legal procedure or legal institutions. Nuer knows the right and wrong and always admits the cause. Feuds are settled by the Leopard skin chief. He plays a minor role in the settlement of disputes other than homicide. Though his functions are political, he does not have any political authority. Leopard skin chief is considered more as a sacred person. It is not his duty to decide the merits or demerits of a homicide. He is simply a mediator and above all a person who is to be respected. He is a mediator with no coercive power, an example of legitimacy without force.

Age-grade based Political Organization:

Age-grade based political commonly occurs in some of the tribal societies of Africa, United States and Oceania. Each age-grade is an organized group of people with membership on the basis of age. People of the same age belong to one age-grade. Each age-grade cuts across kinship and territorial lines because people of the same age in different villages belong to the same age-grade. Each tribe may be divided into two or more age-grades and each grade may be associated with specific political functions.

The Kipsigis of East Africa serve as an example of age-grade based political organization. The Kipsigis males are divided into two age-grades: Warriors and senior elders. The warriors defend the country and enrich the tribe by begetting many children and capturing many cattle that belonged to other tribes. When the warriors reach the end of age-grade, they pass into the age-grade of senior elders. The senior elders have to fight in defensive battles, have to serve as chiefs of staff organizing the army, have to preside in the council of elders to resolve disputes and have to preside at initiation ceremonies. Thus age-grades cut across kinship and territorial lines and serve different political functions.

Association based Political Organization:

Common interest associations such as secret societies or tribal fraternities and military clubs can also form the bases for political organization of tribal societies. The Cheyenne warrior club serves as an example of association based political organization. The Cheyenne lived in bands of varying sizes. Each Cheyenne band contained a military or warrior club. The clubs serve to integrate the whole tribe for military and political purposes. The Cheyenne were particularly successful in peacefully resolving conflict within the tribe and in controlling individual behavior when this was necessary for the common good. Their relatively formal mechanisms of political control came into play during the summer season, when Cheyenne bands came together for great communal buffalo hunts and tribal ceremonies. Order was necessary to prevent disputes and strict discipline was required on the buffalo hunt. An individual hunter could ruin the hunt for others by alarming and scattering the buffalo. These tribal gatherings and communal hunts were policed by members of military or warrior clubs. The clubs not only punished offenders, but also tried to rehabilitate the guilty parties by bringing them back into the tribe. The function of the police was not revenge, but getting the deviant persons to conform to the tribal law in the interest of the welfare of the tribes. Individuals were punished by a variety of methods. Sometimes their toupees were ripped to shreds or the ears of their horses were cut off, a mark of shame, offenders might also be whipped. If they resisted, they might be killed on the spot. If however, the person accepts the punishment and appears to have learned a lesson, he was accepted back into the group and his belongings often replaced. But the Cheyenne military or warrior clubs operated only during the hunt period. At other times, more informal sanctions and leadership operated at the band level.

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Melanesian Big man based Political Organization:

Throughout Melanesia, the big man leader combines a small amount of interest in his tribe's welfare with a great deal of self-interested cunning calculation for his own personal gain. His authority is personal. He has no organization and he is not elected to any office. His status is based on acts that he has done which raise him above most of the other members of his tribe and attract to him a band of loyal followers.

The big man leader can be illustrated by the Kapauku of West New Guinea. The bigman in the Kapauka is called "tonowi" - a rich man. He is a self-made leader who gains power through personal achievements rather than from holding office. He begins his career as the leader of a small, localized kin group. Through a series of public actions such as generous loans, the big man attracts followers within the community. He skillfully builds up his capital and increases the number of his wives. Since women take care of pigs, he can increase the size of his pig herds. He distributes his wealth in ways that build his reputation as a rich man by sponsoring feasts, paying subsidies to military allies, purchasing high ranks in secret societies, and paying bride wealth for young men seeking wives. By giving generously he places many other people under obligation to him. Big man commands obedience from their followers through this personal relationship of gratitude and obligation.

Among the Kapauku, the activities of bigman provide leadership above the local levels, but this integration is fragile. It depends not on the creation of permanent office, but on the personality and constant striving of an individual. Big men rise and fall. With their deaths, their faction may dissolve, or other ambitious men may undermine their power. Most importanty, the big man must spur his local group on to even greater production if he is to hold his own against other big man in tribe. To maintain prestige, he must give his competitors more than they can give him. This means the big man must begin to withhold gifts to the followers who are producing for him. The discontent this brings may lead to the defection of the followers or even the murder of the big man. He cannot pass on his status to others. Each individual must begin a new to amass the wealth and forge the internal and external social relationships on which the status of big man depends.

CENTRALISED POLITICAL ORGANISATION:

Chiefdoms:

Two main characteristics distinguished chiefdoms from tribal type of uncentralized political systems. The first difference is that unlike a tribal political organization in which all parts of sub-units are structurally and functionally similar, chiefdom is made up of parts or sub-units that are structurally and functionally different from one another. Chiefdoms exist in ranked societies. A ranked society means that some lineages, and the individuals in them, have higher or lower social status than others. As seen in Polynesia and North West Coast of America, rulers, nobles and commoners may be distinguished from one another by genealogical closeness to the Chiefdom, each of which has its own chief or council.

The second difference between a tribal type of political organization and chiefdom is that chiefdom has centralized leadership. The chief sometimes inherits his office. This is in contrast with the individualistic and self-made leaders like the Melanesian big man in the tribal type of political organization. In contrast to band leaders, the chief is generally a true authority figure, and his office unites the community in affairs and at all times. There is also a recognized hierarchy of major and minor authorities who control major and minor sub-divisions (often lineages) of the chiefdom. On the economic level, a chief controls the productive activities of his people. Chiefdoms are usually characterized by a redistributive system of exchange, which gives the chief control over goods and sometimes labor of his people. Although the chief must give away all that he receives for distribution, he can amass some wealth and pass it on to his heirs. Land, cattle and luxury goods can be collected and become part of his power base.

The Chiefdom with its centralized authority prevents the outbreak of violence between segments of the society and at the same time gives the society a great degree of military power vis-à-vis other societies than the tribal political organization is able to muster. Societies with chiefdoms may or may not be

politically unified under one chief. Most societies with chiefdoms are composed of more than one multi-community political unit, each headed by a chief, or less commonly by a council.

Compared with societies having tribal political organization, societies with chiefdoms generally are more densely populated, and their communities are more permanent, partly as a consequence of their generally higher economic productivity. Chiefdoms are found mainly in pastoral societies, or those in which intensive agriculture is practiced, though they also existed among the hunting and fishing societies of the North West Coast of America. The chiefdom of Luapula can be used to illustrate chiefdom. The Luapula live along the international boundary formed by the Luapula River between Zambia and Zaire. The total population of Luapula is about 63,000.

The Luapula are ruled by a paramount chief, a number of territorial sub-chiefs and village headmen. Each chief under the paramount chief controls the allocation of land to villages and has political control over the inhabitants of his territory. The boundaries of chief's territory define the area within which a resident is allowed to cultivate without asking special permission from other Luapula chiefs. The boundaries are not significant however for carrying out other activities such as fishing, hunting and cutting wood. Within the chiefs' territory there is little conflict over matters related to land. Villages, lineages or any other kind of kin groups have no special rights over stretches of cultivable land. Individuals do not have to adhere to a kinship group before they can find land to cultivate. They need only be registered with a chief.

The Luapula village consists of a matrilineage and others. The matrilineage is the permanent body of people living in the centre of the village. All other inhabitants of the village comprise a large part of the village. They are not permanent members of the village because they can move from one to another, year to year.

The Luapula village is part of a centralized political system headed by a paramount chief. The village headman is responsible in political matters, to the chiefs above him in the political hierarchy. The members of a village owe most of their allegiance to the chief rather than to the headman of the village in which they live. Because of the political structure, people can move on village to another and still remain under the same chief.

Among the Luapula there are two means by which an individual can become a village headman. The first is to succeed a former headman upon his death. A new headman is selected by the kin group from among the junior members of the matrilineage. This person can be of any age when he becomes headman. The most important element in validating his position is being recognized as the new headman by the chief. Without the approval of the chief, no one can become a headman, even though he has been chosen by his matrilineage. A headman chosen by his matrilineage and approved by the chief is faced with the task of pleasing both his matrilineage and the other individuals living in the village. Once in office the headman is usually secure in his position until his death, unless he retires and names his successor.

State:

A state is an autonomous political unit, encompassing many communities within its territory and having a centralized government with the power to collect taxes, draft men for work or war and decrease and enforce laws. Societies with state then have a complex centralized political structure with a wide range of permanent institutions having legislative, executive and judicial functions and inevitably a large bureaucracy. Central to this concept of state is the concept of legitimate force to implement policy both internally and externally. In state societies, the government tries to maintain a monopoly on the use of physical force. This monopoly of physical force exists in the form of police force, a militia, a standing army. Of course, the rulers of the state do not maintain order by force alone. The people must believe at least to some extent that those in power have a legitimate right to govern. If the people think otherwise about their rulers, history suggests that those in power may eventually lose their ability to maintain control.

Societies having states are characterized by class stratification and hence by restricted access to basic

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high productivity of this system presumably allows for the emergence of cities, a high degree of economic and other kinds of specialization, commercial exchange (distribution of goods and services involving the use of money), and extensive foreign trade. Thus a state is a hierarchical, centralized form of political organization in which there are clearly defined social classes, territory and elite, the monopoly of force and a bureaucracy.

States and chiefdoms differ in two important ways. First, states are not formally organized on the basis of kinship or descent. Their populations are divided into socio-economic classes or strata. They typically draw at least a broad distinction between upper and lower strata namely elites and common people. Kinship ties do not extend from the elite to the common people. Generally there is a tendency towards endogamy of each stratum. Most common people marry other common people; members of the elites marry members of other elites. Second, although many states have redistributive systems, generosity is underplayed in the state compared with the chiefdom. On the contrary, in the chiefdoms social ranking is based on kinship. It is difficult to draw a line dividing elites and common people. In contrast to redistribution in the state, much of that the chiefdom receives does flow back to the population at large. The major difference between chiefdom and state then is between a kin based society in which generosity is still associated with prestige and a stratified society in which the needs of the elite take precedence over those of the common people.

A typical example of political organization through state can be found in the traditional organization of the Hehe of Tanganyika of Africa. The legends of the tribe record that until the middle of the last century the Hehe people consisted of small tribes. These small tribes were linked together by two able men from whom the present line of the chief is descended. In addition to the chiefs, there were sub-chiefs and local headmen.

The powers of the Hehe chief were judicial, legislative, administrative, economic and military. But inspite of his powers the Hehe chief was not an autocrat. He was assisted by a traditional council, whose members were chosen by himself. Normally the council as a whole used to reach decision and the chief opposed his council members in very exceptional circumstances. Within limits the chief could change the law. Such instances normally concern matters relating to military, taxation and emergency measures against famine.

The chief was a rich man. His wealth came from several sources. He had large herds of cattle which were improved from time to time by raiding the herds of the neighbouring tribes. Many of the captured cattle were distributed by the chief to the warriors who had taken part in raids with the chief keeping considerable portion for himself. Besides, each headman was responsible for a communally cultivated garden. The chief had a monopoly on the ivory trade. All tusks were brought to him. He used to pay them in the form of guns, ammunition and clothes which he obtained from traders. It was through the ivory trade, the chief used to get huge profits. The wealth of the chief was a source of advantage not only to the chief but also to the community at large. This accumulation of cattle, grain and wealth was used as an emergency store during famines, feeding the warriors during war and for rewarding men who have performed useful service.

The chief's authority was not only supported by an economic basis but also by magico-religious beliefs and practices. The chief acquired a number of medicines; the object was to produce magical results to protect warriors going into battle, to drive away enemies and to protect the chief and his family against danger. His authority was also supported by the system of ancestor worship. Among the Hehe, each family invoked its own ancestors and the only tribal gods were the souls of the dead rulers. These were to be invoked only by the chief on whom the people were dependent for prayers in connection with the war, droughts and other matters of public concern. The sub-chiefs and headman could invoke their own ancestors for rain but only with chief's permission.

The Hehe sub-chiefs, of whom there were about thirty, held a somewhat similar subordinate position. There was no hierarchy among the sub-chiefs. The headman exercised similar functions on a small scale

and, in addition, had control over land. The headman's court served a useful function in dealing with matters such as marital and family disputes, theft, and adultery and so on.

POWER, AUTHORITY & LEGITIMACY

POWER

Power is the universal aspect of social interaction. It plays a very important role in shaping the relationships among the members of a social group. Differences in relative power of the participants to influence one another are characteristic to all forms of social interactions.

Definition of Power

1. Kingsley Davis: "The determination of the behavior of others in accordance with one's own ends".
2. Sheriff and Sheriff: "Power denotes the relative weights of behavior by members in a group structure".
3. Max Weber: "Power is the probability that one actor within a social relationship is in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance, regardless of the bases on which this probability rests..... All conceivable qualities of a person and all conceivable combinations may put him in a position to impose his will in a given situation".
4. Green: "Power is the extent of capability to control others so that they will do what they wanted to do".
5. Lundberg: "Power means the extent to which persons or groups can limit or regulate the alternative courses of action open to other persons or groups, with or without their consent".
6. R.H. Tawney: "Power is the capacity of an individual or group of individuals to modify the conduct of other individuals or group in the manner in which he desires".
7. MacIver: "By possession of power it means the capacity to centralize, regulate or direct the behavior of persons".

Meaning of Power

By analyzing the definitions given above, we can say that power is the capacity to take independent action in the face of resistance from persons, groups or rules. The concept of power is very broad, as the definitions reveal, and implies the ability of a person to get his wishes carried out. It simply means the capacity or ability of a person to influence another. However, "influence" by strict sense of the term does not always imply exercise of power. The most important component of power is the ability to determine the behavior of others in accordance with one's wishes despite resistance or opposition.

It is equally important to note, at this juncture, that the concept of power does not reveal the situation where a man will be exercising power everywhere and every time. That is, a man need not be "powerful" in all situations. The extent of one's power is known by the number of people influenced and the number of times their behavior is influenced.

Thus, power is the capacity to have one's wishes carried out; it has to do with resistance and confrontation. Power is not institutionalized by nature. It is also segmentary, i.e., it can never be contained within an authority structure, since every one can attempt to gain more power than is legitimate under the constitutional arrangements or authority structure. Political activity among other things involves the competition of individual or groups for such increase in power. Power is the fuel that propels the political structure into action, such strong being the motivation for power. It is easy to

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identify authority structures in a society but the power structures are very amorphous and hence difficult to identify.

Power is a characteristic phenomenon both in democratic as well as authoritarian systems. There is a submission of people to overall power structure in both these societies. Once established, every power structure tends to be strong and continues to thrive because of habit or inertia as well as indoctrination and propaganda. The larger a total power structure becomes, the more difficult it becomes to overthrow it.

Types of Power

Power can be classified into different types by employing different criteria. The important classifications are discussed here.

Positional and Non-Positional Power

Positional power, also called as structural power, is a situation when a man exercises his power by virtue of his position in the social structure. The distribution of power in any society is very closely related to distribution of statuses. In fact, the whole social structure may be viewed as a legitimate power system. But a man may also exercise it independently of his position. The former is called authority while the latter is non-positional power or simply, power.

Lundberg's Classification

Lundberg classified power into following 3 types.

1. **Coercive Power:** It is that power which uses or threatens the use of physical means to obtain compliance.
2. **Utilitarian Power:** This power uses material rewards to obtain compliance.
3. **Identitive Power:** It uses symbols that are neither threats nor material rewards but which try to identify people's interests as that of the organization's interest.

Classification on the basis of Influence

1. **Force:** Under force, a person influences the behavior of others through physical force, ex, Dictatorship.
2. **Domination:** When power is exercised through order or advice, it is domination, Ex. Parents.
3. **Manipulation:** Manipulation is the exercise of power by influencing others without explicit statement of intent. Ex. Propaganda.

Legitimate and Illegitimate Power

This is the classification of power from a legal perspective. Legitimate power is again of three types. **Legal Power** is given by law; **Traditional Power**, the power that is drawn from customs and traditions; **Charismatic Power**, the power that has its source in some peculiar quality of the person. If legitimate power is the power recognized by society and accepted by it, illegitimate power is not the one which is well accepted by the society.

Direct and Indirect Power

Direct power is the power that manifests in formal relationships, say from an officer to his subordinate. When power is exercised indirectly, it is covert and hence the individuals may not be aware that they are being influenced, as can be seen in primary groups.

AUTHORITY

The discussion on the classification of power might have already revealed, though to a little extent, the concept of authority. As it is obvious, the concept of authority is very closely linked to that of power. Authority is institutionalised power or legitimate power.

Definition of Authority

1. Hamuel Arendt: "Authority is the power based on consent".
2. MacIver: "Authority is power, the power to command obedience".
3. Fredrick: "Authority is the capacity to justify by a process of reasoning what is desired from the point of view of man".
4. Herbert Simon: "Authority is the power to make decisions which guide the actions of another. It is relationship between two individuals - one superior, another subordinate".
5. Robert A. Dahl: "Legitimate power is authority".
6. Encyclopedia of Social Sciences: "Authority is the capacity innate or acquired for exercising ascendancy over a group. It is manifestation of power and implies obedience to it".

Meaning and Nature of Authority

Thus, authority is the right to take certain actions, including the decision to issue commands. It represents the sets of rules, procedures, traditions and norms that are regarded as binding when they are applied within a given social unit. A leader of a military coup for instance may have power but little authority, whereas an elected leader has authority and may have considerable power. Authority can also be defined as the recognized right of the leaders to allocate resources. It is thus legitimate power. Authority is open on a competitive basis to all members of a particular group in the polity. There is no reason to assume that authority is stable. Authority may increase or decrease with respect to the amount of power available to the role occupant.

Difference Between Power and Authority

1. Authority is always legitimate whereas power may be both legitimate as well as illegitimate.
2. Authority is based on consent whereas power is based on force. According to Eric Rose, "power like authority is a means of favorably affecting the behavior of another, but by might not right".
3. By nature, authority is more democratic than power as it is always legitimate and based on popular support.
4. Authority reflects ability of man to get his proposals accepted but power is the capacity of man to change the behavior of others.

Sources of Authority

According to Max Weber, there are three sources of political authority, viz., traditional, charismatic and legal.

1. **Traditional Authority:** When a continuous use of political power or its exercise on the basis of customs and traditions leads to emergence of right to rule.
2. **Charismatic Authority:** When the right to rule springs from the dynamism of a political leader.
3. **Legal Authority:** When the right to rule emerges from the constitutional rules.

According to Peter Oadjupar, "Power structure or systems are usually hierarchical in form with those at the top normally bearing more power than those at the lower level since decisions made and enjoyed at the top of the pyramid have more widespread effect than those made further down."

Limits of Authority

Authority is always subject to limits. If the limit is violated by those who possess authority, the subordinate can ignore or oppose it. In the words of Marriam, "Leader of the man in authority is like of bus driver. He is allowed to use his discretion in the selection of the road but he must take his passengers in the desired direction and if he does not they leave him on the way and choose their own path."

Kinds of Authority

1. **Authority Based on Force:** Authority based on force is an illegitimate authority. It is not exercised according to law and constitution. Brute force is the sanction behind it.
2. **Constitutional Authority:** If a person derives authority from the constitution, it is constitutional authority. Authority of President and Governor in India is constitutional.
3. **Charismatic Authority:** If the right to rule emerges from the dynamic qualities of leader, it is charismatic authority. In the words of Max Weber "charismatic authority rests on the devotion to the specific and exceptional heroism or exemplary character of an individual person."
4. **Religious Authority:** Religious authority is also attributed to those who hold top position in some religious seat. For example Shah Imam of Shahi Mosque, Delhi and Jathader of Akal Takth enjoy the position of authority.
5. **Divine Right Authority:** If the authority is derived from God it is called Divine Right authority. James I of England and Louis XIV of France considered themselves as the deputies of God. In the present era this concept of authority is not significant.
6. **Ancestral Heritage Authority:** If father transfers authority to the son, it is known as ancestral heritage authority. This system of authority exists in monarchical form of government.
7. **Authority of the Elite:** It is the authority possessed by a small group of individuals on the basis of their personality, knowledge or riches.
8. **Traditional Authority:** Traditional authority is that authority which is based on ancient customs, traditions and conventions. The British political system ear marks authority to the organs of government through conventions.
9. **Rational Legal Authority:** This authority is based on the laws of the land and exists mainly in a democratic system.

Characteristics of Authority

1. **Legitimacy:** It determines the effectiveness of authority. Hence it is the hall mark of the concept of authority. According to Robert Dahl "A commands B and B feels A has perfect right to do so and to which he has complete obligation to obey. Power of this kind is often said to be legitimate. Legitimate power is often called authority."
2. **Dominance:** Authority is capacity of the individual to command others. An individual or a group which possesses authority exercises dominance over other individuals. Authority is a command of superior to an inferior.
3. **An Informal Power:** It is not a formal power as it lacks characteristics which are the main features of power. According to Fredrick "Authority is not a power but something that accompanies power." It is the quality in men and things which adds to them, power, something which creates power but it is not itself power.
4. **Rationality:** This is the main characteristic of authority. In the words of Fredrick, "The man who has authority possesses something that I would describe as the capacity for reasoned elaboration, for giving convincing reasons for what he does or proposes to have others to do." Evidently the basis of authority is logic or reason.
5. **Accountability:** The individual or a group of individuals who possess authority are responsible to some higher authority. In a democratic system accountability is the most significant characteristic of authority.

LEGITIMACY

Any political system combines authority and power. Both power and authority are required to regulate public affairs. Without power, authority can accomplish little and without authority, power cannot be or is not institutionalized and thus may loose its effectiveness in the long run. Accordingly, political systems have been defined as being concerned with the maintenance of social order through the use of force. But societies exist without the use of force. Force is a crude and expensive technique for the implementation of decisions. Sometimes, besides coercion other factors are needed to make a political system work. This additional ingredient is called legitimacy. The legitimacy of political system derives from the values of the people. Legitimacy is based on the expectation that those who make the decisions will meet certain obligations and the decisions support the shared values of the members of the society. Hence it is not who make the decisions but the content of the decisions that make the political system work. The degree of compliance within the society may vary. For those who do not comply with the decisions of leaders, force is required. This is the link between power and legitimacy.

Definition of Legitimacy

1. S.M. Lipset: "Legitimacy involves the capacity of the system to engender and maintain the belief that existing political institutions are most appropriate for the society."
2. Jean Beandel: "Legitimacy can be defined as the extent to which the population accepts naturally, without questioning, the organization to which it belongs."
3. J.C. Pleno and R.E. Riggs: "The quality of being justified or willingly accepted by subordinates that convert the exercise of political power into rightful authority".
4. G.K. Robert: "Legitimacy is that principle which indicates the acceptance on the part of the public of the occupancy of political office by a person or the exercise of power by a person or group either generally or in some specific instance on the grounds that occupancy exercise of powers is in accordance with some generally accepted principles and procedures of component of authority."

In fact every political system strives for legitimacy. An enormous variety of political systems have gained legitimacy in various times and places. Hence slavery, feudalism, monarchy, oligarchy, hereditary aristocracy, representative government, direct-democracy - have acquired legitimacy till some time and place. Even in a democratic society, political systems that reflect quite contradictory principles of authority acquire legitimacy. For example, business firms, governmental agencies and some religious associations are organized according to hierarchical rather than democratic principles. Yet people concede legitimacy to these hierarchical systems. We may thus conclude that legitimacy means the capacity to produce and maintain a belief that the existing political system is most suitable to the society. The masses must obey it un-reluctantly and accept its sanctity and consider it worthy of respect and reverence.

Meaning of Legitimacy

The word 'legitimacy' has been derived from the Latin word "legitimas" which in English language was interpreted as "lawful". Cicero used the word 'legitimum' to denote the power constituted by law. Later on the word 'legitimacy' was used for traditional procedures, constitutional principles and adoption to traditions. At still later a stage the element of consent was added to its meaning. Consent was considered the essence of legitimate rule. In the modern age it was Max Weber to first enunciate the concept of legitimacy as a universal concept. According to him, legitimacy is based in 'belief' and gets obedience from the people. Power is effective only if it is legitimate. Undoubtedly, power has the right to use coercion but that is not its chief element. Power should be based on legitimacy; otherwise it would invite trouble and may prove ineffective.

The meaning of legitimacy has changed from age to age. During the middle ages it was used to express the feeling against usurpation. But now all revolutions or coup d'etat cannot be called illegitimate. The revolution of Bangladesh against Pakistan to secure freedom cannot be termed illegitimate. Thus, new principles of legitimacy replace the old principles. Legitimacy is not synonymous with moral beliefs or good conduct. It is only the basis for justifying the actions of those in power. Robert A. Dahl writes, "Leaders in a political system try to ensure that whenever governmental means are used to deal with conflict, the decisions arrived at are widely accepted not solely from fear of violence, punishment, or coercion but also from a belief that it is morally right and proper to do so. According to one usage of the term, a government is said to be 'legitimate' if the people to whom its orders are directed believe that the structure, procedures, acts, decisions, policies, officials, or leaders or government possess the quality of rightness, proprietary or moral goodness - the right, in short, to make binding rules."

Thus defined, Dahl makes it clear that legitimacy is the quality of rightness, propriety or moral goodness. All the governments try to prove their acts as legitimate and, therefore, binding on the people. The army leader who stages a coup and captures power also tries to prove the justifiability or moral rightness, of his action. The 'de facto' government becomes 'de jure' on acquiring legitimacy. In democracy the importance of legitimacy is no less because democracy is based on consent. It cannot be forced on people against their will. Lacking legitimacy, the government loses popular confidence and is overthrown. In the absence of legitimacy power is sheer force. According to Dolf Sternberger, legitimacy is the foundation of governmental power which on the one hand makes the government conscious of its right to rule and on the other makes the governed aware of such a right."

Sources of Legitimacy

According to Max Weber, there are three sources of legitimacy:

1. Tradition: Legitimacy may rest on an established belief in the sanction of immemorial traditions and on the need to obey leaders who exercise the authority according to the traditions.
2. Exceptional Personal Qualities: Legitimacy may secondly be based on "devotion to the specific and exceptional sanctity, or exemplary character of an individual person."
3. Legality: Legitimacy may rest on the belief that power is wielded in a way that is legal. What is done legally is regarded as legitimate.

From the above analysis it is evident that legitimacy is not a mere abstract or moral feeling. It is something related with the entire political system, it is a belief which leads the people to accept that it is morally right and proper for the officials or leaders of government to make binding rules. Legitimacy enables a ruler to govern within a minimum of political resources. It is the soul of democracy.

Types of Legitimacy

David Easton describes three types of legitimacy as under:

1. **Ideological Legitimacy:** When the source of legitimacy is the ideology prevailing in the society, it is termed as ideological legitimacy. A political system is in fact an articulated set of ideals, ends and purposes which help the members to interpret the past explain the present and provide a vision for the future. The ideology portrays the aims and states the objectives of the political system. These aims and objectives have the potential as they constitute a set of ethically infused ideals to capture the imagination of the people. They inspire men to action as they are related to their success.

2. **Structural Legitimacy:** The principles which lead the members in a particular system to accept as legitimate, contribute to the validation of structures and norms of the regime. Every system has set goals according to which authority is exercised and political power is wielded. This basis of validation is termed as structural legitimacy.

3. **Personal Legitimacy:** If the behavior and personality of those at the helm of affairs is of dominating importance and if the members consider these authorities as trust-worthy, this is known as personal legitimacy. David Easton is of the view that a large class of leaders, regardless of any inner conviction or being called, or outer recognition as such by followers, manage to build up a belief in their legitimacy.

Relationship Between Power and Authority

Power is the capacity to take independent action in the face of resistance from persons, groups, rules (Smith, 1968). Thus power has to do with resistance and confrontation. It is not institutionalized and it is not always effective.

Authority by contrast is institutionalized and involves the right to take certain actions, including decisions to issue commands. It represents the sets of rules, procedures, traditions and norms that are regarded as binding when they are applied within a given social unit (Smith). A leader of a military coup, for instance, may have power but little authority, whereas an elected leader has authority and may have considerable power.

Political systems combine authority and power; both are needed in the regulation of public affairs. Without power, authority can accomplish little. Without authority, power can not be or is not institutionalized and thus may loose its effectiveness in the long run. Accordingly, political systems have been defined as being concerned with the maintenance of social order through the use of force. But societies exist in which authority is not backed up by force.

Swartz and others point out that force is a crude and expensive technique for the implementation of decisions. Sometimes, besides coercion other factors are needed to make a political system work. This additional ingredient is legitimacy. The legitimacy of a political system derives from the values of the members of a society who influence and are affected by the decisions made within that society. Legitimacy is based on the expectations that those who make the decisions will meet certain obligations. Thus, it is not simply a matter of who makes the decisions but content of those decisions. For example, a legitimate court is expected to give a just verdict.

Compliance with the decisions made in legitimate system results mainly from the beliefs that those decisions support the shared values of the members of the society. The degree of compliance within the society will vary, for those persons who do not comply with the decisions made by the leaders of a society, coercion may become necessary. This is the link between power and legitimacy. Power is one way of gaining compliance with the decisions made by those who are in positions of authority.

Anthropologists generally assume that every society has a political system, but those systems are classified in different ways. Some scholars would argue that the term political system should be reserved for the societies that have governments. Others distinguish between societies that have centralized administrative and judicial institutions i.e., a government and societies that lack such institutions. In any case a political system is more than a government and it includes politics to gain power within, an authoritative political system and administration – the conducting of public affairs by those who have gained that power. We will now examine the various modes of political organizations emphasizing the way power is achieved and authoritative decisions are made in each one.

SOCIAL CONTROL

Any society must have harmony and order. Where there is no harmony or order, the society actually does not exist because society is a harmonious organization of human relationships. Unless the individuals live up to the prescribed norms of conduct and unless their self-seeking impulses are subjugated to the welfare of the whole, it would be quite difficult to maintain effectively the social organization. Society, therefore, in order to exist and progress has to exercise a certain control over its members since any marked deviation from the established ways is considered a threat to its welfare. Such control has been termed by social scientists as 'social control'.

Meaning of Social Control

When we use the term 'control' the idea which generally comes to our mind is one of policemen, law courts, prison and laws; of force and coercion. While these elements have relevance in control, the term "social control" is used by sociologists in a broad sense. Social control has been defined by McIver as "the way in which entire social order coheres and maintains itself - how it operates as whole, as a changing equilibrium". Manneheim defines social control as "the sum of those methods by which a society tries to influence human behavior to maintain a given order". To Ogburn and Nimkoff "the patterns of pressure which a society exerts to maintain order and established rules" is social control. E.A.Ross, who was the first American sociologist to deal at length with social control in his book under the same name, meant by it the "system of devices whereby society brings its members into conformity with the accepted standards of behavior". Landis defines social control "as a social process by which the individual is made group-responsive, and by which social organization is built and maintained. Lumley speaks of social control "as the practice of putting forth direct stimuli or wish-patterns, their accurate transmission to and adoption by others whether voluntarily or involuntarily. In short, it is effective will-transference". Luther L. Bernard defined social control as "a process by which stimuli are brought to bear effectively upon some person or group of persons, thus producing responses that function in adjustment".

In fact, social control may be defined as any influence which the society exerts upon its members for the purpose of providing the welfare of the group as a whole. It is the way in which our social order coheres and maintains itself. It is that mechanism by which a community or group operates as a whole and maintains a changing equilibrium. It has to do with the guiding or directing of human behavior into socially desired or desirable channels to the end that individual and collective role expectations and fulfillments may promote social continuity and stability. It operates on three levels - group over group, the group over its members, and individuals over their fellows.

Nature of Social Control

From the definitions of social control, the following can be noted...

Firstly, **social control is an influence.** The influence may be exerted through public opinion, coercion, social suggestion, religion, appeal to reason, or any other method.

Secondly, **the influence is exercised by society.** It means that group is better able to exercise influence over the individual than a single individual. This group may be the family, the church, the state, the club, the school, the trade union etc. The effectiveness of influence, however, depends upon variable factors. Sometimes the family may exercise more effective influence than the state or sometimes it maybe vice versa. Similarly, the influence of the club may be more effective than that of the church. There are innumerable agencies of social control and the effectiveness of each agency depends largely upon the circumstances.

Thirdly, **the influence is exercised for promoting the welfare of the group as a whole.** The person is

Social control is exercised for some specific end in view. It is not aimless. The aim is always the welfare of the whole. The individual is made conscious of others' existence, their interests. He is made to adhere to the appropriate social ways. Due to inadequate socialization he behaves in typical ways, he is bound to conformity with the typical by the pressures of social control. In a word, he is made social.

Social Control and Socialization: Social control and socialization are closely related to each other. Social control is a part of socialization. During the process of socialization the process of social control is also in operation. Through socialization social control becomes ipso-facto effective. As seen earlier, man from birth to death is undergoing the process of socialization and his behavior is being controlled in numerous ways. The customs regulate the birth and death ceremonies. The diet, the dress, the manner of speech, the marriage, the education and a host of other matters are controlled by customs. In order to maintain the social order, there are definite procedures in society. These customs and procedures become a part of man's life and man gets adjusted to the society. As a matter of fact, societies depend heavily upon effective socialization to internalize social norms and values as the individual's guides and motives to action. Through socialization societies aim to control the behavior of its members unconsciously.

Further, the various agencies of socialization like family, state, school, club, neighborhood etc., are also the agencies of social control. They exercise regulatory influence over the behavior of the individual.

Need for Social Control

Social solidarity is essential for the existence of society. No two persons are alike in their nature, ideas, attitudes, and interests. Every individual is a separate personality. There are cultural differences among the individuals. Some worship an idol, others do not. Some eat meat, others are vegetarian. Some are orthodox, others are modern. Some are fashionable, others are simple. As a matter of fact, society is a heterogeneous organization. If every individual is allowed unrestricted freedom to act and behave, it may create social disorder. For an orderly social life social control is necessary. The aims of social control are to bring out conformity, solidarity and continuity of a particular group or society. Social control is necessary for the following reasons:

1. **To Maintain the Old Order:** It is necessary for every society or group to maintain its social order and this is possible only when its members behave in accordance with that social order. An important objective of social control is to maintain the old order. Family helps in the realization of this objective. The aged members of the family enforce their ideas over the children. Marriage is settled by the elder members of the family. In religious and other matters also the old parents of the family influence the behavior of its members. Although enforcement of the old orders in a changing society many hinder social progress, yet it is necessary to maintain continuity and uniformity in society.

2. **To Establish Social Unity:** Without social control social unity would be a mere dream. Social control regulates behavior in accordance with established norms which brings uniformity of behavior and leads to unity among the individuals. The family maintains its unity because its members behave in a similar manner in accordance with family norms.

3. **To Regulate or Control Individual Behavior:** No two men are alike in their attitudes, ideas, interests and habits. Even the children of the same parents do not have the same attitudes, habits and interests. Men believe in different religions, dress differently, eat different food, marry in different ways and have different ideologies. There are so many differences in the ways of living of the people that at every moment there is the possibility of clash between them. In modern times this possibility has all the more increased because man has become too self-centered. Social control is necessary to protect social interests and satisfy common needs. If social control is removed and every individual is left to behave freely then society would be reduced to a state of anomie.

4. **To Provide Social Sanction:** Social control provides social sanction to the social ways of behavior. There are numerous folkways, modes and customs prevalent in society. Every individual has to follow

them. If an individual violates the social norms, he is compelled through social control to observe them. Thus social control provides sanction to social norms.

5. **To Check Cultural Mal-Adjustment:** Society is subject to change. New inventions, new discoveries and new philosophies continue to take birth in society. The individual has to adjust his behavior to the changes taking place in society. But all the individuals cannot adjust themselves to the new conditions. Some become progressive, others remain conservative. When a person from the village moves into the city he comes across new cultural standards and it is possible that he may wrongly adjust himself to the new cultural environment. During this transitional period in his life social control is very necessary lest he may become a deviant. In our country there is a greater need for social control today. The main cause of indiscipline among the students and chaos in society is wrong cultural adjustment. It has become a fashion to violate social norms. Their violation is sought to be justified in the name of progress and reform. There is lack of social control. The children do not obey their parents. The students are not under the influence of their teachers, the people openly violate the laws of the state. Nobody in the country seems to bother about the decreasing social control. India is passing through a transitional period. During this period there is needed more social control than less of it. If the agencies of social control do not act effectively, the Indian society may suffer serious disintegration.

The above reasons clearly prove the need for social control. The need is greater in modern society because of its highly complex character and disintegrating forces present in it.

Means of Social Control

The means by which individuals are induced or compelled to conform to the usages and life values of the group are so numerous and varied that a classification is not possible. E.A.Ross has described a number of means that have been employed by social groups throughout the human history to keep individuals under control. The important among them are public opinion, law, custom, religion, morality, social suggestion, personality, folkways and mores. E. C. Hayes, another American sociologist, distinguished between control by sanctions and control by suggestion and imitation. By control by sanctions he meant a system of rewards and punishments. Kimball Young classified the means of social control into positive and negative means. Reward is a positive means while punishment is a negative means.

F. E. Lumley classified the means of social control into two major categories: those based upon force and those founded on symbols. According to him, though physical force is indispensable in social control, yet it is not merely the force that can manage the individuals. Human societies have to rely upon symbolic devices which are more effective than force. Lumley put symbolic methods into two classes. In the first he included means like rewards, praise, flattery, education and persuasion which are designed to direct the individual's behavior along certain desirable ends. In the second category he put means such as gossip, satire, criticism, ridicule, threats, name calling, propaganda, commands and punishment which aim at restraint and repression.

Luther L. Bernard distinguished between unconscious and conscious means of control. The most important among the unconscious means of control are custom, tradition and convention. The conscious means of control are those which have been consciously developed and employed by leaders of all types. According to him conscious means of control are more effective than unconscious ones though the influence of the latter also is quite marked. Bernard also distinguished between exploitative and constructive methods of social control. Exploitative means are such as punishment, reprisals, intimidation, censorship and repression. Among the constructive methods are included revolution, custom, law, education, social reform, non-violent coercion and belief in supernatural forces. He also divided the means of social control into negative and positive classes. In the former class fall those means which aim at restraining the individuals; while in the latter category devices utilizing promises and rewards are included. The positive type of control is said to be more effective as well as more desirable because human nature responds more easily to promises than to threats, to peaceful means than to

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Some sociologists have classified social control into informal means or formal means. Sympathy, sociability, resentment, the sense of justice, public opinion, folkways and mores are some of the informal means of social control. They are very powerful in primary social groups where interaction is on a personal basis. The effectiveness of the informal devices of control, though somewhat lessened in modern large communities wherein contacts tend to be impersonal, may still be observed in small villages. In modern times the informal methods have given place to formal ones such as laws, education, coercion and codes.

Informal Means

The informal means of social control grow themselves in society. No special agency is required to create them. The Brahmans do not take meat. They take meals only after bath. The Jains do not take curd. They take their dinner before sunset. The Hindu women do not smoke. One can marry only in one's caste. The children should respect their parents. All this is due to informal social control. It is exercised through customs, traditions, folkways, mores, religion, ridicule etc. Informal means of social control are very powerful particularly in primary groups. No man wants to suffer loss of prestige. He does not want to become the target of ridicule. He does not want to be laughed at by the people. He does not want to be socially boycotted. On the other hand, he wants praise, appreciation, honor and recognition by the society. Thus informal means like praise, ridicule, boycott etc. effectively control his behavior. Moreover, the child through the process of socialization learns to conform to the norms of the group. A person with socialized attitudes would not do any work which is socially harmful. Thus socialization also exercises an influence over him.

Now we may describe briefly the important means of informal control.

Belief: Belief is a conviction that a particular thing is true. It is range from a belief in the existence of an unseen power or a belief in the theory of re-incarnation to a belief in the existence of hell and heaven and the immortality of soul. All these different beliefs influence man's behavior in society. For example, the belief in the theory of reincarnation keeps the man away from wrongful acts because he believes that in order to have a good birth in next life he must do good acts in this life. Beliefs are powerful influences on human actions. They are vital for human relations. They define the purposes and interests for the individual and control his choice of means to that the purposes of the groups may be advanced or at least not hindered. No aspect of social relationship escapes them. Beliefs may be true or false. They may be founded on factual or faulty evidence. But the question of their validity does not necessarily determine their effectiveness as social controls. We act with as much determination from false beliefs as from factually sound ones.

Social Suggestions: Social suggestions also are powerful means of social control. Suggestion is the indirect communication of ideas, feeling and other mental states. Such communication may be made through various methods. The first method is putting the life examples of great men. We celebrate the anniversaries of Mahatma Gandhi and Lal Bahadur Sastri. We build monuments in the memory of great men. We place their life ideals before the people and exhort them to follow these ideals. The second method of making suggestion is through literature. Books, journals, newspapers etc. may inspire people to heroic deeds and develop in them national feelings. Literature may also make people narrow minded, communal, conservative and superstitious. The type of literature one reads will indirectly influence his mind and consequently his behavior. The third method is through education. The educational curriculum may communicate certain ideas to the students and make them disciplined citizens. The fourth method is through advertisement. Many of our business enterprises employ advertising to influence attitudes and, therefore, action. Suggestions may be conscious or unconscious. It may also be intentional or unintentional.

Ideologies: Ideology is a theory of social life which interprets social realities from the point of view of ideas to prove their correctness and to justify these ideals. Leninism, Gandhism and Fascism are ideologies which have analyzed social realities and laid down an ideal before the people. Ideologies influence social life to a very deep extent. Leninism has influenced the social life of Russians. Hitler's theory of socialism influenced the Germans to the extent that they began to regard themselves as the supreme race of the world. Gandhism has influenced social life in India. Ideologies are powerful dynamic forces of contemporary social life. They satisfy a need of all men to believe in a system of thought that is rigorous. They express the vital interests of social groups and satisfy their desire for a scheme of social betterment. They stimulate action. They provide a set of values. They are motivators of social action. They make life meaningful. The success of any ideology, as an effective means of social control depends on many factors. Some of these factors are its completeness and coherence, its vision of the future, its ability to hold men's imaginations, its consistency and its ability to meet criticism.

Folkways: Folkways are the recognized modes of behavior which arise automatically within a group. They are the behavior patterns of every day life which arise spontaneously and unconsciously in a group. They are in general the habits of individuals and are common to a group. They are socially approved. They have some degree of traditional sanction. It is not easy for the members of a group to violate the folkways. They are the foundation of group culture. If an individual does not follow them he may be socially boycotted by his group. Since folkways become a matter of habit, therefore, these are followed unconsciously and exercise powerful influence over man's behavior in society.

Mores: Mores are those folkways which are considered by the group to be of great significance, rather indispensable to its welfare. The mores relate to the fundamental needs of society more directly than do the folkways. They express the group's sense of what is right and conducive to social welfare. They imply a value judgment about the folkways. Mores mold human behavior. They restrain an individual from doing acts considered as wrong by his group. They are the instruments of control. In a society there are innumerable mores like monogamy, prohibition, endogamy, anti-slavery etc. Conformity to mores is regarded necessary. It is essential for the members of the group to conform to them. Behavior contrary to them is not permitted by society. Certain mores may even be harmful for the physical well being of an individual, yet these must be obeyed. Thus, mores control man's behavior in society to a very great extent.

Customs: Customs are the long established habits and usages of the people. They are those folkways and mores which have persisted for a very long time and have passed down from one generation to another. They arise spontaneously and gradually. There is no constituted authority to declare them, to apply them or to safeguard them. They are accepted by society. They are followed because they have been followed in the past. The importance of customs as a means of social control cannot be minimized. They are so powerful that no one can escape their range. They regulate social life to a great extent. They bind men together. They control the purely selfish impulses. They compel the individual to conform to the accepted standards. They are held so sacred that any violation of them is regarded not only a crime but also a sacrilege. In primitive societies customs were powerful means of social control but in modern times their force has loosened.

Religion: Religion also exercises a powerful influence upon man's behavior in society. The term religion has numerous definitions. Religion is an attitude towards superhuman powers. It is a belief in powers superior to man. It expresses itself in several forms like superstition, animism, totemism, magic, ritualism and fetishism. Religion pervades practically in all the societies, though there may be different forms of religious beliefs and practices. Religion is a powerful agency that influence man's behavior. Religion makes people benevolent, charitable, forbearing and truthful. Instead of being an incentive to brotherhood, social justice and ethical idealism, religion may be used as a tool to make people content with their lot, obedient to brotherhood, social justice and ethical idealism; religion may be used as a tool to make people content with their lot, obedient to their rulers and defenders of status quo. It may deny freedom of thought. It may favor poverty, exploitation and idleness and encourage practices like cannibalism, slavery, untouchability, communalism and even incest.

Art and Literature: Art in its narrow sense includes painting, sculpture, architecture, music and dance. Literature includes poetry, drama and fiction. Both art and literature influence the imagination and exert control on human behavior. The martial music of the military band arouses feelings of determination and

teaches us the virtue of simple living and high thinking. A painting may arouse in us a feeling of sympathy, affection and hatred. There is always a close relationship between the art of a period and the national life. The civilization of any specified time can be judged by an examination of its art. An artist has been called an agent of civilization.

Literature also influences human behavior in society. A good literature possesses an indefinable quality which makes it live through the ages. Ramayana, Bhagavad-Gita and Mahabharata are classical works of great social value. Rousseau in France hastened the French Revolution. Dickens changed the entire school system in Britain by writing David Copperfield and other of his books. In this way both art and literature exert control through their influence on the imagination.

Humor and Satire: Humor is also a means of social control. It assumes various forms, depending upon the situation and purpose. It often serves to relieve a tense situation. Sometimes it is used with a bad intention to deflate others without a reason. It is also used to gain a favorable response. Humor controls by supporting the sanctioned values of the society. Through cartoons, comics and repartees it can support the values of the society in a form that is light in spirit but effective in control.

Satire employs wit and scorn as indirect criticism of actions felt to be vicious and socially harmful. It exposes by ridicule the falsity and danger of behavior. Thereby it causes the people to give up their vicious and harmful actions.

Public Opinion: The influence of public opinion as a means of social control is greater in simple societies. In a village the people are known to one another personally. It is difficult for a villager to act contrary to the public opinion of the village. Public opinion greatly influences our actions. For fear of public ridicule and criticism we do not indulge in immoral or anti-social activities. Every individual wants to win public praise and avoid public ridicule or criticism. The desire for recognition is a natural desire. We want to count for something in the eyes of our fellowmen. Human praise is the sweetest music. The greatest efforts of the human race are directly traceable to the love of praise. Persons behave according to social norms to win public recognition or at least to avoid public ridicule. Thus, public opinion is one of the strongest forces influencing the behavior of people.

Formal Means

Among the formal means of social control the important ones are law, education and coercion. A brief explanation of these means follows:

Law: Law is the most important formal means of social control. Early societies depended upon informal means of social control but when societies grew in size and complexity they were compelled to formulate rules and regulations which define the required types of behavior and specify the penalties to be imposed upon those who violate them. Law is a body of rules enacted by legally authorized bodies and enforced by authorized agencies. It defines clearly rights, duties as well as the punishments for their violation. The modern societies are large in size. Their structure is complex consisting of a number of groups, organizations, institutions and vested interests. Informal means of social control are no longer sufficient to maintain social order and harmony. Perforce modern societies had to resort to formal means of social control.

In modern society relationships are of a secondary nature. Security of life and property, as well as the systematic ordering of relationships make formalization of rules necessary. Law prescribes uniform norms and penalties throughout a social system. The body of law in every state is being increased. What was in mores and customs earlier has now been formalized into a body of law. The Hindu Marriage Act, 1955 has laid down the rules regulating the marriage among Hindus. It has recognized the right of a Hindu woman to divorce her husband. A number of laws have been enacted governing food handling, fire protection, sewage disposal, traffic etc. Law prohibits certain actions, for example, Anti-untouchability Act prohibits untouchability in any form and a person practicing untouchability is liable to punishment. Prohibition Act forbids drinking at public places. Smoking in cinema halls is prohibited under law. In this way, law exercises a powerful influence upon the behavior of people in modern societies. Today law takes an ever larger part in total social control.

Education: Along with law, the importance of education as a means of social control is being growingly realized. Education is a process of socialization. It prepares the child for social living. It reforms the attitudes wrongly formed by the children already. Thus, a family may make the child superstitious; education will correct his beliefs and remove his prejudices. It teaches him value of discipline, social cooperation, tolerance and sacrifice. It instills in him the qualities of honesty, fair play and a sense of right and wrong. The importance of education for creating right social attitudes among the youth cannot be minimized.

Coercion: Coercion is the use of force to achieve a desired end. It may be physical or non-violent. It is the ultimate means of social control when all other means failed. Physical coercion may take the form of bodily injury, imprisonment and death penalty. Physical coercion is without doubt the lowest form of social control. Societies would least desire to use it. It may have immediate effects upon the offender but it does not have enduring effects. If a society has to depend on external force, it shows its weakness rather than strength in social control. Society's best protection lies in the development of 'fit' citizens.

Non-violent coercion consists of the strike, the boycott and non-cooperation. The students may go on strike to force the Principal to ensure them adequate library facilities. Boycott is the withholding of social or economic intercourse with others to express disapproval and to force acceptance of demands. Non-cooperation is refusal to cooperate..

Social Control Thorugh Ages

It is evident from what has been said so far that social control through ages has not been exercised through one and the same methods. Their relative efficiency varies with changes in the social organization and life-value of the group. In primitive societies, generally informal means like convention, usage, custom and tradition were employed for controlling individuals and groups. In the Middle Ages since feudal customs and the church had the greatest authority, the whole social life was controlled by the church. With the passage of time the authority of the church diminished and the power shifted from it to the king. Now the kings became the great controlling agencies who began to rule the state by what was called the divine Right of Kings. Later on there came the period of laissez-faire and the control of the state over the individual became less. With the march of technical advance and economic transformation new social problems cropped up which again necessitated control by the state. This time, however, the state represented not the will of the autocratic ruler but the collective will, the will of the community. A large number of associations -economic, social and political - gained berths - which began to greatly control the social life. And today social control is so vast and widening that man finds himself at every step of life under control of some agency or the other.

Social Control in Modern Society: In modern times social control is mostly exercised through an appeal to reason. Modern society does not favor the use of force, *though coercive methods* are quite often used in making the individuals obedient to the system. Man's behavior today is controlled by showing him the consequence of his action through education and propaganda. All discussions and talk about the values of family planning, or the evils of drinking are the examples of modern type of control. Appeal to feelings is not greatly resorted to in modern times. It was only in primitive societies that people behaved according to the social pattern because they feared that any deviation from the prescribed modes would annoy gods and bring curse on them. People do not believe much in supernatural forces today. However, social suggestion as to what people will say and desire to win commendation, exercise control over man's behavior in modern society. Leadership has become a great controlling force in modern times. The leader controls the mob mentality in times of crisis and excitement.

Social Control in Future: The present society is a highly complex society as compared to the past and it is to become still more complex in future. The social problems which an individual has to face are becoming so complicated that it is beyond the power of a single individual to cope with them. The

multiplication of the voluntary agencies of social control - committees, clubs, associations, institutes, bureaus, and co-operations.

The disintegrating forces present in the modern society are likely to give rise to greater social control to secure uniformity of conduct. The theory of 'laissez-faire' has collapsed. It is now generally held that intelligent collective planning alone can solve the present day social problems. The superiority of the human mind over the blind forces of nature has been established. Society is not the result of forces operating automatically and regardless of man's efforts. The more and more increasing control of the government and expanding budgets, the more will be social control in the future. Moreover in recent times we have come to possess more and more knowledge of the methods of social control. New agencies of social control have come into being. In totalitarian states, social control has reached maximum point.

Every man's life is under state direction and regulation. In democracies also, social control is no less vast. A number of voluntary bodies have cropped up to influence others' behavior. The increasing complexity of culture will increase rather than diminish the need for effective social control.

LAW AND JUSTICE IN SIMPLE SOCIETIES

Definition and Meaning of Law: Law can be defined as a social norm whose violation beyond permissible limits evokes a formal procedural response initiated by an individual or group that possesses the socially recognized privilege right determining guilt and of imposing sanctions upon the wrong doer. However, there is considerable amount of controversy regarding the definition of the primitive law because we do not find legal institutions in many of such societies. Radcliffe-Brown states that some simple societies have no law although they have customs which are supported by sanctions. On the other hand, in tribal societies we find normative rules designed for protecting human life and property, the prohibition of incest, the condemnation of adultery and other sexual offenses and the rules designed to inhibit greed and inordinate ambition. Such rules are also found in modern societies. They are enforced through sanctions. The deviants from these rules fear death, physical ruin and expulsion from community inflicted either by the society or through the supernatural agencies.

Hobbhouse and Wilson have postulated legal institutions as necessary to take the existence of law. Malinowski states that "the fundamental sanction of law is to curb certain natural propensities and control human instincts and to impose a non-spontaneous compulsory behavior". That is to say, firstly legal sanctions operate when violent human emotions tend to burst through the limits of the customary behavior and secondly there is integral relation and similarity between psychological motives leading to legal offences and those upon which the *effectiveness* of the legal sanctions depends.

Law and Custom: Law, especially primitive law, cannot be considered apart from the totality of the customary rules governing human behavior.

Law is not merely a part of a vague continuum of custom. Let us compare the following statements: "it is custom to meal at mid-day" and "it is the custom to kill a man convicted of witchcraft". Different human motives are involved in maintaining the effectiveness of the two customs. The former is observed largely as a matter of convenience because no one particularly wants to deviate from it. In the second case, violent anti-social passions are involved; accordingly most stringent penalty is imposed by the society. This gives us a clue to a possible distinction between law and custom. It may be held that law only enters where selfish anti-social and disruptive tendencies are likely to violate customary usage. Drastic measures are taken to prevent this.

We normally find a coordinated system of specific rules which define correct behavior in social situations and which are supported by various types of sanctions. Sanctions are essentially mechanisms of validation of forms of human behavior which make custom effective.

What do we mean by the legal aspect of the institution in human societies? In the context of the civilized, we should define law in terms of murder, theft, bigamy or in terms of such offences as selling groceries monotonous regularity in primitive societies also. Therefore all societies have rules which direct human behavior and control human impulses. Mostly they are obliged because it is usually easier and profitable to conform. There are certain rules which repress human passions such as greed, fear, hate, jealousy, variety and sexual desire. But the nature of human impulses is such that they render quite useless the usual forces of social restraint. In such cases, the society meets by an appeal to or harnessing of those very forces which tend towards disruption.

Radcliffe-Brown wrote that some simple societies have no law although they have customs. Evan-Pritchard writes that within the Nuer tribe there is law (settlement of disputes, payment of compensation etc.). But if a Nuer is injured by another tribal, there is no arbitration; it is justified only through retaliation. Every society has rules that it calls laws, others call them as customs. Both laws and customs expect a man to believe in a particular way. Some people use a safer word to denote them as customary laws.

LAW AND CUSTOM - A COMPARISON

In order to get a deeper insight into the nature of Law and Custom, we may establish a difference between the two.

1) **Law is a make; Custom is a growth:** Law is explicitly and deliberately made by the definite power of the state, whereas custom is a group procedure that has gradually emerged, without expressed enactment, without any constituted authority to declare it; to apply it and to safeguard it. Custom emerges spontaneously without any guide or direction. Law is consciously created and put into force at the moment of its enactment. In other words, law is a make, custom is a growth.

2) **Law needs a special agency for enforcement; Custom does not:** Law is applied by a special agency and is sanctioned by an organized coercive authority. Custom does not need any special agency for the application; it is enforced by spontaneous social actions. No physical penalty visits a violator of custom; whereas punishment is meted out to one who violates the law.

3) **Law is specific; Customs are not:** Law is specific, definite and clear. One can know what the laws of the land are. Customs are not definite and clear. They are not codified in any single book so that it becomes difficult to know all the customs of the land.

4) **Law is more flexible and adaptable than Customs:** Law can readily adjust itself to changing conditions; whereas customs cannot be readily changed. Customs are relatively fixed and permanent. In times of crisis, a law can be immediately enacted to meet the emergency. A sudden change cannot be brought about by a custom. The more dynamic the society, the less is the reliance placed on traditional customary rules and more it is placed on newly enacted legislations. Roscoe Pound stated that "Law must be stable and yet it cannot stand still". Thus law is more flexible and adaptable than custom. This is because law can be introduced, amended or abolished with relative ease, where as to reform or adjust the custom is an arduous task.

5) **Customs fade and disappear without formal abolition and without recognition by any authority, but laws disappear only when are abolished by a recognized authority.** Just as formal enactment of law is necessary for it to come into effect, so its formal abolition is necessary to stop its binding influence.

6) **Law is more idealistic than Custom:** Law tends to be more idealistic than customs. It is the offspring of mind and directed to aims which are far above the actual practice of society, custom is the product experience and mainly concerned with the daily routine of life. Law reforms those customs with are out of tune with the changing harmony of the society. It even may abolish certain customs which strike a discordant note.

7) **Law generally deals with matters which are vital to the life of society;** whereas the subject matter of custom is more ordinary and familiar.

Though law is different from custom, it does not mean, however, that they are completely poles apart. Both **custom and law supplement and complement each other.** Activities which were once performed unconsciously are now consciously and deliberately formulated. According to Maine, there is always a necessity for law to adjust itself to social needs and social opinion. When a law expresses the moral consensus of the society, it will be effectively enforced. If law is not backed by firm moral consensus, its effective enforcement is less likely. Law divorced from custom is bound to become artificial and would not be seriously observed by the people. For example, the Sarda Act prohibiting marriage of children is more honored by people in its breach than observance. A law which does not give official sanction to customs loses a certain force of sentiments, which customs have behind them and which help in obedience. Customs are more important than laws and upon them in great measure, law depends. "The law touches us but here and there, customs are what vex or sooth, corrupt or purify, exalt or debase, barbarize or refine us by constant steady, uniform, insensible operation, like that of air we breath in".

Customs consolidate law and facilitate its practice. If the law is not aided by customs, it cannot succeed. To quote James Wilson "of all yet suggested the mode for the promulgation of human law by custom seems the most significant and most effectual. It involves in it internal evidence of the strongest kind that the law has been introduced by common consent and that this consent rests upon the most solid basis - experience as well as opinion. This mode of promulgation points to the strongest characteristic of liberty as well as of law. For a consent thus practically given must have been given in the freest and most unbiased manner". Laws which are not supported by customs have little chance of being enforced. Certainly a law cannot succeed permanently if it is opposed by deep-seated customary attitudes.

Custom is an important source of law. The passing of laws against certain principles can be effective when the mores underlying those practices are in the process of disintegration and a considerable number of people no longer hold to them because then it is mostly a matter of forcing the reluctant ones to accept the new legal way.

Just as custom supplements law, so law also supplements custom. Law functions as an educator. It creates a moral consensus where none exists. Today law is being used to change obsolete customs like untouchability, dowry system, child marriage etc. In the primitive societies customs served to regulate the conduct of life, but in modern societies, customs become blurred and are challenged by newly emerging loyalties and interests. The custom becomes less a guideline to conduct, sets limits less, where men are motivated not so much within family and territorial community as by shared interests in secondary group associations. Today, law takes an even larger part in social control. There are several reasons for it.

1) Customs lack an agency of authoritative jurisdiction due to which the interests of the community do not remain fully secure. Law with special agency of enforcement is required if interests are to be pursued in peace.

2) It is a shortcoming of custom that it cannot adapt itself readily to changing conditions. Being fixed and permanent, customs change very slowly. Social necessities are always in advance of custom. Therefore, to meet the social necessities and for quick adaptation to changing conditions, another type of a code is demanded; a code which does not slowly evolve but one which is made exclusively for the situation. Consequently, a whole system of law sprang up for regulation. Societies became so complex and devices were so new that deliberate regulation became necessary.

3) Since there are different customs of different groups, there have to be a single and uniform rule of behavior where it is desirable, it is necessary to supplement custom by law.

The above reasons justify the growth of law into the voluminous codes of modern states.

Law and Social Control: Law is the subject which can be treated in more than one context. The functional significance of law is to control the most violent, passionate and disruptive propensities of the individual by the frustration, actual or potential, of the same or similar propensities in the interests of the social order. The legal function of law extends to the correction of minor offences, to the settlement of disputes and to the regulation of administrative procedure. However, the primary function of law is defined as something vital to the existence of every human society. It is certainly an aspect of government because government is expected to maintain law and order. Just because it deals with the rules of conduct, it also belongs to a wider field of social control.

Radcliffe-Brown wrote that law is "social control through the systematic application of the force of the politically organized society". He feels that "fundamental rules of all societies are the same. They safeguard life and limb, rights in wives and rights in property". Gluckman says that societies without courts have 'rules of law' but not legal rules. He calls such societies as legal. Radcliffe-Brown calls them as "jural". The term is derived from the Latin word 'jus' meaning a right.

ORIGIN AND NATURE OF PRIMITIVE LAW

Law among most of the peoples is not the result of deliberate planning. It has spontaneous growth. When an individual has developed an atypical behavior it is an idiosyncrasy. When some people share it, a fashion comes into existence. When junior generation is effected i.e., when it is passed down to the next generation, it results in a custom or usage. When does custom transform into law? Hoebel and Lowie says that when somebody communally takes steps to deal with a breach of custom, it results into law, emerges as a result of slow and spontaneous process of growth through customs and usages. In primitive societies, we do not normally find legislation as we find in civilized societies. What we find is that there is only a customary law; Hartland says that law in a primitive or tribal society is the totality of the customs. Whenever laws come into existence, the whole society is responsible for it but not a selected people like legislature.

Characteristics of Primitive Law

1. Primitive law is conceived, largely in terms of kinship rather than in territorial terms i.e., socio-political organization is based more on kinship ties.
2. Primitive law coincides more closely with ethical notions, hence, public opinion in primitive societies originate from the moral notions of the concerned. There is no exception for it and so protection no against it. Hence, in primitive societies public opinion is more powerful.
3. It fails to discriminate public and private wrongs in the crimes as in the texts of our jurisprudence.
4. Primitive law is predominantly a criminal law (law relating to criminal offences). The scope for civil law (law relating to ordinary private matters) in primitive jurisprudence is limited.
5. Everybody in primitive society is its representative and policeman.
6. As laws coincide with ethical norms, a breach of norm would often amount to sin. Sin is feared as it is believed to bring supernatural punishment.
7. In primitive societies intention and provocation in determining legal actions are irrelevant because of supernatural punishment.
8. The main characteristic feature of the primitive of law is the kinship tie and collective responsibility of kin. When there is no state, each kin group has to depend and protect its members. Without collective responsibility it is difficult to defend people.
9. Evidence in giving justice in primitive societies is of two ways:
    i. The accused is asked to go through **ordeals** like putting hands in boiling water or oil etc. if the

    ii. **Oath** is administered in the name of God.

10. Punishment in primitive societies is normally eye for eye, murder for murder, leg for leg etc.

Differences between Primitive Law and Modern Law

The following are the important differences between the Primitive law and the Modern law:

PRIMITIVE LAW	**MODERN LAW**
The growth of law is slow, gradual and spontaneous with the usages, custom, sanctions and force. We do not find legislation in primitive societies.	Modern law is a result of deliberate planning and legislation.
Primitive law is based more on kinship bonds than on territorial ties.	Modern law is based on territorial ties.
Primitive law is predominantly a criminal law	Modern law includes criminal law, civil law and their several branches.
Primitive law is based on ethical norms and public opinion.	Modern law does not necessarily depend on ethical norms and public opinion.
Primitive law does not distinguish between crimes in public and private wrongs.	Modern law differentiates between public and private wrongs.
Sin and supernatural punishments are associated with primitive law.	Modern law does not give importance for sin and supernatural punishment.
Intention is not recognized in primitive law.	Modern law recognizes whether a particular act was committed with an intention or not.
As primitive law is based on kinship bonds, collective responsibility is associated with it.	In modern law, state looks after law and therefore there is no scope for collective responsibility.
In primitive law, there are no grades of punishments.	In modern law there are grades of punishments.
Imprisonment is rare in primitive law.	Imprisonment is frequent in modern law
Primitive law is not associated with legislative, executive and judicial processes	Modern law is associated with legislative, executive and judicial processes.
There are no police force and law courts in primitive law.	In modern law we find police force, courts and lawyers.

5. RELIGION

The history of mankind has shown the pervasive influences of religion, and thus the study of religion, involving the attempt to understand its significance, its origins, and its myriad forms, has become increasingly important in modern times. The student of religions attempts not only to know the variety of beliefs and practices of *homo religiosus* ("religious man"), but also to understand the structure, nature, and dynamics of religious experience. The student of religion attempts to discover principles that operate throughout religious life to find out whether there are also laws that operate in the religious sphere.

The 19th century saw the rise of the study of religion in the modern sense, in which the techniques of historical enquiry, the philological sciences, literary criticism, psychology, anthropology, sociology, and other disciplines were brought to bear on the task of estimating the history, origins, and functions of religion. Rarely, however, has there been unanimity among scholars about the nature of the subject and thus the subject of religion, throughout the history, is full of controversies.

The Nature and Essence of Religion

An acceptable definition of religion itself is difficult to attain. Attempts have been made to find an essential ingredient in all religions (the numinous, or spiritual, experience; the contrast between the sacred and the profane; belief in gods or in God), so that an "essence" of religion can be described. But objections have been brought against such attempts, either because the rich variety of men's religions makes it possible to find counterexamples or because the element cited as essential is in some other religions peripheral. The gods play a very subsidiary role, for example, in most phases of Theravada ("Way of the Elders") Buddhism. A more promising method would seem to be that of exhibiting aspects of many religion that are *typical* of religions, though they may not be essentially universal. The occurrence of the rituals of worship is typical, but there are cases, however, in which such rituals are not central. Thus, one of the tasks of a student of religion is to gather together an inventory of types of religious phenomena.

The fact that there is dispute over the possibility of finding an essence of religion brings to light one of the major questions of method in the study of the subject. In practice, a religion is a particular system, or a set of systems, in which doctrines, myths, rituals, sentiments, institutions, and other similar elements are interconnected. Thus, in order to understand a given belief that occurs in such a system, it is necessary to look at its particular context—that is, other beliefs held in the system, rituals, and other aspects. This systematic character of a religion has been referred to by the 20th-century Dutch theologian Hendrik Kraemer as "totalitarian"; but a better term would be "organic." Thus, there arises the problem of whether or not one belief or practice embedded in an organic system can properly be compared to a similar item in another organic system. To put the matter in another way, every religion has its unique properties, and attempts to make interreligious comparisons may hide these unique aspects.

But even if an inventory of types of belief and practices can be gathered—so as to provide a typical profile of what counts as religion—the absence of a tight definition means that there will always be a number of cases about which it is difficult to decide. Thus, some ideologies, such as Soviet Marxism, Maoism, and Fascism, may have analogies to religion. Certain attempts at an essentialist definition of religion, such as that of the German-American theologian **Paul Tillich** (1886–1965), who defined religion in terms of man's ultimate concern, would leave the way open to count these ideologies as proper objects of the study of religion. Tillich, incidentally, calls them "quasi-religions." Though there is no consensus on this point among scholars, it is not unreasonable to hold that the frontier between traditional religions and modern ideologies represents one part of the field to be studied.

Definitions of Religion

Melford E. Spiro defined religion as *"an institution consisting of culturally patterned interaction with culturally postulated superhuman beings"*. In other words, religion is that part of a group's cultural heritage that mediates between the profane world of everyday life and the sacred world of supernatural beings and powers. The interaction between these two worlds lies in a system of values by which

humans try to imitate the supposed values of the supernatural beings, and in a system of ritual consisting of symbolic activities which are designed to break down the barriers between the earthly and supernatural.

Talcott Parsons, a leading sociologist, has listed five factors which he believes all religions will be found to include:

1. Every religion encompasses a set of **sacred entities** which are set apart from ordinary objects and events of everyday life.
2. It has a system of **expressive symbols**, which are supposed to elicit sacred emotional states, and are typical of religions everywhere.
3. A religion always includes certain definite **ritual activities**, such as confession in Catholic Christianity, which are obligatory, or at least extremely important.
4. There is a feeling of collectivity or **social solidarity** among the religions believers.
5. There is a sense of some relationship between the supernatural world and the believer's **moral values**, goals and rules of conduct.

These definitions of religion obviously differ from those one would expect from a theologian or a philosopher. The social scientist approaches religion from a particular point of view. The emphasis in anthropological definitions is on culture; religion is viewed not as an isolated institution existing within society, but as an integral part of society which affects and is affected by every other social institution, whether moral, economic or political.

According to **Paul Radin**, Religion is thus not a phenomenon apart and distinct from mundane life nor is it a philosophical inquiry into the nature of being and becoming. It only emphasizes and preserves those values accepted by the majority of a group at a given time.

Religion was first defined in anthropology by **Sir Edward Bunnet Tylor** more than a century ago as the *"belief in spiritual beings"*. This definition is criticized in two ways. First, it does not include the ritual aspect of religion and second, it does not say whose beliefs in spiritual beings are referred to - an individual's private beliefs, the beliefs of a particular small community or the spread of beliefs of a worldwide ecclesiastical system.

The French sociologist **Emile Durkheim** defined religion as follows: *"A religion is a unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things, that is to say, things set apart and forbidden, beliefs and practices which unite into one single moral community called a church, all those who adhere to them"*. (Durkheim 1915).

Emile Durkheim emphasized three aspects of religion: **the social context, the sacred aspect and the moral basis.** Religion according to Durkheim exists in a social context that means religious beliefs are an expression of the way a society orders its way of life. Religion expresses beliefs of a society about the universe. It makes a society understand the universe in a particular way, put things in order and relate what is unknown to what is known. By means of myths a religion not only explains things that cannot be otherwise understood, but also explains why the world is the way it is and why it should remain that way. Through its myths, a religion justifies the social order that people create and in which they believe.

Religion, according to Durkheim, consists of sacred phenomena only. Each society distinguishes between two levels of reality; the sacred or the extraordinary supernatural world, and the profane or the ordinary everyday natural world. Religious beliefs embody only the sacred.

Durkheim says religion has a moral basis because it imposes a moral pressure upon people to act in accordance with what is believed to be right or proper. Religion offers a guide to behavior among people, including a system of rules they must follow. Further more, because the religious beliefs are so deeply ingrained in the individual through his cultural training, religion offers a pattern of social control. When an individual violates a religious rule governing his behavior he feels guilty, whether or not he is actually caught and punished. At the same time when he follows the rules he feels good about it and his beliefs are reinforced. Thus religion has a moral basis.

Early definitions of religion were framed in terms of supernatural phenomena. Some of the recent definitions of religion also highlight this aspect. Anthony F. C. Wallace defines religion as *"the beliefs and practices concerned with supernatural beings, powers and forces"*.

Modern definitions of religion have now begun to shift their emphasis from the supernatural to the recognition that religion is a cultural system. Clifford Geertz's definition of religion reflects this new emphasis. According to Geertz, *"A religion is a system of symbols which acts to establish powerful, pervasive and long-lasting moods and motivations in men by formulating conceptions of a general order of existence and clothing these conceptions with such an aura of factuality that the moods and motivations seem uniquely realistic"*. This definition emphasizes four aspects:

1. Religion is a body of things such as ideas, objects, norms, myths and rituals.
2. These things signify something with deep meaning or symbols for the people involved.
3. This body of things or symbols constitutes an ordered system of knowledge about the nature of the world, about the way the world is organized ideally and about the rules people have to follow and behave to bring ideally organized world.
4. Religion also presents this body of knowledge in such a context of reality, reverence and mystery that people want to believe it, to use it as a guide for behavior and actually do. Geertz's definition not only emphasizes the importance of symbols but it also explains why people find their religion believable. A thorough study of every religious system must emphasize not only the beliefs that the people hold but also how these beliefs are symbolically expressed. Such a study requires an extensive understanding of the culture because religion is a part of culture.

The early and modern definitions of religion are not complete unto themselves because they are not suitable to explain the religion of all human societies. The form of religious belief and ritual varies considerably from society to society, making a universal definition of religion impossible for the anthropologists to devise.

All definitions of religion agree that religion is a universal aspect of human society. That is to say that all societies of the world have beliefs and behavior that can be classified as religions. Most definitions of religion include a number of the following elements:

- Religion involves some belief in the supernatural;
- Religion provides an explanation of life that people use to cope with the ultimate problems of life, such as death and evil;
- Religion is an expression of what the members of a particular society consider to be sacred; and
- Religion provides a moral code.

Almost all definitions of religion disagree over ideas and practices that might be included within a definition of religion but which are not normally thought of as religious beliefs and behavior. Thus these definitions of religion disagree over:

- What is supernatural and what is natural?
- What is sacred and what is profane?

- What are the origins and what are the patterns of evolution of religion?

Despite their agreement over certain elements and disagreement over certain others, all the definitions of religion have a common consensus over what shall be the constituents of religion. They say that religion is a kind of human behavior. Religious behavior may be verbal or non-verbal. The non-verbal aspects of religious behavior can involve religious rites, religious personnel, and specific religious acts and activities. The verbal aspects of religious behavior can include beliefs, mythology, ethical standards, and conceptions of the supernatural and religious ideology. Thus all the definitions of religion emphasize that religion is a kind of human behavior that the constituents of religion are beliefs and rituals concerned with supernatural elements and that religion is a part of the culture of every human society.

Characteristics of Religion

Keeping in mind the dangers of general characterizations, what are the distinctive features of religion? Several concepts may be isolated that may jointly be considered "symptomatic" of religions.

The Holy: Religious belief or experience is usually expressed in terms of the holy or the sacred. The holy is usually in opposition to the everyday and profane world and carries with it a sense of supreme value and ultimate reality. The holy may be understood as a personal GOD, as a whole realm of gods and spirits, as a diffuse power, as an impersonal order, or in some other way. Although the holy may ultimately be nothing but the social order, a projection of the human mind, or some sort of illusion, it is nevertheless experienced in religion as an initiating power, coming to human life and touching it from beyond itself.

Religions frequently claim to have their origin in revelations, that is, in distinctive experiences of the holy coming into human life. Such revelations may take the form of visions (Moses in the desert), inner voices (Muhammad outside Mecca), or events (Israel's exodus from Egypt; the divine wind, or kamikaze, which destroyed the invading Mongol fleet off Japan; the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ). Revelations may be similar to ordinary religious experience, but they have a creative originating power from which can flow an entire religious tradition.

Response: Response to the holy may take the form of participation in and compliance to the customs and rituals of a religious community or of a commitment of faith. Faith is not merely a belief but an attitude of persons in which they commit themselves to the holy and acknowledge its claim upon them. In a deeply religious person, commitment to faith tends to shape all of that person's life and character.

Beliefs: As religious traditions develop, they generate systems of belief with respect to both practice and doctrine. These systems serve to place the members of the religious tradition in the world around them and to make intelligible this world in relation to the holy. In early or primitive traditions this practice and doctrine usually find expression in bodies of myth or in ritual law. In those traditions which develop an extensive literate class, Theology often comes to supplant myth as the vehicle for refining and elaborating belief. The more this happens, the more the belief system has to be evaluated. The importance attached to right belief ("orthodoxy") has varied from religion to religion and from period to period.

Rituals and Liturgy: Religious traditions almost invariably involve ritual and liturgical forms as well as systems of belief. These may take the form of Sacrifice or Sacrament, Passage Rites, or invocations of God or the gods. The most important cultic acts are in most cases those performed by the entire community or a significant portion of it, although in many traditions private devotional forms such as prayer, fasting, and pilgrimage are also practiced. A distinction is often made between religion and magic in this context. In magic, attempts are made to manipulate divine forces through human acts. In truly cultic acts such as prayer and sacrifice, the prevailing attitude is one of awe, worship, and thanksgiving.

Participation in communal rituals marks a person as a member of the community, as being inside and integral to the community that is articulated in the system of beliefs. That in many traditions the disfavor of the community is expressed in it's barring a person from the important cultic acts is not surprising because these acts insure the proper standing of the individual and community in relation to the holy.

Ethical Codes: Connected with beliefs is yet another aspect of religion, the possession of an ethical code incumbent upon the members of the community. This is particularly evident in highly structured societies such as India, where the caste system is an integral part of traditional Hinduism. Marduk in ancient Babylon and Yahweh in ancient Israel were believed to be the authors of the laws of those nations, thus giving these laws the weight and prestige of holiness. The prophets of Israel were social critics who claimed that righteous acts rather than cultic acts are the true expression of religion. As religions develop, they come to place increasing stress on the ethical, and sometimes religion is almost totally absorbed into morality, with only a sense of the holiness of moral demands and a profound respect for them remaining.

Community: Although religious solitaries exist, most religions have a social aspect that leads its adherents to form a community, which may be more or less tightly organized. In earlier times the religious community could scarcely be distinguished from the community at large; all professed the same faith, and the ruler was both a political and a religious leader. In the course of time, however, religious and civil societies have become distinct and may even come into conflict. In modern secular states, India and the United States, for example, a plurality of religious communities coexist peacefully within a single political entity. Each religious community, whether in a pluralistic or homogeneous society, has its own organized structure. A common though by no means universal feature of these religious organizations is a priesthood charged with teaching and transmitting the faith and performing liturgical acts.

APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF RELIGION

EVOLUTIONARY APPROACHES TO STUDY OF RELIGION

Anthropology, from its beginnings has chiefly concerned itself with non-literate and technologically primitive cultures and thus has stressed a certain range of techniques, such as the use of **participant observation**. Because of the anthropologists' interest in tribal and "primitive" societies, it has not been unnatural for them to try to use the data gained in the study of such societies to speculate about the genesis and functions of religion.

An early attempt to combine archaeological evidence of prehistoric people, on the one hand, and anthropological evidence of primitive peoples, on the other, was that of the English anthropologist **John Lubbock** (1834–1913). His book, *The Origin of Civilization and the Primitive Condition of Man*, outlined an evolutionary scheme, beginning with atheism (the absence of religious ideas) and continuing with fetishism, nature worship, and totemism (a system of belief involving the relationship of specific animals to clans), shamanism (a system of belief centering on the shaman, a religious personage having curative and psychic powers), anthropomorphism, monotheism (belief in one god), and, finally, ethical monotheism. Unfortunately, much of his information was unreliable, and his schematics was open to question; he foreshadowed, nevertheless, other forms of evolutionism, which were to become popular both in sociology and anthropology.

The English ethnologist **E. B. Tylor** (1832–1917), who is commonly considered the father of modern anthropology, expounded, in his book *Primitive Culture*, the thesis that animism is the earliest and most basic religious form. Out of this evolves fetishism, belief in demons, polytheism, and, finally, monotheism, which derives from the exaltation of a great god, such as the sky god; in a polytheistic context. A somewhat similar system was advanced by **Herbert Spencer** (1820–1903) in his *Principles of Sociology*, though he stresses rather than animism **ancestor worship** as the basic consideration.

Robert Ranulf Marrett classifies religion into five forms: Animism, Animatism, Nature worship, Polytheism, and Monotheism. **Emile Durkheim** says totemism is the most elementary form of religion while **Max Muller** says that naturalism is the earliest form of religion. **Leslie White** classifies religion into five forms namely Zoomorphism, Nature worship, Anthropomorphism, Polytheism and Monotheism. **Swanson** suggests a four fold classification of religious forms such as Animism, Ancestral worship, Polytheism and Monotheism.

On the other hand, **Anthony Wallace** classifies world religions into four forms viz., Shamanic religion, Communal religion, Polytheism and Monotheism. All the four distinct forms of world religions show four distinct types of organization based on the degree of specialization of religious personnel. The shamanic religion is organized in terms of individual and shamanic cults. This type of religious organization is characteristic of food gatherers. The communal religion is organized in terms of individual, shamanic and communal cults. This type of religious organization is characteristic of complex societies. The monotheistic religion is organized in terms of the individual, shamanic, communal and ecclesiastic but believes in one Supreme Being. This type of religious organization is characteristic of complex and highly stratified societies.

Sir James Frazer, in his **The Golden Bough – A History of Myth and Religion**, believes that religion is the result of the development of the original magic stage of human culture. Just as the primitive man believed in overwhelming and instrumentalizing the nature or super nature through magic for personal benefits, eventual development in his thought led to similar belief that by cajoling the spirits or pleasing them, by prayers, one can work out his problems and needs. This in essence has come to be called **The Magic Theory** in anthropology.

The classifications of religion—polytheism, henotheism (i.e., the worship of one god as supreme without necessarily excluding the possibility of other groups' gods), and monotheism—begin from concern with gods and often imply the superiority of monotheism over other forms of belief. Naturally, the anthropologists of the 19th century were deeply influenced by the presuppositions of Western society.

Auguste Comte, usually considered the father of modern sociology, in his **The Positive Philosophy**, has given three stages in the evolution of human thinking. His law of three stages provides a sociological dimension to the development of human thinking.

According to him, the three stages passed by human thinking are:

1. Theological or fictitious stage
2. Metaphysical or Abstract stage
3. Scientific or Positive stage

Theological Stage

This is the first or primary stage of human thinking. The level of thinking in this stage is equivalent to that of children. The thinking at this stage lacks any logic or orderliness. Such a level of thinking lacks any scientific outlook. The subject matter of theological thinking is natural events. The unusual and unintelligible natural phenomenon direct man's thinking towards fictitious interpretation of these events.

The primitive man, unable to discover the natural causes for such various happenings, attributes them to imaginary or divine forces. The explanation of natural events in divine imaginary or unnatural conditions is theological or fictitious thinking. The theological thinking implies belief in another world wherein reside the divine forces which control the events of the world. This belief thus implies belief in divine or extra terrestrial forces. Comte classified theological stage into three more stages.

1. **Fetishism:** The first and primary stage of theological thinking is that of fetishism. It is an undue emotional attachment to some object. This emotional attachment leads to a belief that there is some living spirit in non-living objects. This thinking believes that the objects are not dead and lifeless but are inhabited by a living spirit.
2. **Polytheism:** A change in the human thinking occurred due to development of mental faculties. This change led to a more evolved and developed form than that of fetishism. This stage is called as polytheism. At this stage, man classified Gods as well as the natural and human forces. Each natural force had a presiding deity. Each deity has some definite function and His scope and area of action is

3. **Monotheism:** The last and most developed thinking is manifested in monotheism. At this level of thinking a belief in one God replaced the belief in many Gods. This stage symbolizes a victory of human intellect. In this type of thinking, it is believed that one God is supreme and that he is responsible for maintenance of order and system in the world.

Metaphysical or Abstract Stage

This stage marks the second stage in the evolution of human thinking. With gradual improvement in thinking, human problems also became more complex and intricate. The theological thinking was not adequate to tackle these problems. The appearance of conflicting and opposite forces in the world presented problems which could not be successfully tackled by monotheism. It was difficult to believe that the same God was responsible for primordial creation and also annihilation. In order to resolve this intellectual puzzle, the metaphysical thinking was invented. Under this thinking, belief in an abstract transcendental entity would replace the belief in personal concrete God. Under metaphysical thinking, it is believed that an abstract power or force guides and determines the events in the world. Metaphysical thinking discards belief in existence of God.

Scientific or Positive Stage

All of metaphysical knowledge is based on speculation and is at best inferential. There are no means to confirm the metaphysical knowledge. In the last analysis, it is a matter of belief or temperament. The modern temperament of man is such that man cannot remain satisfied with mere guess work. The modern thinking craves for scientific enquiry based on facts and these facts are gathered by observation and experience. The observation and classification of the facts are beginning of scientific thinking and knowledge. The facts help to generalize and draw conclusions and these conclusions are subject to validation and once validated, these facts become established laws. The scientific thinking is thoroughly rational and when rationality exists, there is no place for superstition.

PSYCHOLOGICAL APPROACH TO THE STUDY OF RELIGION

Robert Ranulph Marrett believes that religion is not a problem-solving phenomenon (as the evolutionists believed) and answering the questions of man is not the basis of religion. According to him, religion is a profound emotional response to various aspects that are usually characterized by emotional overtones. These emotional aspects act as a anchor in giving religion a rationale for its existence. The theories based on such an assumption are called as Emotive Theories. The emotive factors according to various scholars are the following.

1. **Fear:** According to **Wilhelm Wundt**, who gave a psychological explanation to the origin of religion, religion is a projection of fear into the environment. **Rudolf Otto** says that religion is identical to numinous feeling – something pertaining to divinity. The sense of mystery and fear attached to religion is usually numinous emotion that is always paired with fear towards the uncanny (supernatural or weird).

2. **Unspecified Emotion:** According to **William James**, the phenomenon of religion is not associated with any particular or specific type of emotion though he admits that religion has a strong emotional base.

3. **Fetishism:** Fetishism implies undue emotional attachment to some object. According to some people, fetishism was prevalent in the primitive times with some or the other objects - animate or inanimate. This according to some scholars is the basis of religion.

4. **Animatism:** For Marrett, Animatism is the rudimentary form of religion and this formed the basis for religion. Animatism is a concept of supernatural as a raw impersonal power that influences the human but can be controlled under some circumstances. An example of this phenomenon is Luck.

Sigmund Freud, the father of psychoanalysis, traces the origin of religion to a family where a child is

father as a symbol of absolute power. But as the child grows, the supremacy of the father becomes untenable (owing to the dynamics in a family that erupt as a consequence of Oedipus complex). Religion comes in as a substitute to fill in the vacuum created by the displacement of the father. Religion therefore owes its origin to man's attempts to project into the universe - a belief in a cosmic father or God to give him a support he once had from his human or the biological father.

THE FUNCTIONAL APPROACH TO THE STUDY OF RELIGION

The search for a tidy account of the genesis of religion in prehistory by reference to primitive societies was hardly likely to yield decisive results. Thus, anthropologists became more concerned with functional and structural accounts of religion in society and relinquished the apparently futile search for origins.

The functional approaches to religion are basically taken by the scholars to explain the role religion plays in the life of the individual and the society. Many scholars tried to explain the functional significance of this otherwise complex phenomenon. Notable among these accounts was the theory of the French sociologist **Émile Durkheim** (1858–1917). According to Durkheim, totemism was fundamentally significant (he wrongly supposed it to be virtually universal), and in this he shared the view of some other 19th-century savants, notably Salomon Reinach (1858–1932) and Robertson Smith (1846–94), not to mention Sigmund Freud (1856–1939). Because Durkheim treated the totem as symbolic of the god, he inferred that the god is a personification of the clan. This conclusion, if generalized, suggested that all the objects of religious worship symbolize social relationships and, indeed, play an important role in the continuance of the social group.

Emile Durkheim defined religion as *"a unified system of beliefs and practices relative to scared things, that is to say, things set apart and forbidden - beliefs and practices which unite into one single moral community called a church, all those who adhere to them".*

Religion according to Durkheim exists in a social context i.e., religious beliefs are an expression of the way a society orders its life. Religion expresses the beliefs of a society. It forms a media through which a society understands the universe. In addition to this, it is through religion that people seek the justification of the existing social order.

Through the above discussion it is clear that though religion is highly personal, it yet has a social role to play.

1. **Religion explains individual suffering:** Religion serves to sooth the emotions of man in times of his sufferings and disappointments and contributes to the integration of his personality. In consoles and compensates the man. There is always a limit to which society can go guided by sheer rationality. It is usually religion that enables an individual to interpret any catastrophe and releases him from sorrow and fear.

2. **Religion is a source of social cohesion:** Religion is the ultimate source of social cohesion. The primary requirement of society is the common possession of social values by which individuals control the actions of self and others and through which society is perpetuated. These social values are never scientifically demonstrated but emanate from religious faith. Religion is the foundation upon which these values rest. Religion always emanates a sense of belongingness in the society. The British anthropologist, **Raymond Firth**, views religious organization in terms of means for handling the fundamental problems of social organization: *"for reducing uncertainty and anxiety, for increasing coherence in human relationships, for assigning meaning to human endeavor, for providing justification for moral obligation".* He concludes that it is impossible for human society to exist without some kind of religious solutions that go beyond that empirical evidence. The range of workable religious solutions is great.

3. **Religion takes care of social welfare:** Religion led to accumulation of capital and the creation of leisure class. The priesthood was often dedicated to art and culture. Magic supplied the roots of

through the spreading of education. The religious scriptures are storehouses of knowledge. It also created the habit of charity among the people.

4. **Religion is the agency of social control:** Religion emphasizes the consequences resulting from behavior. Rewards or punishments follow approved or disapproved actions. Religion provides a model for living. It upholds certain ideals and values. Religion is responsible to a great extent in disciplining and dictating human behavior.

5. **Religion controls and affects economic life:** Max Weber was of view that religion influences the economic system of believers. According to him, capitalism grew in Protestant nations like the U.S.A. It did not grow in Italy where there was catholic population. Because Hinduism lays more stress on spiritual progress than material progress, materialism could not grow in India.

Historically speaking the functions of religion have been of very high significance to society. According to some, religion has heavily contributed to the integration of the society. Some people argue that it is primarily responsible for inequalities in the society. In fact, it justified unequal distribution of property. What cannot be forgotten is that, it also contributed to human welfare and peace of mind to the individual. Thus, a major question that has always interested sociologists and anthropologists is that of the functions of religion, both for society and to the individual. The following are the universal functions of religion.

1. **Religion is an Instrument of Social Integration:** Emile Durkheim propounded the theory of religion as a major instrument for social integration and of social control. He identified four primary social functions of religion and ceremonial rituals. They are:

    a. Religion serves as **disciplinary and preparatory agency**, i.e., rituals impose a self-discipline that is necessary for social life.

    b. Ceremonial rituals perform a **cohesive function** i.e., it brings people together to reaffirm their common bonds, and reinforce social solidarity. By doing things repeatedly and jointly the members of the group strengthen their bonds of relatedness.

    c. Religion has a **revitalizing function** i.e., it makes a society aware of their common social heritage. It links them to the past. *Such awareness can motivate and inspire people to carry on.*

    d. It also serves **euphoric functions**. Religion aids in establishing a pleasant feeling of social well-being. This function takes on special significance when a group is faced with calamities, disappointments, losses of treasured members and other threats to its stability.

Talcott Parsons, an American sociologist argues that religion no longer functions to promote social integration in the way Durkheim proposed, because contemporary society is becoming less and less cohesive and more and more individualistic. Nevertheless, Parsons sees religion as an instrument of social control in contemporary society just as it did in traditional society. Social control in the present society is not brought about through social cohesion but through individual control brought about by sense of individual moral responsibilities or obligations.

2. **Religion is a Source of Conflict:** Religion is not only a source of cohesion but also a source of conflict. The history of Christianity in Europe and other religions in Asia testifies to this fact. Religious wars have been brutal and bloody, because the commitment to a religion can lead to a struggle where some times many people die. Religious differences within a society often produce tension and conflict. They are disruptive rather than integrative for the society as a whole. The communal riots in India are the best examples to show that existence of various religious groups in a society contribute to conflicts.

3. **Religion gives a Meaning to Subjective Experiences:** Religion provides a meaning to subjective experiences. It provides meaning to a variety of situations. Parsons views religion as providing consolation in times of bereavement and as a way of giving cultural meaning to the ultimate fact of human death. Religion helps people to grapple with emotional crisis, with death and bereavement, with uncertainties and disappointment of all kinds. Religion attempts to solve or explain human problems by placing them in an eternal perspective, interpreting events as God's will and providing answers for irrational events. For Marx, religion is the "Opiate of masses" which functions to lessen social discontent by promising a better after life to come.

4. **Religion and the Unknown:** Religion, according to some sociologists and anthropologists, is a response to the unknown such as birth, death, dreaming and natural events such as seasons, tides and volcanoes. These mysteries cannot be explained within the framework of other social institutions. According to the psychological explanations, people relieve their anxieties through rites and other religious activities. People tend to have a blind faith towards religion because of the insecurity they experience in their lives. They turn to religion for help in times of difficulties and people indeed feel relieved of tensions and anxieties.

    Religion in a way prepares people for the inevitable end of living beings, death. Beliefs about the meaning of death and what one can expect afterwards help people to adjust to it. Religious assertions about death as the beginning of a better life, death as having released the departed one from a world of toil and trouble, its assertion that earth as a step up ladder of Karma leading to ultimate salvation and the release of the dead from the seemingly endless transmigration of souls tend to minimize the sorrow of survivors. Christians use the term "rested with the lord" to inform death. The idea that the dead person is now better off reduces the intensity of the grief.

5. **Religion is one of the Means of Social Control:** Religious belief can influence the conduct of the believers. **Paul H. Landis** has emphasized. He said that from a purely sociological view point, religion probably has been of greatest significance in human culture because of its influence in social control. Dealing with the inner life of man, and connecting man with those powers which he conceives to control life and the universe, religion possesses potentialities for regulating man's conduct to a remarkable extent. Marx long ago made the classic statement that religion is the "Opiate of the masses". Thus one significant function of religion is to bolster up the status quo and to throw the fear of divine wrath into those who would upset society and its conventions.

6. **Religion helps in Normative Reinforcement:** Religion serves a reinforcement function in the society to a degree that it teaches and emphasizes the same norms and values as the society. Religious systems propagate certain values with a view to maintain stability and sanity in society. These contribute to tolerance and human understanding.

7. **Religion Stimulates Aesthetic Expression:** Another function that religion performs in the society is in the area of aesthetics. Aesthetics is not exclusive the province of religion, yet one may observe the great architectural monuments, musical composition and fine works of sculpture and painting use religious themes and subjects. Admittedly religion has been a source of stimulus for aesthetic expression.

8. **Religion is a Source of Social Welfare:** Religious groups since times immemorial have known to encourage people to render a helping hand to those who are in need. For example, religious groups in the 19th century were in the forefront for establishing orphanages, schools for the deaf, blind and mentally retarded hospitals and similar welfare and service institutions.

9. **Religion Strengthens Moral Values:** Religion sets moral standards for persons and expects them to comply with them. Religion dictates the do's and don'ts for the group. Moral values are an integral part of religious system. In Hindu religion the moral values used to be in consonance with the norms and values of the society.

MONOTHEISM AND POLYTHEISM

Monotheism is a belief in the existence of one god, or in the oneness of God; as such, it is distinguished from polytheism, the belief in the existence of many gods, and from atheism, the belief that there is no god. Among modern religions, monotheism characterizes the traditions of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, and elements of this belief are apparent in numerous other religions.

Monotheism and polytheism are often thought of in rather simple terms; e.g., as a merely numerical contrast between the one and the many. **The history of religions, however, indicates many phenomena and concepts that should warn against oversimplification in this matter.** There is no valid reason to assume, for example, that monotheism is a later development in the history of religions than polytheism. There exists no historical material to prove that one system of belief is older than the other, although many scholars hold that monotheism is a higher form of religion and, therefore, must be a later development, assuming that what is higher came later. Moreover, it is not the oneness of god that counts in monotheism but his uniqueness; one god is not affirmed as the logical opposite to many gods but as an expression of divine might and power.

The choice of either monotheism, or polytheism, however, leads to problems, because neither can give a satisfactory answer to all questions that may reasonably be put. The weakness of polytheism is especially revealed in the realm of questions about the ultimate origin of things, whereas monotheism runs into difficulties in trying to answer the question concerning the origin of evil in a universe under the government of one god. There remains always an antithesis between the multiplicity of forms of the divine manifestations and the unity that can be thought or posited behind them.

Basic Monotheism

The God of monotheism is the one real god that is believed to exist or, in any case, that is acknowledged as such. His essence and character are believed to be unique and fundamentally different from all other beings that can be considered more or less comparable; e.g., the gods of other religions. The religious term monotheism is not identical with the philosophical term monism, referring to the view that the universe has its origin in one basic principle (e.g., mind, matter) and that its structure is one unitary whole in accordance with this principle; that is, that there is only a single kind of reality.

God in monotheism is conceived of as the creator of the world and man; he has not abandoned his creation but continues to lead it through his power and wisdom; hence, viewed in this aspect, history is a manifestation of the divine will. God has not only created the natural world and the order existing therein but also the ethical order to which man ought to conform and, implicit in the ethical order, the social order. Everything is in the hands of God. God is holy—supreme and unique in being and worth, essentially other than man—and can be experienced as a mysterium tremendum ("a fearful mystery") but at the same time as a mysterium fascinans, ("a fascinating mystery"), as a mystery approached by man with attitudes of both repulsion and attraction, of both fear and love. The God of monotheism, as exemplified by the great monotheistic religions—Judaism, Christianity, and Islam—is a personal god. In this respect the one god of monotheism is contrasted with the conception of the divine in pantheism, which may also affirm one god or a divine unity. The god of pantheism, however, is impersonal, rather a divine fluid that permeates the whole world including man himself, so that Hinduism can say: *tat tvam asi*, literally "that is you," where "that" refers to the single, supreme reality or principle.

In monotheistic religions the belief system, the value system, and the action system are all three determined in a significant way by the conception of God as one unique and personal being. Negatively considered, the monotheistic conviction results in the rejection of all other belief systems as false religions, and this rejection partly explains the exceptionally aggressive or intolerant stance of the monotheistic religions in the history of the world. The conception of all other religions as "idolatry" (i.e., as rendering absolute devotion or trust to what is less than divine) has often served to justify the destructive and fanatical action of the religion that is considered to be the only true one.

The above is the basic monotheistic view. There is, however, a wide range of positions between exclusive monotheism at one extreme and unlimited polytheism at the other. A survey of the various positions may serve to provide a more adequate picture of the complex reality involved in the monotheisms and quasi-monotheisms.

Exclusive Monotheism

For exclusive monotheism only one god exists; other gods either simply do not exist at all, or, at most, they are false gods or demons; i.e., beings that are acknowledged to exist but that cannot be compared in power or any other way with the one and only true God. This position is in the main that of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. While in the Old Testament the other gods in most cases were still characterized as false gods, in later Judaism and in Christianity as it developed theologically and philosophically the conception emerged of God as the one and only, and other gods were considered not to exist at all.

There are two types of exclusive monotheism: ethical monotheism and intellectual monotheism. In ethical monotheism man chooses one god, because that is the god whom he needs and whom he can adore, and that god becomes for him the one and only god. In intellectual monotheism the one god is nothing but the logical result of questions concerning the origin of the world. In many African religions the one god postulated behind the many gods that are active in the world and in the life of man is little more than the prime mover of the universe. He is the intellectual apex necessitated by the system. In Christian theology, heavily influenced as it is by Greek philosophy, both conceptions can be found, usually together.

Pluriform Monotheism

The complicated relations that exist between monotheism and polytheism become clear when pluriform monotheism is considered, in which the various gods of the pantheon, without losing their independence, are at the same time considered to be manifestations of one and the same divine substance. Pluriform monotheism is one of the efforts to solve the problem of the coexistence of divine unity and divine pluriformity (multiplicity of forms).

The Nuer, a Nilotic pastoral people of the eastern Sudan, venerate a being called Kwoth, the Nuer term for "spirit" (also translated as "God"). He is considered to be the spirit in or of the sky. Like all spirits Kwoth is invisible and omnipresent, but he manifests himself in a number of forms. Each of these manifestations bears a name of its own, but though they are addressed and treated as separate entities, they are essentially nothing but manifestations of the one spiritual being Kwoth and are themselves considered spirits and called kwoth. A sacrifice offered to one of these manifestations—e.g., a spirit of air, totem, or place—is not at the same time an offering to another; but all sacrifices, to whatever spirit they are offered, are sacrifices to the supreme Kwoth, or God. Nuer religion is certainly no clear monotheism as it is understood in the Bible and in the Quran, but neither is it polytheism in the popular sense of the word.

Many other instances of pluriform monotheism could be mentioned, and many more presumably still await detection. An interesting pluriform system is that of the Oglala Sioux of the United States, who venerate 16 gods divided into four groups of four. Each group of four forms one god. Thus there are four gods, but these four gods again are one god, Wakan Tanka—the Great Spirit or the Great Mystery.

Religious Dualism

Some religions are in the main dualistic; they view the universe as comprising two basic and usually opposed principles, such as good and evil or spirit and matter. Insofar as the conception of a god and antigod rather than that of two gods is encountered, this kind of religion can be considered as another variation of monotheism. The most important instance of a dualistic religion is the Persian religion Zoroastrianism as founded by Zoroaster (7th–6th century BC) in which Ormazd (the good god) and Ahriman (the evil god) are each other's opposite and implacable enemies.

Polytheism

Polytheism is the belief in many gods. Polytheism characterizes virtually all religions other than Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, which share a common tradition of monotheism, the belief in one God.

Sometimes above the many gods a polytheistic religion will have a supreme creator and focus of devotion, as in certain phases of Hinduism; sometimes the gods are considered as less important than some higher goal, state, or savior, as in Buddhism; sometimes one god will prove more dominant than the others without attaining overall supremacy, as Zeus in Greek religion. Typically, polytheistic cultures include belief in many demonic and ghostly forces in addition to the gods, and some supernatural beings will be malevolent; even in monotheistic religions there can be belief in many demons, as in New Testament Christianity.

Henotheism

Henotheism (from Greek heis theos, "one god")—a belief in worship of one god, though the existence of other gods is granted—also called kathenotheism (Greek kath hena theon, "one god at a time")—which literally implies worship of various gods one at a time—has gone out of fashion as a term. It was introduced by the eminent 19th-century philologist and scholar in comparative mythology and religion Max Müller (1823–1900). Both terms mean that one god has a central and dominating position in such a way that it is possible to address this god as if he were the one and only god, without, however, abandoning the principle of polytheism by denying or in any other way belittling the real existence of the other gods, as the above-mentioned forms of monotheism do. e.g., in the Vedic hymns. It refers to the exalting of a particular god as exclusively the highest within the framework of a particular hymn or ritual; This process often consisted in loading other gods' attributes on the selected focus of worship. Henotheism as a religious concept is at home in cultures with a highly centralized monarchical government. It was especially prevalent in some periods in the history of Babylonia and Egypt.

Belief in many divine beings, who typically have to be worshipped or, if malevolent, warded off with appropriate rituals, has been widespread in human cultures. Though a single evolutionary process cannot be postulated, there has been a drift in various traditions toward the unification of sacred forces under a single head, which, in a number of nonliterate "primal" societies, has become embedded in a supreme being. Sometimes this being is a deus otiosus (an "indifferent god"), regarded as having withdrawn from immediate concern with men and thought of sometimes as too exalted for men to petition. This observation led Wilhelm Schmidt, an Austrian anthropologist, to postulate in the early 20th century an Urmonotheismus, or "original monotheism," which later became overlaid by polytheism. Like all other theories of religious origins, this theory is speculative and unverifiable. More promising are attempts by sociologists and social anthropologists to penetrate to the uses and significance of the gods in particular societies.

Unlimited Polytheism

This form constitutes extreme polytheism and is seen in the classical religions of Greece and Rome: each god has his own name and his own shape, and these are unalienably his and cannot be exchanged with those of any other god (not counting, of course, those cases in which gods are practically each other's duplicate and only bear a different name). The number of divinities is large and in principle unlimited. There are differences of status and power among the gods, of function and sphere of influence, but they are all equally divine. There is, in fact, an ordered pantheon. In unlimited polytheism, the number of gods that are actually worshipped seldom exceeds a few hundred within one religion, but in theory, as in India, millions and millions of gods may be thought to exist.

Thus, an analysis of the history of religions reveals a **spectrum of views** that fall between basic montheism and unlimited polytheism, with varying forms falling in the continuum.

SACRED AND PROFANE

Emile Durkheim understood religion to be two absolutely opposed categories, the sacred and the profane. Both these categories reflect the sort of attitudes human beings have towards these entities. They reflect the classification of human experience, the world, the cosmos and all the entities surrounding them.

The profane is the realm of routine experience. It coincides, to a considerable extent, with what Pareto has called, "logic-experimental" experience. The realm of profane deals with the mundane activities and is transcended by religion. It is the sphere of the adaptive behavior. The sphere of the sacred is entirely other than this utilitarian sphere.

Durkheim states that the sacred is superior to the profane in dignity and expresses a superior seriousness. Thus, he defines religion in terms of sacred objective. The attitude elicited by the symbols that represent the sacred is one of intense respect. It is one of awe. This may be seen not simply in human behavior in the presence of such symbols, but also in the fact that sacred things are always set apart by interdictions and isolated by ritual practice. Durkheim defines sacred things as set apart from the profane and forbidden. The reason lies in the fact that profane entities will defile the sacred if they are allowed to intermingle. In order to approach the sacred entities, one must attain a degree of sacredness. Religious rites, Durkheim further says, are not performed primarily to achieve something but to express an attitude. Thus, there arises in the experience of the sacred an attitude and a set of practices. In the words of **William James**, religion is a matter "feeling, acting and experience", and out of these, "theologies, philosophies and ecclesiastic organizations may secondarily grow".

Durkheim regards the sacred-profane dichotomy as of universal validity. In all the religions, certain objects, precepts, maxims and symbols are regarded as sacred. The source of sacredness does not lie in the intrinsic properties of the object. Nor is sacredness a result of some kind of revelation. Sacredness is not imposed on an object because of the exterior dimension but as a result of the "collective conscience". The society attributes sacredness to certain objects. Therefore, the source of holiness of the holy water is not because of the chemical composition of water or because God revealed this fact, but it lies in the fact that holiness is attributed to water by the collective thinking of the people.

Durkheim describes seven additional characteristics of the sacred as something experienced by and affecting human beings.

1. Sacred is an aspect of what is experienced by human beings, involves recognition of, or a belief in power or force. Powers or forces lie at the roots of the religious attitude.
2. Sacred is characterized by ambiguity - it is a matter of ambiguous power of powers. Sacred things and forces are ambiguous in that they are physical and moral, human and cosmic or natural, positive and negative, favorable and unfavorable, attractive and repugnant, helpful and dangerous to man.
3. Sacred is non-utilitarian. Utility and everydayness are foreign to the sacred, while work is the prominent form of profane activity.
4. Sacred is non-empirical in the sense that it is not an aspect of the object but is super-imposed upon it.
5. Sacred does not involve knowledge. The sacred is not a matter of knowledge based on the experience of the senses.
6. Sacred is supportive and has strength-giving character. Sacred forces act on believers and worshipers to strengthen and sustain them. The religious attitude exalts the believer and raises him above himself.
7. Sacred makes a demand on the believer and worshiper. It impinges on human consciousness with moral obligations.

The sacred in Durkheim's analysis is radically other than the profane; is non-utilitarian and non-empirical; does not involve knowledge, but involves power; is ambiguous with respect to nature, culture and human welfare; is strength-giving and sustaining; elicits intense respect and makes an ethical demand on the believer.

Origin of Sacred

Having defined the key role of the sacred and the profane in religion, Durkheim addresses next the question of how it is people come to see the world the way he claims: as two separate worlds, in fact. He starts by dismissing theories of the origins of religions based on animism and naturism. On the one hand, Tylor had argued that religion had started with people trying to make sense of their dreams and come up with animism, religion involving belief in the existence of the soul and of spirits. On the other hand, Max Müller had suggested it started with people trying to make sense of their experience of awe in the face of the mighty forces of nature. Durkheim simply refuses to accept that people would have found either dreams or natural phenomena extraordinary enough to feel the need to create religion because of them.

He supposes that, as 'neither man nor nature is inherently sacred' the source of the sacred must be elsewhere.

Totemism

For his own attempt to locate the source of the sacred and lay bare what religion is all about, Durkheim examines just one type of religion, Australian totemism, which he sees as the most basic type available for study. In totemism, tribes are divided into clans whose solidarity derives not from kinship, but from a religious relationship between its members. As Durkheim understands it, this relationship is based on a sacred association between the clan, its members and a totemic entity, usually a local animal or plant species.

Durkheim acquired his information on totemism from ethnographers and looked in turn at its beliefs and rites, focusing principally on the Arunta, a tribe of Central Australia. His interpretation of the ethnographic material was his own.

Totemic Beliefs

Essential to Australian totemic belief, in Durkheim's view, was the idea that the totemic emblem, a design representing the clan's totemic entity, was sacred. Its sacredness lay in the fact that it conferred sacredness on whatever was marked with it.

The totemic emblem was used to mark certain objects used in rituals: stones, pieces of wood etc. Among the Arunta these objects were known as churingas. The sacredness conferred on them by their being marked with the sacred totemic emblem was partly negative and partly positive. On the one hand, they had to be kept separate from the profane: they had not to be touched or looked at by profane persons; when not in use, they were hidden in special locations, themselves made sacred by association. On the other hand, they had powers: they could cure illnesses, confer strength in battle, assure the continuing fertility of the totemic animal or plant etc.

Not only were the totemic emblem and the ritual objects sacred: so too were the totemic entity and the human clan members. Where the totemic entity was an animal or a plant, its sacredness was a matter of it being prohibited as ordinary food to clan members, though it might be obligatory to consume it in ritual situations; it was believed that infraction of this rule would cause death. Durkheim points out that to regard animals as sacred in this way is not the same as to regard them as divine. Clan members did not worship the totemic animal as a god, but felt ties of close kinship with it.

The sacredness of clan members themselves was manifest most importantly in the use of their blood in rituals in order to confer power. Thus clan members' blood might be used to paint the totemic emblem on the ground or poured over a rock believed to represent the totemic entity; it was used in initiation rituals.

Durkheim notes also that hair and other parts of the human body might be seen as sacred and also that the old men of the clan were regarded as more sacred than the younger ones.

Origins of Totemic Belief

When he comes to look at the basis of such beliefs, Durkheim argues that the animals and plants chosen as totem entities are by no means intrinsically impressive, in no way capable of themselves of generating religious feelings (such as awe). Consequently, the religious feelings involved in totemism must have been derived from elsewhere.

Durkheim's theory is that totemism is not essentially about the totemic entity, the animal, plant or whatever represented in the totemic emblem: it is about the clan itself as symbolized by the emblem. For it is the experience of the social group alone that is capable of generating in people the kind of intense feelings that sustain religion.

Durkheim's argument runs as follows. Firstly, people are susceptible to the moral authority exerted by respected individuals and social groups. Such authority when experienced in group situations is able to take people beyond themselves: to intensities of feeling and types of behavior they are not capable of by themselves.

Secondly, when this happens, people cannot readily identify the source of the stimulation they are experiencing. They can only suppose it is something from altogether outside the world of their personal understanding. The sacred is that something.

Just how the sacred is represented varies from religion to religion. In some it is a matter of gods; in totemism it is a matter of the totem. But whatever the detail, one thing is sure: the sacred reality is a projection (not Durkheim's term) of a social reality. Thus in totemism the sacred totemic emblem symbolizes the clan: the sacred reality is actually the clan itself.

Effervescence

Durkheim supposes that in practice totemic religion in particular arose out of tribal life style. Most of the time individuals lived scattered across the landscape, in groups too small to generate the kind of religious forces he identifies. But at certain moments there were social gatherings large enough to acquire what we today might call critical mass. Such gatherings would, in Durkheim's metaphor, effervesce: the experience of being with so many other people would necessarily generate the heightened emotions and correspondingly excited behaviors that lead to belief in the sacred. It must have been at these gatherings that totemism took shape.

Ritual Behavior in Totemism

When he turns to the particular sorts of ritual behavior that developed in totemism, Durkheim distinguishes two types, the negative and the positive. Roughly speaking, the former were about things that were forbidden and the latter were about making things happen. The former provide Durkheim with more points to make about the sacred. This is not surprising, seeing that for him it is prohibitions that identify the sacred.

Prohibitions

Negative behaviors were primarily concerned with keeping the sacred out of contact with the profane. For example, there were prohibitions regarding the sacred ritual objects, the churingas: these might be touched only by persons who themselves had been made sacred by initiation. Again, the totemic entity, if an animal or plant, was regarded as in a sense kin and too sacred to be eaten even by initiates. Many sacred rituals were required to be performed naked on account of ordinary clothing and ornaments being profane.

Sacred Space and Sacred Time

It is in this context that Durkheim introduces notions of sacred space and sacred time.

On the one hand:

'Religious and profane life cannot coexist in the same space'. Sacredness requires that special locations be set aside for religious rituals; for Central Australians these may be landmarks associated with the mythical ancestors. We have already come across an instance of sacred space: the places where the ritual objects are stored when not in use, which are forbidden to profane persons.

On the other hand:

'Religious and profane life cannot coexist in the same time'. Sacredness requires that special times be set aside for religious rituals. Thus the everyday activities of hunting, fishing and making war must be suspended for the duration of the major religious ceremonies.

The Contagiousness of the Sacred

Discussion of religious prohibitions is the occasion for Durkheim to bring up two other particularly significant considerations. The first of these is the contagiousness of the sacred. This is Durkheim's way of presenting the idea that the sacred is passed on by physical contact. It is a principle seen in operation in rituals of consecration, when things are made sacred by being touched with other things that are already sacred, as in anointing with sacred liquids: Durkheim refers to Catholicism.

The Theory of Religious Forces

Durkheim seeks to explain belief in the contagiousness of the sacred with his theory of religious forces. His demonstration that the sacred is ultimately the expression of social forces acting on the individual means that these forces are not intrinsic to the objects or other realities to which they are assigned. The assignment is merely arbitrary and the forces are in fact mobile, capable of spreading from one kind of thing to another.

The Ambiguity of the Sacred

When Durkheim turns finally to positive ritual, and in particular to rituals concerning death, he has one last important point to make regarding the sacred; it concerns the ambiguity of the sacred. Durkheim argues that there are two kinds of religious forces, those working for good and those working for ill, and that these are seen in notions of pure and impure (or maybe lucky and unlucky). Things thought of in religion as impure are not part of the profane, but part of the sacred, only producing undesirable results.

This is seen in Australian funerary rites, where a corpse was initially impure, being regarded with horror and avoided, but later became pure as an object of veneration. This was not a transformation from profane to sacred, for the corpse was always endowed with sacred power; it was rather a switch of sacred polarity, from dangerous religious force to beneficial.

In line with his theory of religious forces, Durkheim associated this sort of switch of polarity with a switch in the collective emotional state of participants: between dysphoria and its opposite, euphoria.

Critique

Scholars like British anthropologist Jack Goody have criticized Durkheim's claim of the universality of this dichotomy for all religions/cults. Goody also noted that "many societies have no words that translate as sacred or profane and that ultimately, just like the distinction between natural and supernatural, it was very much a product of European religious thought rather than a universally applicable criterion."

Some Eastern religions like Buddhism disapprove of cultivating dualism, even between the sacred and the

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to "break through the good mind" (i.e., stop distinguishing between the sacred and the profane. In the final stage of learning, the monk lets go of all conceptualizations of good and bad or sacred and profane. This is called the final good.

MYTHS AND RITUALS

Myth

Myth is a symbolic narrative, usually of unknown origin and at least partly traditional, that ostensibly relates actual events and that is especially associated with religious belief. It is distinguished from symbolic behavior (cult, ritual) and symbolic places or objects (temples, icons). Myths are specific accounts of gods or superhuman beings involved in extraordinary events or circumstances in a time that is unspecified but which is understood as existing apart from ordinary human experience. The term mythology denotes both the study of myth and the body of myths belonging to a particular religious tradition.

As with all religious symbolism, there is no attempt to justify mythic narratives or even to render them plausible. Every myth presents itself as an authoritative, factual account, no matter how much the narrated events are at variance with natural law or ordinary experience.

The word myth derives from the Greek mythos, which has a range of meanings from "word," through "saying" and "story," to "fiction"; the unquestioned validity of mythos can be contrasted with logos, the word whose validity or *truth can* be argued and demonstrated. Because myths narrate fantastic events with no attempt at proof, it is sometimes assumed that they are simply stories with no factual basis, and the word has become a synonym for falsehood or, at best, misconception. In the study of religion, however, it is important to distinguish between myths and stories that are merely untrue.

Myth has existed in every society. Indeed, it would seem to be a basic constituent of human culture. Because the variety is so great, it is difficult to generalize about the nature of myths. But it is clear that in their general characteristics and in their details a people's myths reflect, express, and explore the people's self-image. The study of myth is thus of central importance in the study both of individual societies and of human culture as a whole.

Functions of Myths

1. **Explanation:** The most obvious function of myths is the explanation of facts, whether natural or cultural. One North American Indian (Abenaki) myth, for example, explains the origin of corn (maize): a lonely man meets a beautiful woman with long, fair hair; she promises to remain with him if he follows her instructions; she tells him in detail how to make a fire and, after he has done so, she orders him to drag her over the burned ground; as a result of these actions, he will see her silken hair (viz., the cornstalk) reappear, and thereafter he will have corn seeds for his use. Henceforth, whenever Abenaki Indians see corn (the woman's hair), they know that she remembers them. Obviously, a myth such as this one functions as an explanation, but the narrative form distinguishes it from a straightforward answer to an intellectual question about causes. The function of explanation and the narrative form go together, since the imaginative power of the myth lends credibility to the explanation and crystallizes it into a memorable and enduring form. Hence myths play an important part in many traditional systems of education.

2. **Justification or Validation:** Many myths explain ritual and cultic customs. According to myths from the island of Ceram (in Indonesia), in the beginning life was not complete, or not yet "human": vegetation and animals did not exist, and there was neither death nor sexuality. In a mysterious manner Hainuwele, a girl with extraordinary gift-bestowing powers, appeared. The people killed her at the end of their great annual celebration, and her dismembered body was planted in the earth. Among the species that sprang up after this act of planting were tubers—the staple diet of the people telling the myth. With certain circularity frequent in mythology, the myth validates the very cultic

events. Hence, the myth can be said to validate life itself together with the cultic celebration. Comparable myths are told in a number of societies where the main means of food production is the cultivation of root crops; the myths reflect the fact that tubers must be cut up and buried in the earth for propagation to take place.

Ritual sacrifices are typical of traditional peasant cultures. In most cases such customs are related to mythical events. Among important themes are the necessity of death (e.g., the grain "dies" and is buried, only to yield a subsequent harvest), a society's cyclic renewal of itself (e.g., New Year's celebrations), and the significance of women and sexuality. New Year's celebrations, often accompanied by a temporary abandonment of all rules, may be related to or justified by mythical themes concerning a return to chaos and a return of the dead.

3. **Description:** Inasmuch as myths deal with the origin of the world, the end of the world, or a paradisiacal state, they are capable of describing what people can never "see for themselves" however rational and observant they are. It may be that the educational value of myths is even more bound up with the descriptions they provide than with the explanations. In traditional, preindustrial societies myths form perhaps the most important available model of instruction, since no separate philosophical system of inquiry exists.

4. **Healing and Inspiration:** Creation myths play a significant role in healing the sick; they are recited (e.g., among the Navajo Indians of North America) when an individual's world—that is to say, his life—is in jeopardy. Thus, healing through recitation of a cosmogony is one example of the use of myth as a magical incantation. Another example is the case of Icelandic poets, who, in singing of the episode in old Norse mythology in which the god Odin wins for gods and men the "mead of song" (a drink containing the power of poetic inspiration), can be said to be celebrating the origins of their own art and hence renewing it.

The poetic aspect of myths in archaic and primitive traditions is considerable. Societies in which artistic endeavor is not yet specialized tend to rely on mythical themes and images as a source of all self-expression. Mythology has also exerted an aesthetic influence in more modern societies. An example is the prevalence of themes from Greek and Roman classical mythology in Western painting, sculpture, and literature.

Myths as distinct from folklore and legends, deal with sacred and semi divine beings in a time when the world was different and they tell how, through the activity of such beings, things came to be as they are. They instruct human beings in what must be done to avoid chaos - the state that humanity, individually and collectively, fears most.

In **Malinowski's Functional Theory of Myth**, myth is more than idle speculation about the origins of things. *"It justifies by precedent the existing order and it supplies a retrospective pattern of moral values, of sociological discriminations and burdens and of magical belief... the myth of magic and religion is definitely a warrant of its truth, a pedigree of its filiation, a charter of its claims to validity".*

Believing in a myth is more than infantile self assurance; it is a device of education and learning, of cultural or religious maintenance. Today, however, anthropological interests, while not ignoring the function, relate myths to symbolic transformations in which change and establishment of a new order of things is of more interest than origins.

Victor Turner writes...*"Myths relate how one state of affairs became another: how an unpeopled world became populated; how chaos became cosmos; how immortals became mortal; how the seasons came to replace a climate without seasons; how the original unity of mankind became a plurality of tribes or nations; how androgynous beings became men and women and so on. Myths are liminal phenomena: they are frequently told at a time or in a site that is betwixt and between".*

Myths are an important component of transition rites. They restate the first principles or basic postulates

a person must seek to transcribe in himself. Myths assist to recreate or transform those to whom they are told and alter the capacity of the being so that he becomes capable of performing the tasks of the new status ahead of him. Because they are told in a sacred contest and deal with sacred beings, myths are the timeless handmaiden of religion. They are the fertile seabed from which grew the sacred books of great religions of later civilizations.

Structural Analysis of Myth

One way of studying myth is structural analysis, or **structuralism**, developed by Claude Levi-Strauss, a prolific French anthropologist Levi-Straussian structuralism (1967) aims not at *explaining* relations, themes and connections among aspects of cultural but at *discovering* them. It differs in its goals and results from the methods of gathering and interpreting data usually used in the sciences. Because structuralism is as close to the humanities as it is to science, struturalist methods have been used in analyzing literature and art as well as in anthropology.

Myths and folktales are the (oral) literature of nonliterate societies. Levi-Strauss used structuralism to analyze the cultural creations of such societies, including their myths. Structuralism rests on Levi-Strauss's belief that human minds have certain characteristics which originate in features of the Homo sapiens brain. These common mental structures lead people everywhere to think similarly regardless of their society or cultural background. Among these universal mental characteristics are the need to classify: to impose order on aspects of nature, on people's relation to nature, and on relations between people.

According to Levi-Strauss, a universal aspect of classification is opposition, or contrast. Although many phenomena are continuous rather than discrete, the mind, because of its need to impose order, treats them as being more different than they are. Things that are quantitatively rather than qualitatively different are made to seem absolutely dissimilar. One of the most common means of classifying is by using **binary opposition.** Good and evil, white and black, old and young, high and low are oppositions that, according to Levi-Strauss, reflect the human need to convert differences of degree into differences of kind.

Levi-Strauss has applied his assumptions about classification and binary opposition to myths and folk tales. He has shown that these narratives have simple building blocks – elementary structures of "mythemes". Examining the myths of different cultures, Levi-Strauss shows that one tale can be converted into another through a series of simple operations, for example, by doing the following:

1. Converting positive element of a myth into its negative
2. Reversing the order of the elements
3. Replacing a male hero with a female hero
4. Preserving or repeating certain key elements

Through such operations, two apparently dissimilar myths can be shown to be variations on a common structure, that is, to be transformations of each other. One example is Levi-Strauss's analysis of "Cinderella" (1967), a widespread tale who elements vary between neighboring cultures. Through reversals, oppositions, and negations, as the tale is told, retold, diffused and incorporated within the traditions of successive societies, "Cinderella" becomes "Ash Boy", after a series of contrasts related to the change in hero's gender.

Structuralism has been widely applied to the myths of nonindustrial cultures, but we can also use it to analyze narratives in our own society.

RITUAL

Ritual is the performance of ceremonial acts prescribed by tradition or by sacerdotal decree. Ritual is a specific, observable mode of behaviour exhibited by all known societies. It is thus possible to view ritual as a way of defining or describing humans.

Human beings are sometimes described or defined as a basically rational, economic, political, or playing species. They may, however, also be viewed as ritual beings, who exhibit a striking parallel between their ritual and verbal behavior. Just as language is a system of symbols that is based upon arbitrary rules, ritual may be viewed as a system of symbolic acts that is based upon arbitrary rules.

A patterned act that involves the manipulation of religious symbols is a religious ritual. Religious symbols may be verbal such as the names for gods and spirits, certain phrases or songs which are believed to contain some supernatural powers. Religious symbols may be non-verbal or material objects such as masks, statues, paintings, costumes, body decoration or natural objects.

Religious rituals may be of several types. Rites of passage marking the transition of an individual from one social status to another, rites of intensification directed towards the welfare of the group or society, individual rituals such as the vision quest, shamanistic rituals that involve curing, divination and reading fortunes among others, and celestial rituals such as the rituals performed by the clergy for the individuals, groups or the whole society.

Most religious rituals use a combination of the following practices to contact and control supernatural spirits... Prayer, offerings and sacrifices, manipulation of objects, telling or acting of myths, altering the physiological state of the individual (as in trance and ecstatic experiences or through drugs), music, dance and drama.

Prayer is any conversation held with spirits and gods. Prayer can involve a request or a pleading. It can be in the form of a bargain or consist of merely praising the deity. Prayer may be in the form of a vow. People make a vow in which they promise to carry out a certain kind of behavior such as going on a pilgrimage or building a temple if the gods will grant a particular wish. Other forms of prayer may exist in the form of lie, command, insult or ridicule as found among the North West Coast Indians.

Making offerings and sacrifices to supernatural beings is also a widespread belief and a widespread religious practice. The offerings may consist of the first fruits of harvest such as grain, fish or game. There may be food in the form of meal to the gods. In some societies animals or humans may be sacrificed as offerings to the gods. The Nuer and Poloti of Africa sacrifice sheep, goats and cattle. Several tribes in Central India sacrifice pigs to their gods and goddesses. The Aztecs of Mexico, the Maya of Yucatan, the Khonds of Ganjam hills in Orissa and many tribes in Chota Nagpur had the practice of sacrificing human beings to their gods and goddesses.

Manipulation of objects include presentation of specific materials in definite proportions to the gods, drawing of specific designs, fuming, burning of incense, making of images and others.

Telling or acting out of Myths is also one of the ritual practices. Myths are sacred narratives which tell how the world came to be created through the agency of semi divine heroes. They are powerful media to communicate the religious ideas. They are not mere explanatory stories of the cosmos but rather have a sacred power in them which is evoked by telling the myths or acting them out ritually. They are recited now and then. They are also acted out in dance, drama and physical movements. In Hinduism for example, one of the most popular representations of communication with God is the love between the divine Krishna in the form of a cowherd and the Gopis in the form of milkmaids, who are devoted to him. In the dramatic enactment of the stories of Krishna, and in the singing of songs to him, the Hindu religion offers a path to communication with God that can be understood by ordinary people.

Altering the physiological state of the individual includes trance, possession, vision hallucination and divination. Music, dance and drama are sometimes part of religious ritual practices.

Nature of Ritual

There are many approaches to understand the nature of Ritual. One of the earliest approach called the **Origin Approach** was an attempt to explain ritual, as well as religion, by means of a theory concerned with historical origin. For W. Robertson Smith, a British biblical scholar who first published his theory in 1875, sacrifice was motivated by the desire for communion between members of a primitive group and their god. The origin of ritual, therefore, was believed to be found in totemic cults; and totemism, for many authors, was thus believed to be the earliest stage of religion and ritual. The various stages of ritual development and evolution, however, were never agreed upon. Given this origin hypothesis, rituals of purification, gift giving, and worship were viewed as developments, or secondary stages, of the original sacrificial ritual..

The influence of Robertson Smith's theory on the origin of ritual can be seen in the works of the British anthropologist Sir James Frazer, the French sociologist Émile Durkheim, and Sigmund Freud, the father of psychoanalysis. Although they were not in complete agreement with Smith, sacrifice and totemism remained primary concerns in their search for the origin of religion. For Frazer, the search led to magic, a stage preceding religion. Both Smith and Frazer led Durkheim to seek the origin of ritual and religion in totemism as exemplified in Australia. Durkheim believed that in totemism scholars would find the original form of ritual and the division of experience into the sacred and the profane. Ritual behavior, they held, entails an attitude that is concerned with the sacred; and sacred acts and things, therefore, are nothing more than symbolic representations of society. In his last major work, Moses and Monotheism, Freud also remained convinced that the origin of religion and ritual is to be found in sacrifice.

The second approach to explaining ritual behavior – **Functional Approach** is certainly indebted to the work of such men as Smith, Freud, and Durkheim. Yet very few, if any, of the leading contemporary scholars working on the problems of religion, ritual, and myth begin with a quest for origins. The origin-evolutionary hypothesis of ritual behavior has been rejected as quite inadequate for explaining human behavior because no one can verify any of these bold ideas; they remain creative speculations that cannot be confirmed or denied.

Turning from origin hypotheses, scholars next emphasized empirical data gathered by actual observation. Contemporary literature is rich in descriptions of rituals observed throughout the world. If the term *origin* can be used as central to the first approach, the term *function* can be used as indicative of the primary focus of the second approach. The nature of ritual, in other words, is to be defined in terms of its function in a society.

The aim of functionalism is to explain ritual behavior in terms of individual needs and social equilibrium. Ritual is thus viewed as an adaptive and adjustive response to the social and physical environment. Many leading authorities on religion and ritual have taken this approach as the most adequate way to explain rituals. Bronisław Malinowski, A.R. Radcliffe-Brown, E.E. Evans-Pritchard, Clyde Kluckhohn, Talcott Parsons, and Edmund Leach, all English or American anthropologists, adopted a functional approach to explain ritual, religion, and myth.

Types of Rituals

Imitative Rituals: All rituals are dependent upon some belief system for their complete meaning. A great many rituals are patterned after myths. Such rituals can be typed as imitative rituals in that the ritual repeats the myth or an aspect of the myth. Some of the best examples of this type of ritual include rituals of the New Year, which very often repeat the story of creation. In a passage from an Indian Brāhmaṇa (a Hindu scripture) the answer to the question of why the ritual is performed is that the gods did it this way "in the beginning." Rituals of this imitative type can be seen as a repetition of the creative act of the gods, a return to the beginning.

Positive and Negative Rituals: Rituals may also be classified as positive or negative. Most positive rituals are concerned with consecrating or renewing an object or an individual, and negative rituals are always in relation to positive ritual behavior. Avoidance is a term that better describes the negative ritual:

the Polynesian word tabu (English taboo) also has become popular as a descriptive term for this kind of ritual. The word taboo has been applied to those rituals that concern something to be avoided or forbidden. Thus, negative rituals focus on rules of prohibition, which cover an almost infinite variety of rites and behavior. The one characteristic they all share, however, is that breaking the ritual rule results in a dramatic change in ritual man, usually bringing him some misfortune.

Sacrificial Rituals: Another type of ritual is classified as sacrificial. Its importance can be seen in the assessment of sacrificial ritual as the earliest or elementary form of religion. The significance of sacrifice in the history of religions is well documented. One of the best descriptions of the nature and structure of sacrifice is to be found in Essai sur la nature et le fonction du sacrifice, by the French sociologists Henri Hubert and Marcel Mauss, who differentiated between sacrifice and rituals of oblation, offering, and consecration. This does not mean that sacrificial rituals do not at times have elements of consecration, offering, or oblation but these are not the distinctive characteristics of sacrificial ritual. Its distinctive feature is to be found in the destruction, either partly or totally, of the victim. The victim need not be human or animal; vegetables, cakes, milk, and the like are also "victims" in this type of ritual. The total or partial destruction of the victim may take place through burning, dismembering or cutting into pieces, eating, or burying.

Life Crisis Rituals: Any typology of rituals would not be complete without including a number of very important rites that can be found in practically all religious traditions and mark the passage from one domain, stage of life, or vocation into another. Such rituals have often been classified as rites of passage, and the French anthropologist Arnold van Gennep's study of these rituals remains the classic book on the subject. The basic characteristic of the life-crisis ritual is the transition from one mode of life to another. Rites of passage have often been described as rituals that mark a crisis in individual or communal life. These rituals often define the life of an individual. They include rituals of birth, puberty (entrance into the full social life of a community), marriage, conception, and death. Many of these rituals mark a separation from an old situation or mode of life, a transition rite celebrating the new situation, and a ritual of incorporation. Rituals of passage do not always manifest these three divisions; many such rites stress only one or two of these characteristics.

Rituals of initiation into a secret society or a religious vocation (viz., priesthood, ascetic life, medicine man) are often included among rites of passage as characteristic rituals of transition. The great New Year's rituals known throughout the world also represent the characteristic passage from old to new on a larger scale that includes the whole society or community. One of the dominant motifs of the life-crisis ritual is the emphasis on separation, as either a death or a return to infancy or the womb. In India, a striking example is the Hindu rite of being "twice born." The young boy who receives the sacred thread in the upanayana ritual, a ceremony of initiation, goes through an elaborate ritual that is viewed as a second birth.

Relation Between Myth and Ritual

In traditional societies, myth and ritual are two central components of religious practice. Although myth and ritual are commonly united as parts of religion, the exact relationship between them has been a matter of controversy among scholars. One of the approaches to this problem is "the myth and ritual, or myth-ritualist, theory", which holds that "myth does not stand by itself but is tied to ritual" This theory has never been demonstrated; many scholars now believe that myth and ritual share common paradigms, but not that one developed from the other.

The "myth and ritual school" is the name given to a series of authors who have focused their philological studies on the "ritual purposes of myths". Some of these scholars (e.g., W. Robertson-Smith, James Frazer, Jane Ellen Harrison, S. H. Hooke) supported the "primacy of ritual" hypothesis, which claimed "every myth is derived from a particular ritual and that the meaningfulness of myth is a reproduction of the succession of ritual act".

Historically, the important approaches to the study of mythological thinking have been those of Vico, Schelling, Schiller, Jung, Freud, Lávy-Bruhl, Levi-Strauss, Frye, the Soviet school, and the Myth and Ritual School.

In the 1930s, Soviet researchers such as Jakov E. Golosovker, Frank-Kamenecky, Olga Freidenberg, Mikhail Bakhtin, "grounded the study of myth and ritual in folklore and in the world view of popular culture."

Following the World War II, the semantic study of myth and ritual, particularly by Bill Stanner and Victor Turner, has supported a connection between myth and ritual. However, it has not supported the notion that one preceded and produced the other, as supporters of the "primacy of ritual" hypothesis would claim. According to the currently dominant scholarly view, the link between myth and ritual is that they share common paradigms.

Ritual from myth

One possibility immediately presents itself: perhaps ritual arose from myth. Many religious rituals--notably Passover among Jews, Christmas and Easter among Christians, and the Hajj among Muslims--commemorate, or involve commemoration of, events in religious literature.

Leaving the sphere of historical religions, the ritual-from-myth approach often sees the relationship between myth and ritual as analogous to the relationship between science and technology. The pioneering anthropologist **Edward Burnett Tylor** is the classic exponent of this view. He saw myth as an attempt to explain the world: for him, myth was a sort of proto-science. Ritual is secondary: just as technology is an application of science, so ritual is an application of myth--an attempt to produce certain effects, given the supposed nature of the world: For Tylor, myth functions to explain the world as an end in itself. Ritual applies that explanation to control the world. A ritual always presupposes a preexisting myth: in short, myth gives rise to ritual.

Myth from Ritual

Against the intuitive idea that ritual reenacts myth or applies mythical theories, many 19th century anthropologists supported the opposite position: that myth and religious doctrine result from ritual. This is known as the "primacy of ritual" hypothesis.

This view was asserted for the first time by the bible scholar **William Robertson Smith.** In his Lectures on the Religion of the Semites (1889), Smith draws a distinction between ancient and modern religion: in modern religion, doctrine is central; in ancient religion, ritual is central. Smith argues, ancients tended to be conservative with regard to rituals, making sure to pass them down faithfully. In contrast, the myths that justified those rituals could change. In fact, according to Smith, many of the myths that have come down to us arose "after the original, nonmythic reason [...] for the ritual had somehow been forgotten".

As an example, Smith gives the worship of Adonis. Worshipers mourned Adonis's mythical death in a ritual that coincided with the annual withering of the vegetation. According to Smith, the ritual mourning originally had a nonmythical explanation: with the annual withering of plants, "the worshippers lament out of natural sympathy [...] just as modern man is touched with melancholy at the falling of autumn leaves." Once worshipers forgot the original, nonmythical reason for the mourning ritual, they created "the myth of Adonis as the dying and rising god of vegetation [...] to account for the ritual".

The famous anthropologist **Sir James George Frazer** claimed that myth emerges out of ritual during the natural process of religious evolution. Many of his ideas were inspired by those of Robertson Smith. In The Golden Bough (1890; 1906-1915), Frazer famously argues that man progresses from belief in magic (and rituals based on magic), through belief in religion, to science.

According to Frazer, "myth changes while custom remains constant; men continue to do what their fathers did before them, though the reasons on which their fathers acted have been long forgotten. The history of religion is a long attempt to reconcile old custom with new reason, to find a sound theory for an absurd practice."

The classicist **Jane Ellen Harrison** and the biblical scholar **S. H. Hooke** regarded myth as intimately connected to ritual. However, "against Smith", they "vigorously deny" that myth's main purpose is to justify a ritual by giving an account of how it first arose (e.g., justifying the Adonis worshipers' ritual mourning by attributing it to Adonis's mythical death)[14]. Instead, these scholars think a myth is largely just a narrative description of a corresponding ritual: according to Harrison, "the primary meaning of myth ... is the spoken correlative of the acted rite, the thing done".

Harrison and Hooke given an explanation for why ancients would feel the need to describe the ritual in a narrative form. They suggest that the spoken word, like the acted ritual, was considered to have magical potency: "The spoken word had the efficacy of an act."

Myths and Rituals as Non-coextensive

Not all students of mythology think ritual emerged from myth or myth emerged from ritual: some allow myths and rituals a greater degree of freedom from one another. Although myths and rituals often appear together, these scholars do not think every myth has or had a corresponding ritual, or vice versa.

The classicist **Walter Burkert** believes myths and rituals were originally independent. When myths and rituals do come together, he argues, they do so to reinforce each other. A myth that tells how the gods established a ritual reinforces that ritual by giving it divine status: "Do this because the gods did or do it." A ritual based on a mythical event makes the story of that event more than a mere myth: the myth becomes more important because it narrates an event whose imitation is considered sacred.

Like William Smith, the anthropologist **Bronislaw Malinowski** argued in his essay Myth in Primitive Psychology (1926) that myths function as fictitious accounts of the origin of rituals, thereby providing a justification for those rituals: myth "gives rituals a hoary past and thereby sanctions them." However, Malinowski also points out that many cultural practices besides ritual have related myths: for Malinowski, "myth and ritual are therefore not coextensive". In other words, not all myths are outgrowths of ritual, and not all rituals are outgrowths of myth.

Ritual behavior is obviously a means of nonverbal communication and meaning. This aspect of ritual is often overlooked in the stress on the relation of ritual to myth. Thus, the meaning of ritual is often looked for in the verbal, spoken, or belief system that is taken as its semantic correlate. The spoken elements in a ritual setting do often reveal the meaning of a ritual by reference to a belief system or mythology, but not always. Such a connection has led to an overemphasis on the importance of the belief system or myth over ritual. To assert that myths disclose more than ritual ever can is an oversimplification of the complex correlation of these two important aspects of religion. A partial explanation of this emphasis is undoubtedly the fact that a vast amount of data, both primary and secondary, is literary in form. Theories about ritual are either deduced from the primary literature of a religious tradition or are translated into written language as a result of observation.

FORMS OF RELIGION IN TRIBAL AND PEASANT SOCIETIES

ANIMISM

Animism (from Latin anima, "breath" or "soul"), belief in spiritual beings. As a philosophical theory, animism, usually called panpsychism, is the doctrine that all objects in the world have an inner or psychological being. The 18th-century German physician and chemist Georg Ernst Stahl coined the word animism to describe his theory that the soul is the vital principle responsible for organic development. Since the late 19th century, however, the term has been mainly associated with anthropology and the British anthropologist Sir Edward Burnett Tylor, who described the origin of religion and primitive beliefs in terms of animism.

In Primitive Culture (1871) Tylor defined animism as the general belief in spiritual beings and considered it "a minimum definition of religion." He asserted that all religions, from the simplest to the most complex, involve some form of animism. According to Tylor, primitive peoples, defined as those without written traditions, believe that spirits or souls are the cause of life in human beings; they picture souls as phantoms, resembling vapors or shadows, which can transmigrate from person to person, from the dead to the living, and from and into plants, animals, and lifeless objects. In deriving his theory, Tylor assumed that an animistic philosophy developed in an attempt to explain the causes of sleep, dreams, trances, and death; the difference between a living body and a dead one; and the nature of the images that one sees in dreams and trances.

ANIMATISM

Animatism is a term coined by British anthropologist Robert Marett to refer to "a belief in a generalized, impersonal power over which people have some measure of control". Marett argues that certain cultures believe "people, animals, plants, and inanimate objects were endowed with certain powers, which were both impersonal and supernatural"

Mana, Marett states, is a concentrated form of animatistic force found within any of these objects that confer power, strength, and success. To various cultures, animatism and mana are visible through the successes and failures of these various objects. Success equals a high amount of animatism, or mana, whereas failure is the result of animatism, or mana, being lost.

Tylor's theories were criticized by Marett, who claimed that primitives could not have been so intellectual and that religion must have had a more emotional, intuitional origin in animism. He rejected Tylor's theory that all objects were regarded as being alive. Marett thought that primitive peoples must have recognized some lifeless objects and probably regarded only those objects that had unusual qualities or behaved in some seemingly unpredictable or mysterious way as being alive. He held, moreover, that the ancient concept of aliveness was not sophisticated enough to include the notion of a soul or spirit residing in the object. Primitive peoples treated the objects they considered animate as if these things had life, feeling, and a will of their own, but did not make a distinction between the body of an object and a soul that could enter or leave it. Marett called this view "animatism" or "preanimism," and he claimed that animism had to arise out of animatism, which may even continue to exist alongside more highly developed animistic beliefs.

ANCESTOR WORSHIP

Ancestor Worship, reverence granted to deceased relatives who are believed to have become powerful spiritual beings or, less frequently, to have attained the status of gods. It is based on the belief that ancestors are active members of society and are still interested in the affairs of their living relatives.

The cult of ancestors is common, although not universal. It has been extensively documented in West African societies (the Bantu and the Shona), in Polynesia and Melanesia (the Dobu and the Manus), among several Indo-European peoples (the ancient Scandinavians, Romans, and Germans), and especially in China and Japan. In general, ancestors are believed to wield great authority, having special powers to influence the course of events or to control the well-being of their living relatives. Protection of the family is one of their main concerns. They are considered intermediaries between the supreme god, or the gods, and the people, and can communicate with the living through dreams and by possession. The attitude toward them is one of mixed fear and reverence. If neglected, the ancestors may cause disease and other misfortunes. Propitiation, supplication, prayer, and sacrifice are various ways in which the living can communicate with their ancestors.

Ancestor worship is a strong indication of the value placed on the household and of the strong ties that exist between the past and the present. The beliefs and practices connected with the cult help to integrate the family, to sanction the traditional political structure, and to encourage respect for living elders. Some scholars have also interpreted it as a source of individual well being and of social harmony and stability.

Because family groups practice it, ancestor worship excludes proselytizing and rarely involves a separate priesthood. It has no formal doctrines and is ordinarily an aspect of some larger religious system.

FETISHISM

A fetish (from the French fétiche; which comes from the Portuguese feitiço; and this in turn from Latin facticius, "artificial" and facere, "to make") is an object believed to have supernatural powers, or in particular, a man-made object that has power over others. Essentially, fetishism is the attribution of inherent value or powers to an object.

Initially, this concept was used by the Portuguese to refer to the objects used in religious cults by the Occidental African natives. The concept was made known in Europe by Fanel Brosses in 1757, while comparing West African religion to the magical aspects of Ancient Egyptian religion. Later, Auguste Comte used the concept to apply an evolution theory to religion. In Comte's theory of the evolution of religion, he proposed that fetishism is the earliest (most primitive) stage, followed by the stages of polytheism and monotheism. In the end, some artifacts certain monotheist religions (Holy Cross, Consecrated Hosts, etc) use for their rites are other incarnations of fetishism. However, monotheist practitioners deny this vision.

In the 19th-20th century, Tylor and McLennan held that the concept of fetishism allowed historians of religion to shift attention from the relationship between people and God to the relationship between people and material objects.

Theoretically, fetishism is present in all religions, but its use in the study of religion is derived from studies of traditional West African religious beliefs, as well as Voodoo, which is derived from those beliefs. Blood is often considered a particularly powerful fetish or ingredient in fetishes. In addition to blood, other objects and substances, such as bones, fur, claws, feathers, water from certain places, certain types of plants and wood are common fetishes in the traditions of cultures worldwide.

NATURISM

Naturism is the term proposed by Réville to designate the worship of nature. The core and essence of nature-worship is that nature is animated throughout. Tylor considers nature-worship as the connecting bond between Fetishism and Polytheism. This theory is sometimes called personification of natural forces, but only in the sense that nature is conceived as living, as vital with creative and preservative powers. Personification, in the strict sense of investing material things with the attributes of a person is far above the power of early man and appears only in later forms of developed belief.

Primitive man faces the world about him in childlike wonder. The succession of the seasons, of night and day, of storm and cloud, the growth of living things, exhibit nature in constant and varied changes. He views natural phenomena as the effects of causes beyond his comprehension and control. Conscious of his own agency, though unable yet to distinguish soul from the parts of the body, he attributes agency like his own to the objects which surround him. Awe and delight possess him. Having no idea at all of God, writes Keary, he makes the things themselves gods by worshipping them.

Thus Naturism teaches that man originally was destitute of religion, and that ignorant awe in face of natural forces was the cause of his earliest faith.

TOTEMISM

Totemism is a system of belief in which humans are said to have kinship or a mystical relationship with a spirit-being, such as an animal or plant. The entity, or totem, is thought to interact with a given kin group or an individual and to serve as their emblem or symbol.

The term totemism has been used to characterize a cluster of traits in the religion and in the social organization of many peoples. Totemism is manifested in various forms and types in different contexts

and is most often found among populations whose traditional economies relied on hunting and gathering, mixed farming with hunting and gathering, or emphasized the raising of cattle.

The term totem is derived from the Ojibwa word ototeman, meaning "one's brother-sister kin." The grammatical root, ote, signifies a blood relationship between brothers and sisters who have the same mother and who may not marry each other. In English, the word totem was introduced in 1791 by a British merchant and translator who gave it a false meaning in the belief that it designated the guardian spirit of an individual, who appeared in the form of an animal—an idea that the Ojibwa clans did indeed portray by their wearing of animal skins. It was reported at the end of the 18th century that the Ojibwa named their clans after those animals that live in the area in which they live and appear to be either friendly or fearful. The first accurate report about totemism in North America was written by a Methodist missionary, Peter Jones, himself an Ojibwa, who died in 1856 and whose report was published posthumously. According to Jones, the Great Spirit had given toodaims ("totems") to the Ojibwa clans, and because of this act, it should never be forgotten that members of the group are related to one another and on this account may not marry among themselves.

The nature of totemism

Totemism is a complex of varied ideas and ways of behavior based on a worldview drawn from nature. There are ideological, mystical, emotional, reverential, and genealogical relationships of social groups or specific persons with animals or natural objects, the so-called totems.

It is necessary to differentiate between group and individual totemism. These forms share some basic characteristics, but they occur with different emphases and in different specific forms. For instance, people generally view the totem as a companion, relative, protector, progenitor, or helper, ascribe to it superhuman powers and abilities, and offer it some combination of respect, veneration, awe, and fear. Most cultures use special names and emblems to refer to the totem, and those it sponsors engage in partial identification with the totem or symbolic assimilation to it. There is usually a prohibition or taboo against killing, eating, or touching the totem.

Although totems are often the focus of ritual behavior, it is generally agreed that totemism is not a religion. Totemism can certainly include religious elements in varying degrees, just as it can appear conjoined with magic. Totemism is frequently mixed with different kinds of other beliefs, such as ancestor worship, ideas of the soul, or animism. Such mixtures have historically made the understanding of particular totemistic forms difficult.

Group totemism

Social or collective totemism is the most widely disseminated form of this belief system. It typically includes one or more of several features, such as the mystic association of animal and plant species, natural phenomena, or created objects with unilineally related groups (lineages, clans, tribes, moieties, phratries) or with local groups and families; the hereditary transmission of the totems (patrilineal or matrilineal); group and personal names that are based either directly or indirectly on the totem; the use of totemistic emblems and symbols; taboos and prohibitions that may apply to the species itself or can be limited to parts of animals and plants (partial taboos instead of partial totems); and a connection with a large number of animals and natural objects (multiplex totems) within which a distinction can be made between principal totems and subsidiary ones (linked totems).

Group totems are generally associated or coordinated on the basis of analogies or on the basis of myth or ritual. Just why particular animals or natural things—which sometimes possess no economic worth for the communities concerned—were originally selected as totems is often based on eventful and decisive moments in a people's past. Folk traditions regarding the nature of totems and the origin of the societies in question are informative, especially with regard to the group's cultural presuppositions. For example, a group that holds that it is derived directly or indirectly from a given totem may have a tradition in which its progenitor was an animal or plant that could also appear as a human being. In such belief systems, there are traditions that the human progenitor of a kin group had certain favourable or unfavourable experiences with an animal or natural object and then ordered that his descendants respect the whole species of that animal.

Group totemism was traditionally common among peoples in Africa, India, Oceania (especially in Melanesia), North America, and parts of South America. These peoples include, among others, the Australian Aborigines, the African Pygmies, and various Native American peoples—most notably the Northwest Coast Indians (predominantly fishermen), California Indians, and Northeast Indians. Moreover, group totemism is represented in a distinctive form among the Ugrians and west Siberians (hunters and fishermen who also breed reindeer) as well as among tribes of herdsmen in north and Central Asia.

Individual totemism

Individual totemism is expressed in an intimate relationship of friendship and protection between a person and a particular animal or a natural object (sometimes between a person and a species of animal); the natural object can grant special power to its owner. Frequently connected with individual totemism are definite ideas about the human soul (or souls) and conceptions derived from them, such as the idea of an alter ego and nagualism—from the Spanish form of the Aztec word naualli, "something hidden or veiled"—which means that a kind of simultaneous existence is assumed between an animal or a natural object and a person; i.e., a mutual, close bond of life and fate exists in such a way that in case of the injury, sickness, or death of one partner, the same fate would befall the other member of the relationship. Consequently, such totems became most strongly tabooed; above all, they were connected with family or group leaders, chiefs, medicine men, shamans, and other socially significant persons.

Studies of shamanism indicate that individual totemism may have predated group totemism, as a group's protective spirits were sometimes derived from the totems of specific individuals. To some extent, there also exists a tendency to pass on an individual totem as hereditary or to make taboo the entire species of animal to which the individual totem belongs.

Individual totemism is widely disseminated. It is found not only among tribes of hunters and harvesters but also among farmers and herdsmen. Individual totemism is especially emphasized among the Australian Aborigines and the American Indians.

Examples of Totemism

Wiradjuri: Among the Wiradjuri, an Aboriginal people who traditionally lived in New South Wales (Australia), totem clans are divided among two subgroups and corresponding matrilineal moieties. The group totem, named "flesh," is transmitted from the mother. In contrast to this, individual totems belong only to the medicine men and are passed on patrilineally. Such an individual totem is named bala, "spirit companion," or jarawaijewa, "the meat (totem) that is within him." There is a strict prohibition against eating the totem. Breach of the taboo carries with it sickness or death. It is said: "To eat your jarawaijewa is the same as if you were to eat your very own flesh or that of your father." The medicine man identifies himself with his personal totem. Every offense or injury against the totem has its automatic effect upon the man who commits it. It is a duty of the totem to guard the ritualist and the medicine man while he is asleep. In the case of danger or the arrival of strangers, the animal goes back into the body of the medicine man and informs him. After the death of the medicine man, the animal stands watch as a bright flickering light near the grave. The individual totem is also a helper of the medicine man. The medicine man emits the totem in his sleep or in a trance so that it can collect information for him. In this tradition, sorcery may also be practiced by the medicine man. By singing, for instance, the medicine man can send out his totem to kill an enemy; the totem enters the chest of the enemy and devours his viscera. The transmission of the individual totem to novices is done through the father or the grandfather, who, of course, himself is also a medicine man. While the candidate lies on his back, the totem is "sung into" him. The blood relative who is transmitting the totem takes a small animal and places it on the chest of the youngster. During the singing, the animal supposedly sinks slowly into his body and finally disappears

further instructed in song and the ritual concentration that is necessary to dispatch the totem from his body.

Nor-Papua: Among the Nor-Papua of New Guinea, patrilineal, exogamous groups (consanguineous sibs) are spread over several villages and are associated with animals, especially fish. They believe that they are born from totems, and they make them taboo. Children are given an opportunity to decide during their initiation whether they will respect the paternal or maternal totem. Each group of relatives has a holy place to which the totem animal brings the souls of the dead and from which the souls of children are also believed to come. Totem animals are represented in various manifestations: as spirit creatures in sacred flutes, in disguises, and in figures preserved in each man's house. At the end of initiation ceremonies, the totems are mimicked by the members of the group.

Iban: Among the Iban of Sarawak (Malaysia), individual totemism has been the tradition. Particular persons dream of a spirit of an ancestor or a dead relative; this spirit appears in a human form, presents himself as a helper and protector, and names an animal (or sometimes an object) in which he is manifested. The Iban then observe the mannerisms of animals and recognize in the behaviour of the animals the embodiment of their protector spirit (ngarong). Sometimes, members of the tribe also carry with them a part of such an animal. Not only this particular animal, but the whole species, is given due respect. Meals and blood offerings are also presented to the spirit animal. Young men who wish to obtain such a protector spirit for themselves sleep on the graves of prominent persons or seek out solitude and fast so that they may dream of a helper spirit. Actually, only a few persons can name such animals as their very own. Individuals with protector spirits have also attempted to require from their descendants the respect and the taboo given the animal representing the spirit. As a rule, such descendants do not expect special help from the protector spirit, but they observe the totemistic regulations anyway.

Birhor: The Birhor, a people that were traditionally residents of the jungle of Chotanagpur Plateau in the northeast Deccan (India), are organized into patrilineal, exogamous totem groups. According to one imperfect list of 37 clans, 12 are based on animals, 10 on plants, 8 on Hindu castes and localities, and the rest on objects. The totems are passed on within the group, and tales about the tribe's origins suggest that each totem had a fortuitous connection with the birth of the ancestor of the clan. The Birhor think that there is a temperamental or physical similarity between the members of the clan and their totems. Prohibitions or taboos are sometimes cultivated to an extreme degree. In regard to eating, killing, or destroying them, the clan totems are regarded as if they were human members of the group. Moreover, it is believed that an offense against the totems through a breach of taboo will produce a corresponding decrease in the size of the clan. If a person comes upon a dead totem animal, he must smear his forehead with oil or a red dye, but he must not actually mourn over the animal; he also does not bury it. The close and vital relationship between the totem and the clan is shown in a definite ceremony: the yearly offering to the chief spirit of the ancestral hill. Each Birhor community has a tradition of an old settlement that is thought to be located on a hill in the area. Once a year, the men of each clan come together at an open place. The elder of the clan functions as the priest who gives the offering. A diagram with four sections is drawn on the ground with rice flour. In one of these, the elder sits while gazing in the direction of the ancestral hill. The emblem of the particular totem is placed in one of the other sections of the diagram; depending on the circumstances, this emblem could be a flower, a piece of horn or skin, a wing, or a twig. This emblem represents the clan as a whole. If an animal is needed for such a ceremony, it is provided by the members of another clan who do not hold it as a totem. The Birhor show great fear of the spirits of the ancestral hill and avoid these places as far as possible.

Kpelle: Among the Kpelle people of Liberia there is not only group totemism but also individual totemism. Both kinds of totems are referred to variously as "thing of possession," "thing of birth," or "thing of the back of men." These phrases express the idea that the totem always accompanies, belongs to, and stands behind one as a guide and warning of dangers. The totem also punishes the breach of any taboo. Kpelle totems include animals, plants, and natural phenomena. The kin groups that live in several villages were matrilineal at an earlier time, but during the 20th century they began to exhibit patrilineal tendencies. The group totems, especially the animal totems, are considered as the residence of the totems that, in addition to being taboo, are also given offerings. Personal totems that are animals can be transmitted from father to son or from mother to daughter; on the other hand, individual plant totems are assigned at birth or later. The totem also communicates magical powers. It is even believed possible to alter one's own totem animal; further, it is considered an alter ego. Persons with the same individual totem prefer to be united in communities. The well-known leopard confederation, a secret association, seems to have grown out of such desires. Entirely different groups produce patrilineal taboo communities that are supposedly related by blood; they comprise persons of several tribes. The animals, plants, and actions made taboo by these groups are not considered as totems. In a certain respect, the individual totems in this community seem to be the basis of group totemism.

Theories of Totemism

There are a number of theories or hypotheses concerning totemism. Many of them are marked by methodological deficiencies, preconceived ideas, and a prejudiced selection of source documents; nevertheless, some of these theories contain points of view that deserve consideration.

The first theory was proposed by the Scottish ethnologist John Ferguson McLennan. Following the vogue of 19th-century research, he wanted to comprehend totemism in a broad perspective, and in his study The Worship of Animals and Plants (1869, 1870) he did not seek to explain the specific origin of the totemistic phenomenon but sought to indicate that all of the human race had in ancient times gone through a totemistic stage.

In 1899 McLennan's theories were criticized by Sir Edward Burnett Tylor, an English anthropologist who rejected the confusion of totemism with mere worship of animals and plants. Tylor claimed to find in totemism the tendency of the human spirit to classify the world and its things. He thus viewed totemism as a relationship between one type of animal and a clan. But he was opposed to the idea of seeing totems as the basis of religion.

Another Scottish scholar, Andrew Lang, early in the 20th century advocated a nominalistic meaning for totemism, namely that local groups, clans, or phratries, in selecting totem names from the realm of nature, were reacting to a need to be differentiated. If the origin of the names was forgotten, there followed a mystical relationship between the objects—from which the names were once derived—and the groups that bore these names. Lang wanted to explain the relationship through nature myths according to which animals and natural objects were considered as the relatives, patrons, or ancestors of the respective social units. He felt that thoughts by the tribes on these matters led eventually to taboos, and that group exogamy (out-marriage) first originated in the formation of totemistic associations.

The first comprehensive work on totemism was Totemism and Exogamy, published in 1910 in four volumes by the British anthropologist Sir James George Frazer. It presented a meritorious compilation of the worldwide data then available on the subject.

Basing his view on research done among indigenous peoples in Australia and Melanesia, Frazer saw the origin of totemism as an interpretation of the conception and birth of children, a belief he called "conceptionalism." According to Frazer, conceptualist cultures explain that women become impregnated when a spirit of an animal or a spiritual fruit enters into their wombs. As children therefore participate in the nature of the animal or plant, these plants or animals take on significance. Frazer thought that conceptualist explanations of conception resulted in the beginning of totem clans derived from a particular natural creature.

A Russian American ethnologist, Alexander Goldenweiser, subjected totemistic phenomena to sharp criticism. His critique had lasting importance, especially in the United States, where it engendered a skeptical attitude concerning totemism. Goldenweiser saw in totemism three phenomena that could exist singly and actually coincided only in the rarest of cases. These phenomena were: (1) clan organization, (2) clans taking animal or plant names or having "emblems" obtained from nature, and (3) belief in a relationship between groups and their totems. Goldenweiser did not perceive these phenomena as a

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In another treatise published in 1910, a German ethnologist, Richard Thurnwald, claimed to recognize in totemism the expression of a specific way of thinking among nonindustrial societies. He felt that such groups judge the natural environment according to its external appearance without analyzing it any closer and assume that there are sympathetic connections and combinations of natural things; from these ideas come lasting rules of behaviour such as taboos, respect, and social relationships. For the psychology of totemism, Thurnwald later (1917–18) put forth a detailed, systematic presentation; by means of concrete examples, he also raised questions about the connections of totemism with ancestor worship, notions of souls, and beliefs in power, magic, offerings, and oracles.

The founder of a French school of sociology, Émile Durkheim, examined totemism from a sociological and theological point of view. Durkheim hoped to discover a pure religion in very ancient forms and generally claimed to see the origin of religion in totemism. For Durkheim, the sphere of the sacred is a reflection of the emotions that underlie social activities, and the totem was, in this view, a reflection of the group (or clan) consciousness, based on the conception of an impersonal power. The totemistic principle was then the clan itself, and it was permeated with sanctity. Durkheim held that such a religion reflects the collective consciousness that is manifested through the identification of the individuals of the group with an animal or plant species; it is expressed outwardly in taboos, symbols, and rituals that are based on this identification.

In further contributions, Goldenweiser in 1915–16 and 1918 criticized Lang, Frazer, and Durkheim and insisted that totemism had nothing to do with religion; he held instead that man in no way viewed his totem as superior to himself or as a deified being but viewed it as his friend and equal. Goldenweiser also rejected Frazer's thesis of conceptionalism as an explanation of totemism. On the other hand, Goldenweiser was of the opinion that all totemistic manifestations do have at least something of a kind of religion, but he was not inclined to include the guardian spirit conception within totemism.

In 1916 an American ethnologist, Franz Boas, suggested that totemism exhibited no single psychological or historical origin; since totemistic features can be connected with individuals and all possible social organizations, and they appear in different cultural contexts, it would be impossible to fit totemistic phenomena into a single category. Boas was against systematizing and thought it senseless to ask questions about the origins of totemism.

The first theoretician of the Vienna school of ethnology, Fritz Graebner, attempted to explain the forms of both individual totemism and group totemism and designated them as a moderately creedal or semireligious complex of ideas according to which individual members or subgroups of a society are thought to be in an especially close (but not cultic) relationship to natural objects. According to Graebner, one can use the cultural-historical method to establish the extent to which totemistic forms belong to one definite cultural complex; which forms of totemism are "older" or "younger"; and the extent to which forms belong together in an antecedent-decedent relationship. Graebner tried to work out a "totem complex" (a "culture circle"; see kulturkries) for the South Seas. This complex entailed a patrilineal group totemism as well as the material, economic, and religious elements that, in his opinion, appear to be combined with the totemism in that area.

Another member of the same school, Bernhard Ankermann, in 1915–16 championed the view that all totemisms, regardless of where they are found, contained a common kernel around which new characteristics are built. As seen from the standpoint of what was found in Africa, this kernel appeared to him to be the belief in a specific relationship between social groups and natural things—in a feeling of unity between both—a relationship he believed to be spread throughout the world, even if only in a modified or diminished form. From Ankermann's perspective, magical and animalistic ideas and rites are merged with totemism in a strong inseparable unity.

The genesis of this type of relationship presupposes a state of mind that makes no distinction between man and beast. Although magic can be closely connected with totemism, the feeling of unity between man and beast has nothing to do with magic, which was connected with it only later. According to Ankermann, the totems are not something perilous, something to be shunned, but on the contrary are something friendly—a totem is thought to be like a brother and is to be treated as such. Further, the totemistic taboo occurs because the totem is a relative. Ankermann was inclined to see the formation of totemism in an emotional animal-man relationship: early hunters, he thought, might have imitated those animals that attracted their attention most of all. Ankermann further explained that "primitive man" identifies himself with the animal while he is imitating it, and that the habit of so doing could lead to a continuing identification expressed as totemism.

In 1915–16 Wilhelm Schmidt, then the leader of the Vienna School of Ethnology, viewed totemism strictly according to the then-popular schemes of culture circles or kulturkries (today long abandoned); because totemism was disseminated throughout the world, he thought of it as a single cultural complex in spite of local differences. He maintained that the differences in totemism explored by earlier theories are exaggerations and could, moreover, be due to the lack of particular elements of totemism, to the loss of certain forms of totemism, to incursions from the outside, or to different stages of the development of totemism, none of which would exclude a unified origin for all of totemism. Schmidt believed that the cultural-historical school of ethnology had produced proof that an older, genuine totemism had been an integral part of a culture located in a definite area and that it was "organically" connected with definite forms of technology, economy, art, and worldview. From this supposedly "pure" form of totemism, Schmidt wanted to separate derived forms, such as individual totemism. Moreover, though he did not designate totemism as a religion, he saw that it did have some sort of religious meaning. In opposition to Ankermann, Schmidt regarded a more recent, or "higher," form of hunting as the economic basis for the totemistic "culture circle."

The leading representative of British social anthropology, A.R. Radcliffe-Brown, took a totally different view of totemism. Like Boas, he was skeptical that totemism could be described in any unified way. In this he opposed the other pioneer of social anthropology in England, Bronisław Malinowski, who wanted to confirm the unity of totemism in some way and approached the matter more from a biological and psychological point of view than from an ethnological one. According to Malinowski, totemism was not a cultural phenomenon, but rather the result of trying to satisfy basic human needs within the natural world. As far as Radcliffe-Brown was concerned, totemism was composed of elements that were taken from different areas and institutions, and what they have in common is a general tendency to characterize segments of the community through a connection with a portion of nature. In opposition to Durkheim's theory of sacralization, Radcliffe-Brown took the point of view that nature is introduced into the social order rather than secondary to it. At first, he shared with Malinowski the opinion that an animal becomes totemistic when it is "good to eat." He later came to oppose the usefulness of this viewpoint, since many totems—such as crocodiles and flies—are dangerous and unpleasant.

In 1952, when Radcliffe-Brown rethought the problem, he found that the similarities and differences between species of animals are to a certain degree translated into ideas of friendship and conflict, or close relationships and opposition among people. The structural principle that Radcliffe-Brown believed he had discovered at the end of this study is based on the fusion of the two contrary ideas of friendship and animosity. In this view, totemism speaks in its own way of interrelationships and antitheses, ideas that are also found in moieties. Thinking in terms of opposing things is, according to Radcliffe-Brown, an essential structural principle for evaluating totemism.

Lévi-Strauss

The most incisive critique of totemistic phenomena, one that denied the "reality" of totemism, was supplied by the French ethnologist Claude Lévi-Strauss in Le Totémisme aujourd'hui (English translation, Totemism, 1963). As a chief representative of modern structuralism, Lévi-Strauss was especially stimulated by Radcliffe-Brown, whose views he attempted to further expand. Lévi-Strauss believed that he was to approach the apparent, acknowledged difficulties in the study of totemism from the viewpoint of a study of structure. In order to study the structure of totemism, Lévi-Strauss devised a scheme to illustrate the abstract polarities that he saw in totemism as a phenomenon in human culture.

His scheme was implemented in a table of oppositions or polarities, or mutual relationships. The basic opposition, or relationship, was between nature and culture. On the one hand, there were in nature certain realities such as species of animals or plants and specific animals or plants. On the other hand, there were in culture various groups and individuals who identified themselves with particular species or with specific animals or plants. Lévi-Strauss distinguished four kinds of relationship between nature and culture within totemism: (1) a species of animal or plant identified with a particular group, (2) a species of animal or plant identified with an individual, (3) a particular animal or plant identified with an individual, and (4) a particular animal or plant identified with a group.

According to Lévi-Strauss, each of these four combinations corresponds to the phenomena that are to be observed in one people or another. The first holds good, for example, for the Australians, for whom natural things are associated with cultural groups (moieties, sections, subsections, phratries, clans, or the association of persons from the same sex). As an example of the second combination, there is the individual totemism of North American Indians, in which a person is correlated with a species of nature. For the third type of combination, the Mota people of the Banks Islands of Melanesia are cited: the individual child is thought of as the incarnation of a particular animal, plant, or natural creature that was found and consumed by the mother at the time that she was conscious of her pregnancy. For the fourth type of correlation, Lévi-Strauss cited examples from Polynesia and Africa where definite individual animals formed the object of group patronage and veneration.

MAGIC

Sir James George Frazer, a leading British anthropologist in the beginning of the present century, is one of the first to define magic. According to him magic is the technique designed to achieve specific goals by manipulating the supernatural.

Frazer emphasizes that magic is a technique i.e., it is an aspect of technology. This technology involves certain skills and competence for manipulating or controlling the supernatural i.e., it includes certain actions that can compel the supernatural to act in some particular and intended way. Supernatural is that which is empirically unknowable and is believed to exist beyond the visible universe. It includes supernatural powers or forces. The specific goals may be the ensuring of good crops, the replenishment of game, the fertility of domestic animals, the bringing of rains, the avoidance and cure of illness in humans or the harming of crops, the creation of scarcity of game, the rendering of domestic animals infertile, the creation of famine and the creation of illness and death in humans i.e., magic is either meant for good or meant for evil purposes.

Brownislaw Kaspar Malinowski offered yet another definition of magic in the second quarter of the present century. According to him, magic consists of the superstitious acts and beliefs through which individuals try to control nature where their technology and natural techniques are insufficient.

Like Frazer, Malinowski also emphasizes that magic is an aspect of technology. Like Frazer, Malinowski also argues that controlling the supernatural forces but not supernatural beings alone comprises magic. Both Frazer and Malinowski argue that magic is primitive science because it comes into existence when the rational techniques are insufficient to control natural phenomena. While Frazer argues that magic came into existence earlier than religion. Malinowski said that magic came into existence when people tried to alleviate anxiety in the face of uncertainty.

Malinowski explains his definition with the help of the magical practices of Trobriand Islanders. According to him, the Trobriand Islanders have knowledge concerning their environment. They grow a variety of crops. They skillfully adjust their agricultural activities to the varying local situations. They build canoes and undertake long voyages for trade and fishing. Yam gardens made with the best of care may be blasted by one or another natural phenomenon such as a storm and a heavy rain. Sudden storms may drive a canoe far off course or even capsize it. In such situations the Trobriand Islanders know that their knowledge about nature is limited and that there are factors beyond their control. Neither their considerable knowledge of the crops can protect their crops from the dangers of unexpected storms and winds nor can their commendable navigation abilities save them from the dangers of unexpected winds and other natural calamities. Therefore in all such helpless situations the Trobriand Islanders take recourse to magical acts. Malinowski theorized that the function of these magical acts is to alleviate anxiety in the face of uncertainty. Hence, he says, magic refers to the acts and beliefs, through which human beings try to control nature when their technology and rational techniques are insufficient. Malinowski thus argues that the belief in supernatural forces other than supernatural beings and procedures for the manipulation of those forces and the result of applying such procedures is magic.

Since the days of Bronislaw Malinowski, the definition of magic has undergone several modifications. Some anthropologists define it as "beliefs and practices seeking to control events through compulsive formulae thought to be influencing the supernatural world" or "a ritual practice applying the belief that supernatural powers can be compelled to act in certain ways for good or evil purposes by recourse to certain specified formulae" or the "practice of specifically prescribed procedures for manipulating supernatural power, which are assured to have predictable results".

ELEMENTS OF MAGIC

According to **Raymond Firth** (1958), magic involves three elements - The practitioner; the practical aim or end to be achieved; and the magical formula.

The Practitioner: Raymond Firth says that the practitioner of magic may be an individual himself or a specialist such as a shaman, magician or priest. When and individual has an objective which cannot be coped through ordinary means or which requires the assistance of a supernatural being, he may either practice magic himself, or employ someone, possibly a shaman, a magician or a priest to perform the magic.

The Practical Aim: According to Raymond Firth the practical aims or ends for which it is often used have wide range of objectives. They include objectives which can be classified as **protective** in that they prevent harm to the individual or cure him of illness. They also include objectives which can be classified as **productive** because they include the desire for a successful hunt, an abundant crop, ample rains, and even success in courtship and love making. Still other objectives are **destructive** because they include the desire to harm or destroy one's rivals or enemies.

The Magical Formula: Raymond Firth says that there are three aspects to the magical formula itself: the things used which are known as the instruments or **medicines**, the things done which are known as **rites** and the things spoken which are called **spells.**

The things used or medicines are of several types. The medicines used in magic are often difficult to obtain and prepare. They may be difficult to obtain because they are either rare or they must be taken from or have been in contact with the being (either human or supernatural) which one wishes to influence.

The things done or the rites are either simple or complex. Rite constitutes the preparation of the medicines, the manner in which the medicines are combined, and the placement of the medicine either on or near that which is to be influenced. Magic may involve either one rite or a series of rites. Further, the rites may be simple or they may be elaborate and complex.

The things spoken or spells comprise the verbal aspect of magic. The spell may consist of a series of words and phrases which are fixed and invariable, or it may be simple an overt expression of the practitioner's desires.

According to **Brownislaw Malinowski**, the effective force of magic lies in spell. He said that a spell can occur in four forms:

1. Spell accompanied by a simple rite of impregnation. The rite of impregnation is meant for changing the objects with magic.
2. Spell accompanied by a rite of transference. The rite of transference is meant for transferring power of the spell to the objects used in magic.
3. Spell whose use is taken concomitantly.
4. Spell associated with offerings.

Malinowski says that the effective principle of magic is the spell which may be a word or a formula. The spell is couched in a specific language. It is secretive. Ordinary men cannot understand the spells. The medicines, the rites and the spells are almost always present in any magical formula. Their relative importance, however, may vary from formula to formula and society to society. For example, most societies which are located in the African continent south of the Sahara desert or which originated in Negro Africa place major importance on the medicines employed. On the other hand, many societies situated in Melanesia, Micronesia and Polynesia place great emphasis on the spell.

FORMS OF MAGIC

Frazer's Classification: Sir James George Frazer classified different magical practices into two forms on the basis of the laws or principles of thought associated with those practices. He found that magical formulae are based on two principles of thought:

- Like produces like or an effect resembles its cause. This principle is the **Law of Similarity.**
- Once in contact always in contact or the things which have once been in contact with each other continue to act on each other at a distance after the physical contact has been severed. This principle is the **Law of Contact.**

According to Frazer, two forms of magic follow the two principles of thought or laws of magic. In Frazer's terms the magic that is associated with the law of similarity is **Homeopathic Magic**, imitative magic or mimetic magic and the magic that is associated with the law of contact is **Contagious Magic.**

Homeopathic Magic is the most familiar form of magic. In Frazer's words it is the attempt which has been made by many people in many ages to injure or destroy an enemy by injuring or destroying an image of him, in the belief that, just as the image suffers, so does the man and that when it perishes he must die.

Contagious Magic is the magical sympathy which is supposed to exist between a man and any severed portion of his person, as his hair or nails, so that whoever gets possession of human hair or nails may work his will, at any distance, upon the person from whom they were cut.

Homeopathic Magic can be explained with the help of examples taken from the tribes of India. The Oraons of Chota Nagpur believe that thunder with its rumbling noise, is the direct cause of rain. Therefore, when they want rains they go to a hill top, sacrifice a hen or a pig, and than start flinging down stones, rocks and boulders down the hill, expecting rain to follow the rumbling noises created by their action, just as it follows thunder. The Ho of Chota Nagpur performs another form of homeopathic magic. They light fires expecting rain to come out of the cloud of smoke that is raised to the skies. The Khonds of Ganjam Hills in Orissa practiced human sacrifice which was an example of homeopathic magic. The Khonds believed that as tears rolled down the victim's eyes, and blood gushed forth from the victim's wounds so would it rain. Burning of effigies is yet another familiar form of homeopathic magic in India. It is believed that when the effigy is burnt, or nails driven into it, its original will suffer like wise. (Majumdar and Madan, 1956)

Contagious magic can be found in many tribal groups in India and other parts of the world. Many tribal people do not use each other's clothing, not for reasons of hygiene, but because clothes are regarded as part of that person's body who wore them first. Similarly nail-cuttings and hair-trimming and bodily excretions are also regarded as parts of the person to whom these belonged. The main implication of contagious magic is that a part is always associated with the whole to which it belongs or belonged; once a part is always a part. This association is utensils, personal effects and so on. It is for this reason that the personal effects of the dead are not made use of by many primitive groups but are instead buried or cremated along with the dead body.

Firth's Classification: Raymond Firth classified different magical practices into three forms on the basis of the aims, the ends or the functions they serve. He says some magical practices have productive function because they do something good to the individual, group or community. Some magical practices have preventive function because they prevent harm to the individual, group or community. Still some magical practices have destructive function because they harm or destroy another individual, group or community. Based on these three functions served by different magical practices, Firth classified the latter into three distinct forms in the following manner.

Productive Magic includes magic of hunting, magic of fertility, magic of rain-making, magic of security, magic of successful or abundant harvesting, magic of successful fishing, magic of successful courtship and love-making, canoe and sailing magic, and magic associated with successful trade and barter. Productive magic is performed either by private individuals for themselves or by specialist magicians for others or to a group or to the community as a whole. It is socially approved. It serves as a stimulus effort and as a factor for organization of economic and social activity.

Protective Magic includes taboos to guard property, magic to assist collection of debts, magic to avert misfortune, magic for the cure of sickness, magic for safety in travel and magic to counter misfortune, sickness and danger in travel. Protective magic is performed either by private individuals for themselves or by specialist magicians for another, to a group or to the community as a whole. To protect crops and cattle, effigies or decorated pots are placed upright in the fields. To protect cattle, amulets may be hung around their necks or horns. To safeguard oneself against misfortune, against malevolent spirits and other forms of evil one may wear amulets. To cure the sick a magician may use spells, rites, medicines, talismans, amulets and any other magical elements. To ensure safety in travel several protective measures such as amulets, talismans, charms and objects of magical powers may be worn. All such protective magic is socially approved. But counter-magic in the form of beneficial sorcery is sometimes socially approved and sometimes socially disapproved. Generally speaking, protective magic serves as a form of social control.

Destructive Magic includes magic to destroy other's property, magic to produce sickness, magic to bring death, magic to bring storms, magic to produce scarcity of game, magic to create failure of crops, and any other harm or destruction done to plants, individuals, group or the whole community. Destructive magic is in the form of harmful sorcery and witchcraft.

Other Classification: Several anthropologists classify different magical practices into two distinct forms, namely **Black Magic** and **White Magic** on the basis of the ends to be achieved. The use of magic, supernatural beings or other supernatural powers to deliberately harm or destroy another person, group, community, cattle, crops, property, or personal achievements is known as black magic. It is malicious and anti-social.

The use of magic, supernatural beings or other supernatural powers to do good to another persons, group, community, cattle, crops, property or personal achievements is known as white magic. It is beneficial to the individual and society. It has social approval. Black magic may be homeopathic magic and contagious magic. It is destructive magic. Both sorcery and witchcraft come under black magic. On the other hand white magic includes both protective magic and productive magic. It includes homeopathic and contagious magic.

RELIGION, MAGIC AND SCIENCE DISTINGUISHED

SIMILARITIES BETWEEN MAGIC AND SCIENCE

The early and later anthropologists like Tylor, Frazer, Malinowski and others who delineated the fundamental similarity between religion and science have also described the following similarities

1. Both magic and science assume that certain causes create certain effects.
2. Both magic and science are governed by a body of principles. The principles reveal how a magician or a scientist has to proceed to get the result.
3. Both magic and science are oriented towards a desired end.
4. Both magic and science reveal the confidence of humans in their ability to bring about results.

SIMILARITIES BETWEEN MAGIC AND RELIGION

Edward Bunett Tylor, Sir James Frazer, Bronislaw Malinowski and many other anthropologists delineated the similarities between magic and religion.

1. Magic and religion are concerned with non- empirical aspects. Anything non-empirical is beyond logic and experimentation. It refers to intangible and non-measurable things. It cannot be experimentally justified.
2. The relationship of magic to science is the same as that of religion to science. Primitives do not make a distinction between religion and magic. They consider the supernatural as real.
3. Magic and religion are pervasive and symbolic i.e. ordinary objects are i.e., ordinary objects are considered as having endowed having endowed with religious and magical power.
4. Magic and religion contain a ritual system that includes traditional lore and formulated procedures.
5. Magical and religious ritual system contains many anthropopsychic entities which are moody which can be threatened or can be petitioned or praised.
6. Magic and religion arise and function in situations of emotional stress.
7. Magic and religion are surrounded by taboos and observances.

Primitive people are not greatly concerned with the analytical distinctions between magic and religion. Rather, they blend magic and religion as best as they can to attain their specific goals.

Brownislaw Malinowski and his student **Hogbin** have pointed out the impersonal and instrumental nature of magic. But **Robert Harry Lowie** has slightly modified this notion and said that this was not at all a universal truth.

Robert Ranulph Marett said that a thin partition often divides magic from religion. He argued that a slight change in the formulation of words, possibly transitory personification may convert the magical formula into a religious petition. **Alexander Goldenweiser** and others expressed almost the same view.

Melville Jean Herskovits argued that in many societies magic is an integral part of religion. For example, among the Dahomeans of Africa, the essential nature of magic and religion is the same.

Raymond William Firth argued that one can find overlapping of the religious and magical practices. It is only after careful observation and investigation one can differentiate magic from religion in primitive societies because in primitive societies what is primarily classified as magic can also contain elements of religion.

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN RELIGION AND SCIENCE

The major differences as explained by Tylor, Frazer, Malinowski and many other anthropologists.

Religion is a closed system of thought and beliefs. Religious beliefs are sacred. They are not to be questioned. Therefore they are not open to any empirical testing. Science on the other hand is an open system of thought. It provides explanations that are not considered absolutely valid, but are open to empirical testing. Moreover, in science there is an awareness of alternative theory or explanation. As old explanations are found invalid, new ones will be accepted.

Science is instrumental, individualistic, less emotional, sometimes malevolent and sometimes benevolent and specific goal oriented but religion is supplicative, an end in itself, collective, relatively more emotional, mostly benevolent and general welfare-oriented.

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN MAGIC AND RELIGION

Francis L .K. Hsu has criticized the contrast made between magic and religion by Malinowski and many other anthropologists. He showed that in many societies it is very difficult to separate magic and religion from one another or even sometimes to say which is which. Magicians may make use of religious practices and appeal to spirits for help, while priests may make use of magical techniques such as sprinkling of holy water, and pursuit of immediate practical ends like a prayer meeting for rain. Magic is not always individual, nor is religion always collective. Several Red Indians fast alone in woods and engage in a religious quest. Then religion is individualistic. Despite such lack of agreement, with regard to a few points, all anthropologists delineate following differences between magic and religion.

1. Magic is simple in its form. It consists of practitioner (shaman, magician and sorcerer) practical aim (protective, productive or destructive aim) and magical formula (like medicines etc). Religion, however, is complex in its form. It consists of prayers (thanks giving, request or demand; spontaneous or memorized, private or public, silent or aloud; prayer language includes a special stance, gesture or tone of voice and perhaps special, often archaic speech patterns), music (musical renderings, music or chanting); psychological experience (like going into trance or acquiring a feeling of euphoria by means of sensory deprivation or mortification of flesh, especially by self-flagellation, prolonged sleeplessness, piercing of the flesh and amputations, by means of deprivation of food or water or by means of using drugs and hallucinogens); exhortation or preaching, recitation of myths and sacred literature; taboos (not touching certain objects food and people to avoid the effects of their power); feasts (the eating of sacred meals); sacrifices (personal, animal or human including money, tobacco, alcohol, abstinence from sex, etc.); congregation, inspiration (states of ecstasy, possession, conversion and revelation) and symbols (paintings, coins, statues, masks, dolls and others which symbolize gods). (Frazer, Firth and Wallace)
2. Magic is everywhere uniform in its principles whereas religious diversities are more common everywhere. (Frazer)
3. Magic involves secrecy. Secrecy always surrounds the magician and his disciples seldom know each other. Therefore, magic is mostly individual. Religion, on the other hand is public. It has a congregational aspect and is hence communal. (Frazer)
4. Magic is mostly used for good and bad purposes. It is essentially anti-ethical. Religion is most commonly used for good purposes. It is essentially moral. (Frazer)
5. Magic has concrete specificity of goals. That means, magic is always directed towards a clearly stated goal. Religion ahs goals that are concerned with general welfare, health and goodness. (Frazer, Malinowski and Goode)
6. Magic is manipulative. It involves coercion with the supernatural. It affirms human control of supernatural. Magical spells command obedience of supernatural. Thus magic involves the attempt to manipulate the higher powers, to compel the supernatural to blend to human wishes. Success is seen as inevitable, provided one knows the right formula. Religion is supplicative. It involves human submission to the supernatural. It relies on extra-human aid. Prayers appeal to the supernatural for their help. Thus, religion involves the attempt to pray, to propitiate or to cajole the higher powers, to grant requests. Success is assumed as the grace, blessing, or boon of the supernatural powers who are free agents and who may not grant requests. (Frazer and Goode)

7. Magic includes only specialists but not followers. That means magic includes professional-client relationship. Religion includes priests and many followers. That means religion includes prophet-follower relationship. (Frazer and Goode)
8. Magic more frequently revolves around individual ends while religion more frequently revolves around collective or group ends. (Frazer, Durkheim and Goode)
9. Magical practitioner or customer goes through his activities as a private individual or individuals functioning much less as groups. Religious activities are carried out by groups or by representatives of groups. (Frazer, Durkheim and Goode)
10. Magicians are feared for they are generally malevolent while religious specialists command respect for they are generally benevolent. (Frazer)
11. Failure of magic and failure to achieve the goals inspires a magician to use a substitution or introduction of other techniques. Stronger magic will be used, or magic to offset the counter magic of enemies, or even a different magician will be employed. Religious activity is less specifically instrumental. It is concerned more with the intrinsic meaning of the ritual. It is expected to achieve concrete goals indirectly by maintaining the proper continuing relationship with the deities. Therefore, a substitution is far rarer in the realm of religion. (Frazer and Goode)
12. Although the magician may feel cautious in handling such powerful forces, a lesser degree of emotion is present in magic. However, in religion one expects a greater degree of emotion, possibly awe or worship. (Frazer and Goode)
13. In the case of magic, the practitioner decides whether the process is to start at all. In the case of religion, the ritual must be carried out. That it must be done is a part of the structure of universe. (Frazer, Malinowski and Goode)
14. Magic is thought of as potentially directed against the society or a rexspected individual. Religious rituals are not thought of as even potentially directed against the society or such respected people.
15. Magic is used only instrumentally, i.e., for goals. Religion may be used for goals but ideally the practices are ends in themselves. (Tylor, Durkheim, Frazer, Malinowski, Goode and Wallace)

RELIGIOUS PRACTITIONERS

The religious practitioners perform the religious practices. Religious practitioners are intermediaries between men and supernatural beings. In some societies ordinary persons may be able to deal directly with some or all of the supernatural beings. In other societies there are specialists who serve as intermediaries for individuals, local groups or political communities. These specialists perform certain tasks for both men and supernatural beings. On the one hand, they communicate the wishes of the people to the gods and on the other hand they interpret the wishes of the gods to the people. They employ different techniques in performing these functions. **Divination** may be used to foretell future events; ceremonies, rituals and offerings may be made to please the supernatural beings; *prayer* may be used to cajole gods and spirits; and magic may be practiced to manipulate and coerce them. Because these functions are important to both - the beings who are part of the supernatural world and to the humans who live on earth - religious practitioners are usually important members of the local group. In small political communities they may even be headmen. In larger political communities they may exercise mere influence than the political leader. Research reveals four types of religious practitioners: **shamans, priests, mediums and sorcerers & witches.**

SHAMAN: The word shaman is from the Tungus of Siberia. Shaman is a religious practitioner who devotes part of his time to serving as an intermediary between a supernatural and individuals. He often works alone, since he applies his ability primarily as an individual rather than as a representative of a group. This type of person is often also a healer and hence is a **medicine man.** He learns to be a shaman from an elder shaman. He may gain his abilities from direct contact with supernatural beings. Generally a shaman has spirit-helper, spirit-familiar or guardian spirit who visits him while he is in a state of trance

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to determine the cause of an illness and to cure it. Divination may be used to seek the cause, and magic may be used to cure it. One of the most common healing techniques is sucking the intrusive object or substance from the body believed to have caused the sickness. Since people do not distinguish between illness of natural origin and those of supernatural origin, shamans frequently serve as medicine men for all types of illnesses. Shamans may also specialize in weather control, locating game animals and so forth. A shaman is usually a part-time male specialist who has fairly highly status in the community. The shaman enters into a trance, or some other altered state of consciousness, and then journeys to other worlds in order to get help from other spirits. People may also seek a shaman's help for practical matters, such as where to get food resources or whether to relocate but solving a health problem is more often the goal of the shaman. Shamans can also bring news from the supernatural world, such as a warning about an impending disaster.

PRIEST: A priest is a ceremonialist who operates as a representative of the group and under its approval. He is normally supported by the community, devotes nearly all of his time to serving as an intermediary, usually for his group. He is often a member of the religious organization, which has provided him with special training. Years of training may be necessary before full-fledged membership in the priesthood is granted. Priests are found most commonly in larger societies with fairly elaborate cultures and organized religious cults having theological doctrines and standardized ceremonies. In small-scale societies with less elaborate cultures, priestly functions are usually performed as needed by a shaman, a headman, a family head, or any other person regarded as qualified. In some societies there may be recognized priests who have no special religious function other than conducting of ritual is needed. For example the Leopard Skin Chief among the Nuer is a priest. He conducts sacrifices and other rituals in connection with avoidance and settlement of blood feuds, to taking of oaths, and cleansing from the sin of incest. In larger societies with elaborate cultures, the priest serves as an interpreter for the gods. If the gods are satisfied that their wishes are being carried out, they will assist men in their daily activities. Sometimes the priest attempts to persuade important supernatural beings to help. Prayers, offerings and sacrifice are the means which the priest uses. It is the dependence on memorized ritual that both marks and protects the priest. If a shaman repeatedly fails to effect a cure, he will probably lose his following, for he has obviously lost the support of the spirits. But if a priest performs his ritual perfectly and the gods chose not to respond, the priest will usually retain his position and the ritual will preserve its assumed effectiveness. The absence of response from gods will be explained in terms of the people's unworthiness of supernatural favor.

MEDIUMS: Mediums tend to be females who are part time practitioners who are asked by people to heal and communicate with divine when they are in possession or trance – a state where they are thought to be possessed by spirits. Mediums are described as having tremors, convulsions, seizures and temporary amnesia.

SORCERERS AND WITCHES: In contrast to the shamans, who have fairly high status in the society, sorcerers and witches of both sexes tend to have very low social and economic status in their society. Suspected sorcerers and witches are usually feared because they are thought to know how to invoke the supernatural to cause illness, injury and death. Because sorcerers use material for their magic, evidence of sorcery can be found and suspected sorcerers are often killed for their malevolent magical activities. Because witchcraft is supposedly accomplished by thought and emotion alone, it may be harder to prove that someone is a witch. The difficulty in proving witchcraft, however, has not prevented people from accusing and killing others being witches – a common phenomenon is Telangana region of Andhra Pradesh.

In this context, it is necessary to distinguish between magic, witchcraft and sorcery.

MAGIC, WITCHCRAFT AND SORCERY

Harmful sorcery is the use of magic, supernatural beings, or other supernatural powers to deliberately attempt to harm or destroy another person, group or community. The individual who practices sorcery is

known as sorcerer. Witchcraft is an inborn and often unconscious capacity to work evil. Deliberate action undertaken by an individual for the purpose of doing harm is sorcery.

On the contrary, unconscious action of individual for the purpose of doing harm is witchcraft. Just as sorcery requires sorcerers, witchcraft requires witches. But witches, in contrast to sorcerers, are not people who have practiced on employed supernatural means to destroy people, crops, cattle and property. Witches are individuals who have evil intentions and activities attributed to them. Thus the practice of sorcery actually occurs, but the practice of witchcraft is imaginary.

Destructive magic is performed by sorcerers and witches. Sorcery is sometimes socially approved and sometimes socially disapproved. Often it forms as a force of social control. Witchcraft is socially disapproved. It is classed as morally bad. It provides a native theory of failure, misfortune and death.

Some anthropologists have classified black magic or hostile magical practices into sorcery and witchcraft on the basis of the demonstrability of techniques. For these anthropologists sorcery includes only harmful magic. Unlike Firth, they do not consider beneficial magic also as sorcery. They simply consider beneficial sorcery as form of protective magic. As such they treat both sorcery and witchcraft as destructive magic or black magic.

Sorcery includes several hostile magical practices. In sorcery the technique used by the practitioner or sorcerer can be demonstrated. The sorcerer, for example, may recite a spell; stick a thorn into an image of the victim, breath on a bundle of feathers. Such techniques of the sorcerer can be demonstrated.

Bone-pointing is the technique of sorcerers in Melanesia. The sorcerer points out some magical object at an intended victim with the goal of causing disease or death. Sorcerer ritually imitates throwing a magical stick, either an arrow or the spine of some animal, in the direction of the person the magic is intended to kill. For the magic to work, the sorcerer must perform the procedure with an expression of hatred. He thrusts the bone in the air, twists it as if in anger in the wound, and then pulls it out with a sudden jerk. Both the physical act and the emotional state of passion have to be imitated to achieve results.

Object intrusion is another technique used by the sorcerers for carrying on their act of sorcery. In this technique pins or other sharp objects are stuck into a representation of the intended victim. This technique is employed by a several sorcerers belonging to the tribes of India.

Manipulation of objects is another important technique used by sorcerers. In this technique the sorcerers manipulate something that was once a part of the victim, such as fecal material, hair or fingernails. Sometimes an intended victim can be tricked into touching or using some object that has been treated in a magical way. Sorcerers in Melanesia, Micronesia, Polynesia, India and Africa mostly use the technique of magical manipulation of something that was once a part of the victim. The magic practiced with the help of such technique is contagious magic.

6. ANTHROPOLOGICAL THEORIES

EVOLUTIONARY SCHOOL

Two broad streams of thought can be identified in the Evolutionary School, the Classical Evolutionary School and the Neo-Evolutionary School. Based on the nationality, the classical evolutionary school is further classified into British, German and American Schools of thought. E. B. Tylor, H. J. S. Maine, J. F. McLennan and Frazer pioneered the British Evolutionary School while L. H. Morgan pioneered the American Evolutionary School. The German Evolutionary School was represented by J. J. Bachofen and Bastian. The Neo-Evolutionary School was further classified on a similar basis i.e., nationality into American and British Neo-Evolutionary School. The American Neo-Evolutionary School was pioneered by Leslie White and Julian Steward, while the British Evolutionary School was represented by V. Gordon Childe. Julian Steward has provided a different typology of the Evolutionary school based on the assumptions and approaches employed in explaining cultural evolution by the scholars. This typology has three groups -Unilinear Evolution, Universal Evolution and Multi-linear Evolution.

The approach of the 19th Century classical evolutionists has been classified as **Unilinear Evolution**. This is because, in this school of thought, the explanation of cultural evolution proceeds with the assumption that cultural evolution happens though successive development stages. This process of evolution is always from a simple state of homogeneity to a complex state of heterogeneity. Evolution, according to this view, is always progressive.

If the Unilinear model of evolution focuses on particular culture, the **Universal Evolutionary Model** is concerned with evolution of culture of mankind as a whole. The Neo-Evolutionist Models of Leslie White and Gordon Childe represent this Universal Evolutionary model. Julian Steward points out that Universal Evolution is an elaboration of Unilinear Model because even in the Universal model, the obsession with various cultural stages remains. However, the scope of application of stages differs in both in that unilinear view emphasizes on particular culture while the universal model applies the stages to the culture of mankind as a whole. Moreover, the Universal Model discards any variations and distinct cultural traits as irrelevant.

The **Multilinear Evolutionary Model** establishes sequences of parallel developments that could be investigated in empirical reality. Julian Steward's theory is classified as Multilinear. This model emphasizes on particular evolution, unlike general evolution of Universal model. Multilinear Evolutionary model deals with, or searches for cultural parallels. It's based on assumption that cultural similarities or regularities exist in culture change because of parallel discoveries. This scheme is more empirical than deductive. This model does not accept that historical data can be classified into universal stages and hence pleads for more emphasis on specificity or limited occurrence.

CLASSICAL EVOLUTIONISM

Basic Premises

In the early years of anthropology, the prevailing view was that culture generally develops (or evolves) in a uniform and progressive manner. It was thought that most societies pass through the same series of stages, to arrive ultimately at a common end. The sources of culture change were generally assumed to be embedded within the culture from the beginning, and therefore the ultimate course of development was thought to be internally determined.

This notion of evolutionary progress of society was widely accepted as far back as the Enlightenment. Both social and moral philosophers were using evolutionary schemes during the 18th century. Among them was **Montesquieu**, who proposed on evolutionary scheme consisting of three stages: Hunting or Savagery, Herding or Barbarism, and Civilization. This division became very popular among the 19th century social theorists. **Tylor** and **Morgan** in particular adopted this scheme.

By the Mid-nineteenth century, the cycle of European exploration, conquest and colonization had yielded vast possessions of data with regard to a variety of peoples culturally alien to European existence. The discipline of anthropology, beginning with these early social theories arose largely in response to this encounter between cultures. Cultural evolution (in this context - Classical Evolutionism) - anthropology's first systematic ethnological theory - was intended to help explain this diversity among the peoples of the world.

The basic postulates of Classical Evolutionism can be understood from following points.

1. Classical Evolutionism aimed at indicating the stand that mankind was a unity and not diversity. For them, the primitive societies were ancestors of more modern and civilized societies.
2. Human culture as a whole or the social institutions therein, evolves in unilinear sequence, through definite stages which are similar like Savagery, Barbarism and Civilization (these three were further divided to account for greater diversity).
3. Cultural evolution is always progressive and hence is from simple stages of homogeneity to complex state of heterogeneity.
4. The existence of cultural similarities or cultural parallels i.e., similar cultural traits or complexes is because of the **"Psychic Unity of Mankind"**. It is the belief that the human mind was everywhere essentially similar. It refers to communality of human mind that allows similar or common reactions to like environmental situations. This is why all the peoples of the world pass through similar stages of evolution. *"Some form of psychic unity is... implied wherever there is an emphasis on parallel evolution, for if the different peoples of the world advanced through similar sequences, it must be assumed that they all began with essentially similar psychological potentials.* (Harris 1968: 137)"
5. Classical Evolutionists, especially Tylor, formulated the concept of **Survivals** to explain symbolic meaning of certain social customs, which obviously have lost their significance in the present state, but had significant meaning in the past. Survivals are traces of earlier customs that survive in present day cultures. *"Meaningless customs must be survivals, they had a practical or at least a ceremonial intention when and where they first arose, but are now fallen into absurdity from having been carried on into a new state in society where the original sense has been discarded* (H.R. Hays 1965:64)".
6. The diversities in human culture arise because of differences in environments and situations. These diversities, according to this school, are only of secondary significance in the analysis of evolution of culture.
7. The methodologies adopted by the classical evolutionists are the **Comparative and Historical methods**. Historical explanations help analyzing cultural varieties and this method is adopted to study and justify the fact that human cultures had under gone progressive change the, comparative method is used to present the similarities in culture and justify the fact that primitive cultures evolved into more formal civilized ones. Even the survivals were also compared to explain this fact.

Points of Reaction

1. **Evolutionism as a reaction to other intellectual concerns:** The argument as to whether civilization had evolved or had always existed with the primitives as miserable, sinful outcasts was not easily settled. The degeneration theory of savagery (that primitives regressed from the civilized state) had to be fought vigorously before social anthropology could progress. The evolutionist school countered the degenerationist views regarding primitivism as an indication of the fall from grace.
2. **Reactions within Evolutionist thought:** There existed high rhetoric among the evolutionists, particularly concerning of the most primitive stages of society. It was highly debated as to the order of primitive promiscuity, patriarchy and matriarchy.

3. **Reactions to Evolutionism:** Karl Marx was struck by the parallels between Morgan's evolutionism and his own theory of history. Marx and Engel devised a theory in which the institutions of Monogamy, private property and the State were assumed to be chiefly responsible for exploitation of the working classes in modern societies. They extended Morgan's evolutionary scheme and included future stages of cultural evolution in which Monogamy, private property and State would cease to exist and "communism" of primitive society would once more come into being.

The evolutionist program can be more a less summed up in this segment of Tylor's *"Primitive Cultures"* which notes: *"The condition of culture among the various societies of mankind... is a subject apt for the study of laws of human thought and action. On the one hand, the uniformity which so largely pervades civilization may be ascribed, in great measures, to the uniform action of uniform causes; while on the other hand its various grades may be regarded as stages of development or evolution, each the outcome of previous history, and about to do its proper part in shaping the history of the future"* (Tylor 1871).

Accomplishments

1. The early evolutionists represented the first efforts to establish a scientific discipline of anthropology, although greatly hampered by the climate of supernatural explanations, a paucity of empirical material and their engagement in "Armchair speculation".
2. They laid the foundation for an organized discipline when none existed before.
3. They left us a legacy of at least three basic assumptions which have become an integral part of anthropological thought and research methodology.
    a. The dictum that cultural phenomena are to be studied in naturalistic fashion.
    b. The premise of the "Psychic unity of mankind", i.e., that cultural differences between groups are not due to differences in psychobiological equipment but due to differences in socio-cultural experience and
    c. The use of the comparative method as a surrogate for the experimental and laboratory techniques of physical sciences.

The beginning of the 20th century brought the end of evolutionism's reign in cultural anthropology. Its leading opponent was **Franz Boas**, whose main disagreement with the evolutionists involved their assumption that universal laws explained in general all human cultures. Boas pointed not that these 19th century scholars lacked sufficient data to formulate many useful generalizations. Thus, Historicism and later Functionalism were reactions to 19th century evolutionism.

Criticisms

1. The evolutionary theory is one-sided or is partial analysis because of its continuous preoccupation to show independent evolution of culture through progressive sequential stages.
2. If many different cultures can develop in similar geographical setting, the evolutionist's assumption that similar cultural traits emerge due to similar cause (parallels) is wrong.
3. Their assumption that the entire mankind of the world passed through different stages in a sequence does not hold good for all groups.
4. The methodology adopted by the evolutionists is very weak. They were mostly Arm-chair anthropologists, who hardly visited a field. There was a complete dependence and reliance on data gathered by travelers or missionaries.
5. Gordon Childe, an American diffusionist criticized evolutionary school for their neglect of human invention and creativity. Culture is also a product of invention and testifies human creativity

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cultures can also differ in forms. Psychic unity cannot be believed. Evolutionists also overlooked diffusion and migration.

HISTORICAL PARTICULARISM

Historical particularism is an approach that was developed by **Franz Boas** as an alternative to the world wide theories of socio-cultural development as espoused by both evolutionists and extreme diffusionists (the British and German Schools of Diffusion), which he believed are simply un-provable.

Franz Boas believed that to overcome the empirical problems, one had to carry out detailed regional studies of individual cultures to discover the distribution of culture traits and to understand the individual processes of culture change at work. In short, Boas wanted to reconstruct their histories. He stressed the meticulous collection and organization of ethnographic data on all aspects of many different human societies.

Only after information on the particulars of many different cultures had been gathered could generalizations about cultural development be made with any expectation of accuracy.

Boas' theories were carried on and developed by scholars who were contemporaries with or studied under him at Columbia University. The most important of these included **Alfred L. Kroeber**, **Ruth Benedict**, **Robert Lowie**, **Paul Radin** and **Edward Sapir**.

Boas and his contemporaries could not swallow the grand models and theories of cultural development advocated by Evolutionists and British and German Diffussionists. They believed that so many different stimuli acted on the development of a culture that this development could only be understood by first examining the particulars of a specific culture so that these sources of stimuli could be identified. Only then may theories of culture development be constructed which are themselves based on a multitude of synchronic studies which are pieced together to form a pattern of development, over time, that is unique and shaped by a set of stimuli that is also unique. Not only are theories derived from this type of historically grounded investigation more accurate than the older models of evolutionism and diffusionism, but they can also be demonstrated.

Methodology

Historical particularism is an approach to understand the nature of culture and culture change of particular people. It is not a particular methodology. Boas argued that the history of a particular culture lay in the study of the individual traits of a particular culture in a limited geographical region. After many different cultures have been studied in the same way within a region, the history of individual cultures may be reconstructed. By having detailed data from many different cultures as a common frame of reference, individual culture traits may be singled out as being borrowed or invented. This is a crucial element of reconstructing the history of a particular culture.

To this end, Boas and his students stressed the importance of gathering as much data as possible about individual cultures before any assumptions or interpretations are made regarding cultures or culture change within a culture. This includes recording of oral history and tradition and basic ethnographic methods such as participant observation. Boas also stressed the importance of all sub-fields of anthropology in reconstructing history. Ethnographic evidence must be used with linguistic evidence. This approach became known as the **four-field method** of anthropology. *"If we want to make progress on the desired line, we must insist upon critical methods, based not on generalities but on each individual case. In many cases the final decision will be on dependent origin in others in favor of dissemination"* – Boas.

Accomplishments

1. Many of Boas' conclusions as well as those of his most noted students have fallen out of favor as more anthropological work has been carried out. However, Boas and his students are responsible for taking anthropology away from grand theories of evolution and diffusion and refocusing its attention

2. Also, the interplay of countless factors that influence culture and culture change received more attention as a result of Boas and his students.

The emphasis on the importance of the collection of data has paid dividends for modern scholars. The vast amount of information generated by their investigations has provided raw information for countless subsequent studies and investigations, much of which would have been lost to time had "oral cultures" not been recorded.

Criticism

Most of the criticism of historical particularism has risen over the issue of data collection and fear of making broad theories. Boas' insistence on the tireless collection of data fell under attack by some of his own students, Wissler in particular. Some saw the vast data collected as a body of knowledge that would never be sifted through by the investigator. Further more, if the investigators were reluctant to generate broad theories on cultural development and culture change, what was the point of gathering so much detailed work?

DIFFUSIONISM

Basic Premises

Diffusionism as an anthropological school of thought was an attempt to understand the nature of culture in terms of the origin of culture traits and their spread from ore society to another.

Diffusion may be simply defined as the spread of a cultural item from place of origin to other places. A more expanded definition depicts diffusion as the process by which discrete culture traits are transferred from one society to another, through integration, trade, war, or other contact.

Diffusionism emerged as an "anti-evolutionist" school of thought, which is highly critical of the evolutionary school and its premise of "psychic unity of mankind". Diffussionists emphasize on the idea that human are basically uninventive and more important inventions were made only once at a particular place, from where they spread through diffusion.

Characteristics of Diffusion

1. Adoption of a cultural trait by a group depends on meaningfulness and usefulness of the trait to the socio-economic life.
2. The original form of the cultural trait need not be retained during the course of diffusion.
3. Diffusion is more or less from a developed to underdeveloped culture.
4. Diffusion may create culture change in the group that borrows.
5. Barriers for diffusion include factor like transport, communication, ethnocentrism, geography etc.

Schools of Diffusion

Based on nationality and also the approaches / assumptions chosen to explain diffusion, diffusionism is further classified into three schools- British, German and American.

British School of Diffusion

British diffusionism was pioneered by G. E. Smith, W. J. Perry and W. H. R. Rivers. The British school is considered extreme diffusionist and anti-evolutionist. The school is also designated **Pan-Egyptian school** or **Heliocentric school** because for these scholars, all the cultures originated from one culture centre- Egypt, from where culture traits diffused or migrated to rest of the parts of the world.

The British school of Diffusion had a greatest weakness in its anti-evolutionary stance and its conviction on non-inventiveness of human mind. They were extremely biased and heliocentric that they did not even consider non-Egyptian centers of civilization at all. They ignored the analysis of non-material culture and their narrow approach resulted in making this school of diffusionism short lived.

German School of Diffusion

The German School is considered more refined in its approach and methodology compared to their British counterparts. Unlike the British School, the German School wasn't extremist and completely anti-evolutionist. Though they propounded Diffusionism, the German School also touched the evolutionary schemes.

The chief difference between the British school and the German school was that the former was Heliocentric i.e., according to them, development of culture takes place only at Egypt, while the latter postulated that the development of culture occurs at several different places at several times. Thus, the cultural traits and complexes that originate independently, at several parts of the world will be migrated to other places. Inventions and discoveries were continuous processes and they reach to other areas by migration. Thus, the German school has given importance, if not equal, to both evolution as well as diffusion.

According to the German Diffusionists, different cultural circles or districts develop at different places due to diffusion. Through scientific analysis, one can identify and examine migration of different traits in different layers. Each cultural trait complex had a circle or a district from where they migrated to other places. This school is hence also called Kulturkriese School or "Culture Circle" school or "Culture District School".

The Germans also believed and postulated that the migration of a trait can be easily understood through study of historical data. Hence this school is also called Culture Historic-School.

Important proponents in this school of anthropological thought were **Frederick Ratzel, Frietz Graebner** and **Father William Schmidt.**

Weaknesses of German School

1. In spite of the importance attached to the concept of culture circles, empirically not a single circle could be established.
2. The premise that cultural differences enacted from four or five bands migrated to other areas is purely speculation.
3. The methodology was considered barren because it did not completely explain the dynamics of culture change. Basically being a descriptive method, it at best gave insight on spread of culture but overlooked reasons behind their acceptance, rejection and modification. They never explained why diffusion and migration take place but only focused on what diffusion is.
4. The supporters of this school adopted techniques of Museum Methodology and hence were preoccupied with typology of cultural traits, in the process failed to explain causes of culture change.

American School Of Diffusion

The American school of Diffusion, led by **Franz Boas** and followed by **A. L. Kroeber** and **Clark Wissler**, emerged to discredit the universal sequences established by Classical Evolutionists and also to fill the lacunae in the German Diffusionist School. American diffusionism explains the reasons for diffusion where the Culture-Circle approach of German Scholars failed.

Basic Premises

1. The diffusion of culture from one place to another is caused by the process of imitation.
2. Borrowing the traits from one culture group is easier at times than to invent them within one's own culture.
3. The group which borrows a culture trait adopts it to suit the needs of its own culture. Thus, diffusion and modification are two principles that operate.
4. The diffused traits are more similar in areas residing in a particular geography. The process of diffusion is more prevalent among cultural groups residing in close contact to each other.
5. In order to explain diffusion, this group of scholars devised a methodology called Culture-Area approach. Under this approach, the world is divided into different cultural areas on the basis of geographical regions. Geographical aspects of culture are indispensable in studying culture areas. A study pursued through this approach reveals that groups residing in close geographical area represent more uniformity than others. This is why the American school is also known as "Culture Area School".

Critique of Culture Area Approach

1. The Culture Area Approach cannot translate itself into a viable empirical method. There is no method to establish a boundary.
2. Extreme caution is required in delineating culture areas and its marginal areas.
3. The culture-area concept, it has been shown by experience, cannot be adopted where the distribution of people is characterized by social stratification.
4. By dividing the world into different regions, the scope of this approach becomes narrow, since it cannot explain world-wide diffusion of culture.
5. This school is also criticized for it's over emphasis on material culture, and their failure to explain non-material culture.
6. It has been also criticized for its emphasis on geographical areas ignoring other aspects that also influence diffusion.

Acculturation

During the mid-20th century, studies of acculturation replaced diffusion as the focus of anthropological research. Ethnological research conducted among Native American tribes, even though influenced by the diffusionist school of thought, approached the study of culture traits with a more holistic interpretation. The concept of diffusion still has value in ethnological studies, but at best plays a secondary role in interpreting the processes of culture changes.

Kroeber (1948) stated that acculturation comprises those changes in a culture brought about by another culture and will result in an increased similarity between the two cultures. This type of a change may be reciprocal, however, very often the process is asymmetrical, and the result is the absorption of one culture into the other. Kroeber believed that acculturation is gradual rather than abrupt. He connected the process of diffusion with the process of acculturation by considering that diffusion contributes to acculturation and that acculturation necessarily involves diffusion. He did attempt to separate the two processes by stating that diffusion is a matter of what happens to the elements of a culture, whereas acculturation is a process of what happens to the whole culture.

Acculturation then, is the process of a systematic cultural change of a particular society carried out by an alien dominant society. This change is brought about under conditions of direct contact between

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Individuals of a foreign or minority culture learn the language, habits, and values of a standard or dominant culture by the cultural process of acculturation. The process by which these individuals enter the social positions, as well as acquire the political, economic and educational standards of the dominant culture is called **Assimilation.** These individuals through the social process of Assimilation become integrated within standard culture.

Accomplishments of Diffusionism

1. Diffusionism resulted in the creation of the concept of culture areas, which were contiguous cultural elements in relatively small, geographical unit.
2. Even though diffusion as a school of thought was replaced with a more holistic approach in the mid-19th century, the concept of diffusion still has value in ethnological science.
3. Studies involving diffusion of ideas and how they affect and motivate innovations have been of great value in many other fields, such as agriculture, business studies, geography, history and rural sociology.
4. Acculturation studies have helped to give insight into problems encountered when people from diverse cultures come into a dominant culture.
5. Studies could identify the problems of acculturation and assimilation of a mortality individual on a group and how to establish better relationships between various groups and the dominant society.

Diffusion, as an anthropological school of thought, was a viable part of the development of anthropological concepts about how societies change due to the spread of culture traits and independent inventions. However, it has suffered with ethnocentric bias and, as a school of thought, was only a small part of what should be the total analysis of world cultures on more holistic approach, stemming from the play of diffusionism against evolutionism, has provided a more adequate understanding of the overall picture.

Leading Figures

Franz Boas (1858-1942) was born in Germany where he studied physics and geography. After an expedition to Baffin Island (1883), where he conducted ethnographic work among the Eskimo, Boas' lifework changed. In 1886 he worked among American Indian tribes in British Columbia before his permanent move to America in 1988, which eventually lead to a professorship at Columbia University in 1899 which he held until his retirement in 1936 (Lowie 1937: 128-129). Boas was a pioneering anthropological fieldworker and based many of his concepts on experiences gained while working in the field. He insisted that the fieldworker collect detailed cultural data, learn as much of the native language as possible, and become a part of the native society in order to interpret native life "from within", Boas hoped to document accurately aboriginal life and to alleviate the bias of "romantic outsiders". He used the technique of recording the reminiscences of informants as a valuable supplement to ethnography (Lowie 1937:132-135). He believed that the cultural inventory of a people was cumulative and was the result of diffusion. He envisioned culture traits as being part of two historical processes, diffusion and modification.

Boas represented the American Museum of Natural History in the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, which was organized early in the year 1897. The underlying reason for the expedition was the search for laws that govern the growth of human culture. Interest in the Northwest Coast of the United States was based on the knowledge that the Old World and the New World came into close contact in this area. Migration along the coastline, because of favorable geographical conditions, could have facilitated a cultural exchange by diffusion between the Old and New Words.

Leo Frobenius (873-1938) was a German, who was the originator of the concepts of the Kulturkriese (culture circles) and of the Paideuma (or "soul" of culture). Although they had no formal education, he was involved in extensive research in Africa, which was made possible by donors and by his own income from books and lectures.

Fritz Graebner (1877-1934) was a German anthropologist, who was a leading diffusionist thinker. Graebner supported the school of "culture circles" (Kulturkriese), which could trace its beginning to the inspiration of Friedrich Ratzel, the founder of anthropography. Leo Frobenius, a pupil of Ratzel, expanded on the "culture circle" concept, which stimulated Fritz Graebner, then at the Berlin Ethnological Museum (1904), to write about culture circles and culture strata in Oceania. Two years later, he applied these concepts to cultures on a world-wide basis. In 1921 he published Die Methode der ethnologie in which he attempted to establish a criterion for identifying affinities and chronologies, called the Criterion of Form.

A. C. Haddon (1855-1840) was a Cambridge zoologist and anthropologist who led the Cambridge Expedition to the Torres Straits (1898-1899). Assisted by W. H. R. Rivers, this expedition was undertaken just after the Jesup, North Pacific Expedition led by Franz Boas. Haddon's book, A Short History Anthropology, is still considered to be one of the finest histories of anthropology ever written.

Thor Heyerdahl (1914 -) is a Norwegian adventurer best known for his attempts to sail across the oceans in replicas of watercraft used by ancient peoples. His goal was to prove that such people could have migrated across the oceans and that the ancient diffusion of culture traits could have spread from one group to another, even across formidable barriers of water. Heyerdahl also studied the huge statues and numerous caves of Easter Island. Although he made some effort to become acquainted with the contemporary people in order to unlock many of the mysteries of the island (Heyerdahl 1958: introduction), most anthropologists seriously question the scientific validity of most of his speculations.

A. L. Kroeber (1876-960) was an early American student of Franz Boas. He helped establish the anthropology department at Berkeley as a prominent educational and research facility from where he conducted valuable research among the California Indians. Kroeber (1931) observed that the culture-area concept was "a community product of nearly the whole school of American Anthropologists". Using the culture areas proposed by Otis T. Mason, Kroeber published his well known book, Cultural and Natural Areas of Native North America, in 1939.

Frederick Ratzel (1844-1904) was a German anthropologist who was a significant contributor to nineteenth-century theories of diffusion and migration. He developed criteria by which the formal, non-functional characteristics of objects could be compared, because it would be unlikely that these characteristics would have been simultaneously invented. Ratzel warned that possible migration or other contact phenomena should be ruled out in each case before cross-cultural similarities were attributed to independent invention. He wrote The History of Mankind in 1896, which was said to be "a solid foundation in anthropological study" by E. B. Tylor, a competing British cultural evolutionist.

W. H. R. Rivers (1864-1922) was a British doctor and psychiatrist who became interested in ethnology after he went on a Cambridge expedition to the Torres Straits in 1898. He later pursued research in India and Melanesia. His interest in kinship established him as a pioneer in the genealogical method and his background in psychiatry enabled him to do research in the area of sensory perception. Rivers was converted to diffusionism while writing his book, The History of Melanesian Society, and was the founder of the diffusionist trend in Britain. In 1911, He was the first to speak out again evolutionism.

Father Peter Wilhelm Schmidt (1868-1954) was a Catholic priest in Germany and an ethnologist who studied the religions of the world and wrote extensively on their inter-relationship. At about the same time that Fritz Graebner (1906) was applying the culture-circle and culture-strata ideas on a worldwide scale, Father Schmidt help to promote these ideas, began the journal Anthropos, and created his own version of the Kulturkriese. Although both Graebner and Schmidt believed that all culture traits diffused out of a limited number of original culture circles, Father Schmidt's list of Kreise (culture circles) was the most influential. He proposed four major phases: Primitive, Primary, Secondary, and Tertiary. Within this framework was a grouping of cultures from various parts of the world in an evolutionary scheme, which was basically the very familiar sequences of "stages" progressing from hunter-gatherer, to horticulturalists, to pastoralists, and ending with complex stratified civilization.

G. Elliot Smith (1871-1937) was a prominent British anatomist who decided that the ethnology of his time was in dire straits. In his effort to save it he produced a most curious view of cultural distribution. Having lived in Cairo, Egypt, he "decreed" that Egypt was the source of all higher culture. He based this on the following assumptions: 1) man was uninventive and culture seldom arose independently and culture only arose in certain circumstances; 2) these circumstances only existed in ancient Egypt, which was the location from which culture, except for its simplest elements, had spread after the advent of navigation; 3) human history was full of decadence and the spread of this civilization was naturally diluted as it radiated outwardly.

Smith and W. J. Perry, a student of W. H. R. Rivers, hypothesized that the entire cultural inventory of the world had diffused from Egypt. The development began in Egypt, according to them, about 6,000 years ago. This form of diffusion is known as heliocentrism. They believed that "Natural Man" inhabited the world before development began and that he had no clothing, houses, agriculture, domesticated animals, religion, social organization, formal laws, ceremonies, or hereditary chiefs. The discovery of barley in 4,000 B.C. enabled people to settle in one location. From that point invention in culture exploded and was spread during Egyptian migrations by land and sea. This account was similar to the Biblical version of world history.

E. B. Tylor (1832-1917) was a cultural evolutionist who believed that diffusion was involved in the process of humankind's cultural evolution from savagery to civilization. He promoted the idea that culture probably "originated independently more than once, owing to the psychic similarity of man the world over, but that actual historical development involved numerous instances of cultural diffusion, or inheritance from a common tradition". He traced "diffused traits side by side with a deep conviction that there had been a general uniformity in evolutionary stages".

Clark Wissler (1870-1947) An American anthropologist at the American Museum of Natural History in New York. Even though he was not in a university where he could train students, his writings still influenced and inspired many of his contemporaries. His ideas on the culture-area approach were especially significant. In 1917 Wissler created a "landmark treatment" of American Indian ethnology based on Otis T. Mason's 1895 article in the Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution, which identified eighteen American Indian culture areas. He expanded the idea of "culture center" by proposing a "law of diffusion" which stated that "traits tend to diffuse in all directions from their center of origin." The law constituted that basis of the "age-area principle" which could determine the relative age of a culture trait by measuring the extent of its geographical distribution.

FUNCTIONALISM

Underlying functionalist theory is the fundamental metaphor of the living organism, its several parts and organs, grouped and organized into a system, the function of the various parts or organs being to sustain the organism, to keep its essential processes going and enable it to reproduce. Similarly, members of a society can be thought of as cells, its institutions its organs, whose function is to sustain the life of the collectivity despite the frequent death of cells and the production of new ones. Functionalist analyses examine the social significance of phenomena, that is, the purpose they serve a particular society in maintaining the whole.

Functionalism, as a school of thought in anthropology, emerged early in the 20th century **Bronislaw Malinowski** and **A. R. Radcliffe-Brown**, two prominent anthropologists in Great Britain at that time, had the greatest influence in this development. Functionalism sought to be corrective to the excesses of the evolutionary and diffusionist theories of the 19th century and the historicism of the early 20th century.

Two versions of functionalism developed between 1910 and 1930 - **Bio-cultural (or psychological) Functionalism**, the approach advocated by **Malinowski** and **Structural Functionalism**, the approach

Malinowski suggested that individuals have physiological needs and that social institutions develop to meet these needs. There are also culturally derived needs and four basic instrumental needs (economics, social control, education and political organization), that require institutional devices. Each institution has personnel, a charter, a set of norms, activities, technology and a function. Malinowski believed that satisfaction of these needs transformed the cultural instrumental activity into an acquired drive through psychological reinforcement.

Radcliffe-Brown focused attention on social structure. He suggested that a society is system of relationships maintaining itself through cybernetic feedback, while institutions are orderly set of relationships whose function is to maintain the society as a system. Radcliffe-Brown, following Auguste Comte, believed that the social structure constituted a separate "level" of reality distinct from those of biological forms and inorganic matter. He believed that the individuals were replaceable, transient occupants of social roles. Unlike Malinowski's emphasis on individuals, Radcliffe-Brown considered individuals irrelevant.

Functionalism - A Reaction to Outdated Ideologies

Functionalism, as any new paradigm, was presented as a reaction against what was believed to be outdated ideologies. That is, functionalism was an attempt to move away from evolutionism, and diffusionism that dominated American and British Anthropology at the turn of the century. There was a shift in focus from the speculatively historical or diachronic study of customs and cultural traits as "survivals" to historical, synchronic study of "social institutions" within bounded functioning societies.

Functionalists presented their theoretical and methodological approaches as an attempt to expand socio-cultural inquiry beyond the bounds of the evolutionary conception of social history. That is, the evolutionary school postulated that "an observed cultural fact was seen not in terms of what it was at the time of observation but in terms of what it must stand for in reference to what had formerly been the case".

From the functionalist stand point, these earlier approaches privileged speculative theorizing over the discovery of facts. Functionalists believed the reality of events was to be found in their manifestations in the present. Hence, if events were to be understood it was their contemporary functioning that should be observed and recorded. This approach points towards their emphasis on **synchronic studies**.

MALINOWSKI'S THEORY OF FUNCTIONALISM

The primary starting points of Malinowski's theorizing included...

1. Understanding behavior in terms of the motivation of individuals, including both rational, scientifically "validated behavior and "irrational", ritual, magical, or religious behavior.
2. Recognizing the interconnectedness of the different items which constituted a "culture" to form some kind of system.
3. Understanding a particular item by identifying its function in the current contemporary operation of culture.

The inclusiveness of Malinowski's concept of culture is apparent in this statement.

"It obviously is the integral whole consisting of implements and consumers goods, of constitutional charters for the various social groupings, of human ideas and crafts, beliefs and customs. Whether we consider a very simple or premature culture or an extremely complex and developed one, we are confronted by a vast apparatus, partly material, partly human and partly spiritual by which man is able to cope with the concrete specific problems that face him" (Malinowski).

As stated in his text **"The Scientific Theory of Culture and Other Essays"**...

1. "Culture is essentially an institutional apparatus by which man is put in a position to better cope with the concrete, specific problems that face him in his environment in the course of the satisfaction of his needs.
2. It is a system of objects, activities and attitudes in which every part exists as a means to an end.
3. It is an integral in which the various elements are interdependent.
4. Such activities, attitudes and objects are organized around important and vital tasks into institutions such as family, the clan, the local community, the tribe and the organized teams of economic cooperation, political, legal and educational activity.
5. From the dynamic point of view, that is, as regards the type of activity, culture can be analyzed into a number of aspects such as education, social control, economics, systems of knowledge, belief and morality, and also modes of creative and artistic expression" (Malinowski, 1944: 150).

According to Malinowski, the functional view of culture lays down the principle that in every type of civilization every custom, material object, idea and belief fulfills some vital function, has some task to accomplish, and represents an indispensable part with a working whole.

Basic Premises

The main idea of this theoretical paradigm is to discover the relations between individual needs and social institution. In this process, according to Malinowski, one should never forget man that remains at the heart of every institution. It is implicit in the methodology of functionalism to discover how institutions function, how they satisfy the needs of man, both individual and cultural, and how institutions are related to one another. The quest to discover solutions to these questions resulted in the foundation of functionalism as an anthropological school of thought.

Functionalism has been defined by Malinowski as **the theory of transformation of organic i.e., individual needs into derived cultural necessities and imperatives.** In the functional approach, it is the job of the researcher to discover the specific functions of the element of culture within an integrated scheme. Functional analysis of culture reveals that it is the handiwork of man and the medium through which he achieves his end. Culture should be understood as a means to an end, i.e., instrumentally or functionally.

The Theory of Needs

The human individual has certain **basic physiological needs.** These needs require organized, collective responses from the members of society. These physiological needs include Food, Shelter, Safety, Relaxation, Movement, and Growth. The organized responses to these basic imperatives, the commissariat for nutrition, shelter and dress for bodily comfort, protective devices and organizations for safety, marriage and family for reproduction, represent derived order of imperatives/needs. The great institutions of society, economic, political, legal, educational and social, are seen by Malinowski as responses to the problem of adaptation posed by the basic physiological needs of man.

There is a third order of imperatives, **the integrative or synthetic imperatives** which result is the creation of systems of sciences, magic, myth, religion and art. Science serves to organize and integrate human activities and myth enhances social tradition by endowing it with wisdom and thus promoting appropriate social behavior. Religion promotes individual security and social cohesion by sanctifying cooperative existence while art satisfies the craving of human organism for sensual impressions.

Structure of Institution

According to Malinowski, man, in order to fulfill his various needs, has established organization, found in every culture. This organization is an integrated scheme of institutions. Malinowski used the illustration of the **charter** of an institution to explain functionalism. He defined the charter of an institution as a system of values for the pursuit of which human beings organize. He defined the **personnel** of an institution as the group organized on different principles of authority and divisions of function. These **values** inspire personnel for **material apparatus** which create **activities** and activities finally lead to a **function**.

Malinowski believed that function is the primary basis of differentiation within culture. In other words, institutions differ in that they are organized around different functions. He believed institutions function for continuing life and normality of an organism. Indeed for Malinowski, the primary reference of the concept of function was to a theory of the biological needs of the individual organism.

Leading Figures

E. E. Evans-Pritchard (1902-1973) studied history at Oxford and anthropology at the University of London. He was considered one of the most notable British anthropologists after World War II. While Evans-Pritchard's research includes numerous ethnic groups, he is best remembered for his work with the Nuer, Azande, Anuak and Shilluk. His publication of Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic among the Azande (1937) was the first ethnography of an African people published by a professionally trained anthropologist. Equally influential was his work with the Nuer, who presented him with the opportunity to study the organization of a society without chiefs. In addition, his kinship work aided him in shaping political theory. In his later career, Evans- Pritchard emphasized the need for the inclusion of history in the study of social anthropology. In opposition to Radcliffe-Brown, Evans-Pritchard rejected the idea of social anthropology as a science and viewed it, rather, as a comparative history. Though he contributed greatly to the study of African societies, his work neglects to treat women as a significant part of the social whole. Although he began as a functionalist, Evans-Pritchard transformed himself into a humanist.

Sir Raymond Firth (1901) - is a social and economic anthropologist. He became interested in anthropology while doing his post-graduate work at the London School of Economics. Firth has conducted research in most areas of social anthropology, in addition to intensive fieldwork in Tikopia. Perhaps his greatest contribution to the functionalist paradigm is his distinction between social structure and social organization. "Firth's most significant contribution to anthropology is his development of a theoretical framework emphasizing choice, decision, organization and process in social and institutional behavior".

Meyer Fortes (1906-1983) was originally trained in psychology and was working in London as a clinical psychologist when he met Seligman and Malinowski at the London School of Economics in 1933. They persuaded him to undertake psychological and anthropological fieldwork in West Africa. His writing is heavy with theoretical assertions as he believed that empirical observation and analysis must be linked if social anthropology was to call itself a science.

Sir Edmund Leach (1910-1989) was very influential in social anthropology. He demonstrated the complex interrelationship of ideal models and political action within a historical context. His most influential ethnographic works were based on fieldwork in Burma, Sarawak and North Borneo (Sabah), and Sri Lanka. Although he began as a functionalist, Leach moved to processual analysis before becoming a structuralist, influenced by Levi-Strauss. His 1962 publication of Rethinking Anthropology offered a challenged to structural-functionalism.

Lucy Mair (1901-1986) received her degree in Classics in 1923. In 1927 she joined the London School of Economics in the Department of International Relations. Mair conducted fieldwork in Uganda. Her first studies were of social change. She was an advocate of applied anthropology and argued that it was not a separate branch of the anthropological discipline. She was very concerned with public affairs, including the contemporary processes of colonization and land tenure.

Bronislaw Malinowski (1884-1942) was one of the founding fathers of British social anthropology. He received his doctorate with highest honors in mathematics, physics and philosophy from the Jagiellonian University in Krakow. However, Malinowski's interests turned to anthropology after reading Frazer's The

Radcliffe-Brown, Malinowski pushed for a paradigm shift in British anthropology, a change from the speculative, historical to a historical study of social institutions. This theoretical shift gave rise to functionalism and established fieldwork as the constitutive experience of social anthropology Malinowski's functionalism was highly influential in the 1920s and 1930s. As applied methodology, this approach worked, except for situations of social or cultural change. The general form in which he developed functionalism toward the end of his life, a theory of culture based on the satisfaction of primary and derived biological needs, did not survive intact, though elements of it persist. However, Malinowski made his greatest contribution as an ethnographer. He emphasized the importance of studying social behavior and social relations in their concrete cultural contexts. He considered it crucial to consider the observable differences between norms and action, that is, between what people say they do and what they actually do. His detailed descriptions of Trobriand social life and thought are among the most comprehensive in world ethnography and his Argonauts of the Western Pacific is one most widely read works of anthropology. Malinowski's enduring conceptual contributions lay in the areas of kinship and marriage (e.g., the concept of "sociological paternity"); in magic ritual language and myth (e.g., the idea of "myth as social charter"); and in economic anthropology (notably the concept of "reciprocity").

Robert K. Merton attempted to clarify the concept of function by **distinguishing latent and manifest functions.** Latent functions are those objective consequences of a cultural item which are neither intended nor recognized by the members of a society. Manifest functions are those objective consequences contributing to the adjustment or adaptation of the system which are intended and recognized by participants in the system.

Talcott Parsons (1902-1979), a sociologist who contributed to the structural-functionalist school conceptualized the social universe in terms of four types and levels of "action systems", (culture, society, personality, and organismic / behavioral) with each system having to meet four functional needs (adaptation, goal attainment, integration, and latency). He analyzed the operation and interchanges of structures and processes within and between system levels taking into consideration these basic requisites.

A. R. Radcliffe-Brown (1881-1955) was a founding father of functionalism associated with the branch known as structural-functionalism. He attended Cambridge where he studied moral science, which incorporated philosophy, economics and psychology. It was during this time that he earned the nick-name "Anarchy Brown" because of his political interests and affiliations. After completing his degree in 1904, he conducted fieldwork in the Andaman Islands and Western Australia. Radcliffe-Brown's emphasis on examining the contribution of phenomena to the maintenance of the social structure reflects the influence of French sociologist Emile Durkheim. He particularly focused on the institutions of kinship and descent and suggested that, at least in tribal societies, they determined the character of family organization, politics, economic and inter-group relations.

Audrey Richards (1899-1984) conducted her ethnographic research among the Bemba and in Northern Rhodesia. Her major theoretical interests included economic and political systems, the study of colonial rule, and anthropological participation, social change and the study of ritual.

STRUCTURAL FUNCTIONALISM

Radcliffe-Brown's emphasis on social function is derived from the influence of the French Sociological School. This school developed in the 1890s around the work of **Emile Durkheim** who argued that *"social phenomena constitute a domain, in order, of reality that is independent of psychological and biological facts. Social phenomena, therefore, must be explained in terms of other social phenomena and not by reference to psychological needs, drives impulses and so forth".*

In addition, Durkheim stressed the importance of studying social phenomena as they function to maintain the solidarity of social structures. Radcliffe-Brown shared this emphasis of studying the conditions under which social structures are maintained. He also believed that the functioning of societies, like that of other natural systems, is governed by laws that can be discovered through systematic comparison.

Malinowski Vs Radcliffe-Brown

Radcliffe-Brown was a critic of the theory of Functionalism as put forth by Malinowski. Unlike Malinowski who placed great emphasis on theory of need and culture as a functional instrument, Radcliffe-Brown laid great emphasis on concept of social-structure in his analysis of functionalism.

According to Radcliffe Brown, function is *"the contribution an institution makes to the maintenance of social structure"*. He was of a opinion that the theory of society in terms of social structure has nothing in common with theory of culture and biological needs with which Malinowski was associated. As the concept of structure is wedded with concept of function, this school came to be known as **Structural Functional School.**

Radcliffe-Brown's Concept of Function

Radcliffe-Brown established an analogy between social life and organic life to explain the concept of function. His emphasis on examining the contribution of phenomena in maintaining social order, and his disregard for individual needs, is apparent in this analogy. He argued that as long as a biological organism lives, it preserves the continuity of structure, although it does not preserve the unity of its constituent parts. That is, over a period of time, while the constituent cells do not remain the same, the structural arrangement of the constituent units remains similar. He suggested that human beings, as essential units, are connected by a set of social relations into an integrated whole. Like the biological organism, the continuity of social structure is not destroyed by changes in units. Although individuals may leave the society by death or other means, other individuals may enter it. Therefore, the continuity is maintained by the process of social life, which consists of the activities and interactions of individual human beings and of organized groups into which they are united. The social life of a community, then is the function of any recurrent activity, is the part it plays in the social life as a whole and thereby, the contribution it makes to the structural continuity.

Social structure, according to Brown is an arrangement of persons in institutionalized roles and relationships. The continuity of this arrangement, according to him, is **structural continuity**. Since individual and groups, constituting social structure constantly change, structural continuity is **dynamic**. In this continuity, while the matter changes, the form remains the same. The matter of social structure are the individuals, the form of social structure is supplied by social institutions.

Brown defined social institutions as **socially established norms or patterns of behavior**. Institutions provide status and roles which are guided by the norms and values of those institutions. Thus, according to Radcliffe-Brown, social structure has to be described by the institutions.

Methodology

Radcliffe-Brown and Malinowski formulated distinct versions of functionalism, yet the emphasis on the differences between them obscures their fundamental similarities. Both view society as structured into a working unity in which the parts accommodate one another in a way that maintains the whole. Thus, the function of a custom or an institution is the contribution it makes to the maintenance of the entire system of which it is a part. On the whole, socio-cultural systems function to provide their members with adaptations to environmental circumstances and to connect them in a network of stable social relationships.

These functionalists also shared an emphasis on intensive field work, involving participant observation. This methodological emphasis has resulted in a series of excellent monographs on native societies. In large part, the quality of these monographs may be attributed to their theoretical frame work, since the investigation of functional interrelationships of customs and institutions provides an especially fruitful perspective for the collection of information.

In their analysis, the functionalists attempted to interpret societies as they operated at a single point port in time, or as they operate over a relatively short period of time. This was not because the functionalists

reliable information could be secured from the long-term histories of primitive peoples. Their rejection of the conjectural reconstructions of the evolutionists and the diffusionists was largely on this conviction.

Accomplishments

By the 1970's functionalism was declining, but its contributions continue to inspire anthropologists even today. Functional analyses gave value to social institutions by considering them not as mere customs, but as active and integrated parts of a social system. Though Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown differed in their approaches to functional interpretation, they both contributed to the push for a "shift in the assumptions of ethnology", from a concern with isolated traits to the interpretation of social life. This school of thought has contributed to the concept of culture the notion that traditional usages, whatever their origin, have been shaped by the requirement that human being must live together in harmony, and the demands of interpersonal relationships are therefore a causative force in culture.

Despite its theoretical limitations, functionalism has made important methodological contributions. With its emphasis on intensive field work, functionalism has provided in-depth studies of societies. Additionally, the investigation of functional interrelationship of customs and institutions provides a readymade framework for the collection of information.

Functional methodology can be thought of as empirical attempts to refute such ideas that savages are simple minded, that savage customs are superstitious, and that savage societies are chaotic, in essence that savage societies are "savage".

Criticism

Functionalism became dominant in American theory in the 1950s and 1960s. In time, criticism of this approach escalated, resulting in its decline in the early 1970s.

1. Interactionist theories criticized functionalism for failing to conceptualize adequately the complex nature of actors and the process of interaction.
2. Marxist theory argued against functionalist's conservatism and the static nature of analysis that emphasized the contribution of social phenomena to the maintenance of the status quo.
3. Advocates of theory construction questioned the utility of excessively classificatory or typological theories that pigeonholed phenomena in term of their functions.
4. Functional theory also has been criticized for its negligence of the historical process and for its presupposition that societies are in a state of equilibrium.
5. Functional analysis has also been criticized for being circular; needs are postulated on the basis of existing institutions, that are in turn used to explain their existence.
6. Furthermore, functionalism's anti-historic approach made it impossible to examine social processes, rejection of psychology made it impossible to understand attitudes and sentiments, and the rejection of culture led to lack of recognition of the ecological contest.

STRUCTURALISM

The structuralist paradigm in Anthropology, founded by **Claude Levi-Strauss** suggests that the structure of human thought process is the same in all cultures. The thought processes are reflected in various cultural institutions. Anthropologists may discover the underlying thought processes by examining such things as kinship, myth and language. It is thus proposed that a hidden reality exists beneath all cultural expressions. It is the aim of structuralism to understand the underlying meaning involved in human thought as expressed in cultural acts.

The theoretical approach of structuralism emphasizes that elements of culture must be understood in terms of their relationship to the entire system. This notion is similar to the appeal that the whole is

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greater than the sum of parts. Essentially, elements of culture are not explanatory in and of themselves, but rather form a part of a meaningful system. As an analytical model, structuralism assumes the universality of human thought processes in its effort to explain the "deep structure" or underlying meaning existing in cultural phenomena. Thus, "structuralism is a set of principles for studying the mental superstructure".

Levi Strauss conducted a detailed study of myth, legend, kinship terminology and religion to make a structural analysis of human thought process. According to him, the study of language and formation of words was essential to know the social structure.

Basic Premises

1. The most fundamental problem of structuralism is the understanding of human thought for cross cultural comparisons. According to Levi Strauss the principles of thought are comparable for cross-cultural analysis.
2. The analysis of social structure of structuralism is different from that of Radcliffe-Brown's structural functionalism. Structure here implies the structure of human thought process.
3. In structuralism, the term social structure has nothing to do with empirical reality, but with models which are built up after it. Social relations constitute raw materials out of which the models making up social structural are built. But, this does not imply that social structure is a mere ensemble of social relations. Social structure by itself cannot be studied but it is a model to be applied to any kind of social studies.

Concept of Models in Structuralism

A structure is a model which fulfills certain specified criteria and exhibits the characteristics of a system. It is possible to predict how the model will react.

According to Levi-Strauss there is a relationship between the scale of phenomena to be analyzed and the scale of appropriate model. A **Mechanical Model** is a model, the elements of which are on the same scale as the phenomena. **Statistical Model** is a model, the elements of which are on different scale as the phenomena. An example of mechanical model is the model of law or kinship is primitive society in which unions are generated on the basis of certain defused principles. Kinship in our own society would have to be interpreted according to a statistical model, because the marriages are not governed by a set of generative rules but by diverse factors like chance, social mobility, social class etc.

However, the concept of models, scales and distinctions between them is unclear. Leach tried to explain the problem by taking resort to jural rules (mechanical model) and statistical norms (statistical model). But this distinction of Leach does not solve the problem because the relationship between them is not resolved. The jural rules are qualitative rules of behavior supported by social sanctions and the latter are statistical average of individual behavior.

Methodology

In structuralism, the structures are models, the formal properties of which can be compared independently. The task of a structuralist is to identify and isolate levels of reality (in terms of ideal types and statistical models). Structural studies aim at isolating strategy levels and the studies themselves are autonomous, entirely independent of one another. The essential value of these studies is construction of models, compare their properties and explanation.

The ultimate aim of structuralism is to cut across the boundaries of traditional disciplines and to promote inter-disciplinary approach. According to Levi-Strauss the aim of anthropology is to construct mechanical models while that of sociology and history is oriented around construction of statistical models.

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Criticism

1. The validity of structural explanations has been challenged on the grounds that they are imprecise and depend heavily on the observer. The critics pose the question of how independent structural analyses of the same phenomena could arrive at the same conclusions.
2. The paradigm of structuralism is primarily concerned with the structure of human psyche and it does not address historical aspects or change in culture. This synchronic approach, which advocates a "psychic unity" of all human minds, has been criticized because it does not account for individual human action historically.
3. Structuralism is also criticized for its lack of concern with human individuality. Cultural relativists are especially critical of this because they believe structuralism depicts human thought as uniform and invariable.
4. Another reaction to structuralism is grounded in scientific enquiry. Structural analysis does not allow external validation. Structuralism cannot be subjected to scientific scrutiny.

POST STRUCTURALISM

Post-structuralism grew as a reaction to the critique of structuralism. Post-structuralists, in essence, are very much influenced by the structuralist ideas put forth by Levi-Strauss. However, the works of post-structuralists has more reflective quality.

According to **Pierre Bourdieu**, a post-structuralist, structure is a product of human creation, even though the participants may not be conscious of the structure. While the structuralists propose a universality of human thought process found in the structure of human mind, post-structuralists like Bourdieu propose that dominant thought processes are a product of society and determine how people act.

In the post-structuralist methods, the person describing the thought processes of people of another culture may be reduced to just that - description. Interpretation of other's thought is more or less disallowed.

Leading Figures

Claude Levi-Strauss: "Father of Structuralism"; born in Brussels. He obtained a law degree from the University of Paris. He became a professor of sociology at the University of Sao Paulo in Brazil in 1934. It was at this time that he began to think about human thought cross-culturally when he was exposed to various cultures in Brazil. His first publication in anthropology appeared in 1936 and covered the social organization of the Bororo. After W.W.II, he taught at the New School for Social Research in New York. Here he met Roman Jakobson, from whom he took the structural linguistics model and applied its framework to culture. Levi-Strauss is noted as singly associated with structuralist paradigm in Anthropology.

Ferdinand de Saussure: Swiss linguist whose work in structural linguistic, and semiology greatly influenced Levi-Strauss.

Roman Jakobson: Structural linguist whose work influenced Levi-Strauss; colleague of Levi-Strauss at the New School.

Marcel Mauss: Taught Levi-Strauss and influenced his thought on the nature of reciprocity and structural relationships in culture.

Roland Barthes: French literary philosopher whose ideas were influenced by structuralism, but who would be opposed at being labeled a "structuralist" because that would impose one line of thought for this eclectic.

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Jacques Lacan: French literacy critic largely influenced by Freudian psychoanalysis; would also not admit to being a "structuralist", but whose work reflected some of the same principles of structuralism. Known as an arrogant academic who also did not enjoy being associated with one paradigm, he did not collaborate with any of his French contemporaries.

Jacques Derrida: French social philosopher and literary critic who may be labeled both a "structuralist" and a "poststructuralist"; wrote critiques of his contemporaries' works, and of the notions underlying structuralism and post-structuralism.

Michel Foucault: French social philosopher whose works have been associated with both structuralist and poststructuralist thought, more often with the latter. When asked in an interview if he accepted being grouped with Lacan and Levi-Strauss, he conveniently avoids a straight answer: "It's for those who use the label (structuralism) to designate very diverse works to say what makes us "structuralists". However, he has publicly scoffed at being labeled a structuralist because he did not wish to be permanently associated with one paradigm, much like Barthes. Foucault deals largely with issues of power in his works, that is, who has power in a society. For this reason, we can more closely associate him with poststructuralist thought.

CULTURE AND PERSONALITY

The study of culture and personality seeks to understand the growth and development of personal or social identity as it relates to the surrounding social environment. In other words, through the examination of individual personalities, broader correlations and generalizations can be made about the specific culture of those members. This has led to the examinations of national character, modal personality types and configurations of personality.

The field of culture and personality draws on psychology and anthropology. Born out of Sigmund Freud's psycho-analysis, anthropologists began searching for common aspects that would characterize differing peoples by their cultures. In an attempt to avoid racist, hierarchical culture models, a new breed of anthropologists sought to describe culture based on the individuals within a society and the similarities that are shared.

The pioneers in this school of thought were students of Boas and Kroeber. They include **Ruth Benedict, Margaret Mead, Linton, and Cora-Dubois.** These scholars, during 1920s, became extremely critical of the theories put forth earlier in anthropological thought. Instead, they provided the culture personalities theories as an alternative.

Basic Premises

1. The cultural practices of people are reflections of their personality.
2. Differences in personalities of peoples are because of differences in cultures.
3. Culture influences to a great extent the personality traits of the people.
4. The primary aim of culture personality school is to examine the interrelationship between culture and personality. It is the study of culture as it in embodied in the personality of individual members.

Configurational Approach – Ruth Benedict & Margaret Mead

1. A culture according to Benedict is analogous to an individual in that it is more or less a consistent pattern of thought and action.
2. Hence, any analysis of culture requires a psychological approach.
3. When traits and complexes become related to each other in functional roles, a **cultural pattern** is formed.

4. Many cultural patterns integrate themselves into a functional whole they form a special design of a whole culture. This special design of whole culture is called **configuration of culture.**
5. The integration of culture is on the basis of tendency seen in all aspects of culture (traits, complexes, etc). This tendency is called by Benedict **"special genius"** that brings about integration.
6. There are two types of geniuses found in human society. **Apollonian and Dionysian.** In Apollonian pattern, one will see the existence of peace, discipline and kindness. The Dionysian culture is characterized by a great deal of changes and aggressiveness.
7. These two geniuses mold the personality of the members of their group. The Apollonian personality compels members of the group to behave in one form and the Dionysian personality in the other. This will lead to the formation of special cultural characteristics for the group concerned. In this way personality influences culture.

Criticism

Morris Opler criticized this configurationalist approach stating that there are not only two bases of cultural integration but many. Thus, this approach is very narrow.

Margaret Mead, along with Ruth Benedict has been the pioneer of culture-personality school of thought. Heavily influenced by Franz Boas, she along with Ruth Benedict began with the configurational approach. Her important works like **"Coming of Age in Samoa"** reveal this fact. However, her later works reveal that she slowly moved away from the configurationalist approach which analyses the impact of personality on culture. Instead, Mead, through her work **"Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies"** explains the impact of culture on the personality formation. She opines that it is culture which shapes the personality of the group.

The three tribes of New Guinea, Mundugumor, Tshambuli and Arapesh, though live in the same geographical area, represent different personality structures. This is because their cultures are different. The different cultures have different socialization processes. This is the reason why interactions between people differ along with their behavior.

BASIC PERSONALITY STRUCTURE APPROACH

This approach was developed jointly by Abraham Kardiner and Ralph Linton, in response to the configurationalist approach. Kardiner and Linton did not believe that culture types were adequate for differentiating societies. Instead, they offered a new approach which looked at individual members within a society and then compared the traits of these members in order to achieve basic personality of each culture.

The concept of basic personality means that in every culture, there are common characteristics of personality among all members of a group, which is the basic personality type of the group. The basic personality type is outcome of cultural influences on the individual.

Kardiner observes that adults in a society have certain important common experiences that give rise to a common basic personality type. While postulating the existence of a basic personality type, Kardiner divided the institutional aspect of culture into two categories- primary and secondary. **Primary institutions** are those responsible for forming basic personality structures. These institutions are directly concerned with disciplining, gratifying and inhibiting the child. **Secondary institutions** are those which satisfy the needs created by primary institutions. These include the taboo system, religion etc. The basic personality expresses itself in the group's ideologies, in emotional and cognitive orientation to life and death.

Kardiner has presented a dynamic model for the study of basic personality type; which also serve to explain culture change. If the primary institutions change, the resultant structure will also alter the secondary institutions.

MODAL PERSONALITY APPROACH

Modal personality approach was the brain child of Cora Dubois who developed the approach in response to the criticisms of her earlier work that included basic personality structures. Dubois, heavily influenced by Kardiner brought a new level of competency to culture and personality structures.

Modal personality assumes that a certain personality structure is the most frequently occurring structure within a society, not necessarily the structure that is most common to all members of that society. This approach utilizes projective tests along with life histories creating a stronger basis for personality types due to the use of statistics to back up conclusions.

Once the modal personality is established through tests, it becomes relatively easy to relate its feature to dominant social patterns.

Accomplishments

1. Culture and personality structures have greatly limited the number of racist, hierarchical descriptions of culture types that were common in the early part of 20th century.
2. Through these studies, a new emphasis on the individual emerged, thus linking anthropology and psychology. From this bridge, a wealth of information has been shared and distributed across disciplines.
3. Through culture and personality studies, we have began to realize that humans are basically the same and that we as a whole are evolving, instead of a series of evolving stages of culture or society.

Leading Figures

Sigmund Freud (1856-1939): Freud was one of the first psychologists to break down the barrier between anthropology and psychology. Best known for his psychoanalysis, Freud saw the traumas of childhood reflected in the neuroses of adults. He established the Oedipus complex as a universal story in which the son, jealous of his father's attentions on his mother, entertains hostility towards the father and develops an erotic attachment to his mother. This desire is felt among all men; yet is buried by repression and then resurfaces in the actions of adulthood. Freud's psychoanalysis was an attempt to uncover the repressed childhood traumas through a series of word associations, dream analyses, and free-flow talking. His best known anthropological work is Totem and Taboo (1905). In this book, Freud provides an insightful description to taboos and their origination; yet his theory on the origin of totems is somewhat speculative.

Edward Sapir (1884-1939): A close colleague of Ruth Benedict, Edward Sapir was recognized for his great accomplishments in linguistics, studying and ascribing the grammatical rules for differing Amerindian languages. Sapir studied under the tutelage of Franz Boas and later Alfred Kroeber, another of Boas's students. Influenced by the writings of Karl Jung, Sapir began pursuing the relevance of psychology to anthropology helping to find the culture and personality approach. Insistence upon the importance of the person led to the shift of anthropologists from thinking in the evolutionary terms of Lewis Henry Morgan to conceptualizing the differences between simple and complex man. Sapir was also heavily influenced in the utilization of psychotherapy as a technique to better understand.

Ruth Benedict (1887-1948): A student of Franz Boas, Ruth Benedict finished her doctoral work in three years at Columbia University. Her dissertation on documenting the rapidly deteriorating Native American societies provided the impetus to pursue culture and personality studies. Through her work on the patterning of culture at an individual level, Benedict opened anthropology into a much larger discussion between the discipline of anthropology and psychology. In her more famous monograph, **Patterns of Culture**, Benedict seeks to define various cultures in terms of four types **Apollonian, Dionysian, Paranoid and Megalomaniac.** These represented ways of living, or cultural configurations. Benedict admits that not all cultures will fit into these four types; however, she uses these types to

work by Benedict is **The Chrysanthemum and the Sword** (1946). This monograph was based on the national character of Japan; however, Benedict, herself never visited Japan. Instead, she gathered material for her monograph from her readings of Japanese life and interviews of Japanese immigrants. Benedict's approach to studying cultures centered on the ethos or the characteristic moral, aesthetic, and emotional tones of specific cultures.

Margaret Mead (1901-1978): A student of Ruth Benedict, Margaret Mead also investigated the relationship between culture and personality. Her monograph **Coming of Age in Samoa** (1949) established her as one of the leading anthropologists of the day. Starting as a configurationalist, Mead also wrote about national character. Hired in World War-II by the Office of the Secret Service (OSS), Mead researched the national character of England and compared it to that found within the United States. She determined that in each society the norms for interaction between the sexes differed, leading to many misunderstandings between the two otherwise similar cultures.

Abram Kardiner (1891-1981): A developer of the basic personality structure approach, Kardiner was a psychoanalyst who argued, along with Ralph Linton, that while culture and personality were similarly integrated, a specific causal relationship existed between them. He and Linton criticized the configurationalist approach as being too broad and vague. Instead, he put forth his own theory - the basic personality structure. In this, he distinguished between primary institutions (those which produce the basic personality structure) and secondary institutions (those which are the products of basic personality itself). Examples of primary institutions are those things which are a product of adaptation within an environment, such as housing, family types, descent types etc. Secondary institutions, on the other hand, include social organization, technology, and child training practices; these are manifested through religion and other social practices.

Ralph Linton (1893-1953): Ralph Linton was a co-founder of the basic personality structure theory. He sought to establish a basic personality for each culture. Linton devoted the majority of his studies to collecting ethnographies of Melanesians and Amerindians. He eventually replaced Boas as head of the Anthropology department at Columbia University, causing much friction with Ruth Benedict who believed the position should have been hers. Linton provided additional influence in Cora Dubois's work.

Cora Dubois (1903): The creator of the modal personality structure, Dubois was heavily influenced by the work of Abram Kardiner and Ralph Linton. Her experience as an ethnographer and psychologist provided a valuable link in the chain of thought of the culture and personality school. Dubois modified the Kardiner and Linton's notion of basic personality structure with her modal personality theory. She assumed that a certain personality structure occurs most frequently within a society, but that it is not necessarily common to all members of that society. She applied a number of approaches to her works, such as participant observation, projective tests (the Rorschach and TAT, especially), and life biographies.

NEO-EVOLUTIONISM

Impetus

We are aware by now that Classical Evolutionism has attracted criticism, especially from the 20th century diffusionists. The main criticism included the absence of empirical data on which the theory of Unilinear Evolutionism is based and their neglect of diffusion as a factor responsible for culture change. The concept of psychic unity is also criticized on the ground that it negates human creativity and adaptability. Historical Particularism and Cultural Relativism have basically oriented the anthropological analysis to specific cultural areas and divergence therein.

Neo-evolutionism essentially emerged as a reaction to the critique and shortcomings of its classical predecessor - 19th century Evolutionism. **Gordon Childe** of Britain and **Leslie White** and **Julian Steward** of U.S.A. are the pioneers of this approach.

Evolution And Parabolic Curve Theory

According to Neo-evolutionists, one of the greatest shortcomings of Classical Evolutionism is its preoccupation with the unilinear view. According to them, culture instead would evolve in the form of a **parabolic curve.** A social institution in a culture will be born in a specific form, evolves into an entirely different direction with a different structure and finally moves again towards the original form, however in a new developed version. This can be exemplified by the evolution of property which, when first evolved started off as communal property, later evolved into private property and finally again into communal property on common ownership, but through State.

Julian Steward's Multilinear Evolution

It has already been discussed in the beginning of this chapter that the evolutionary schools of thought have been classified by Julian Steward into Unilinear, Universal and Multilinear Evolutionary Models. The following are the general views on the scheme of Multilinear Evolution.

1. According to this view, all the cultures of the world develop through different stages and not through same stages.
2. Cross cultural analysis is an important tool to understand and study the cultural parallels / regularities.
3. Multilinear Evolution is a Methodology to study cultural change with an assumption that cultural parallels exist.
4. This approach is empirical than deductive and is based on historical reconstruction and does not subscribe to the view that historical data can be classified into universal stages. It is determined with the idea of cultural laws.

Multilinear Evolution As A Method

1. As a method, Multilinear Evolution is concerned with establishing sequences of parallel development and studies them empirically. Steward defined it as a methodology concerned with regularity in social change, the goal of which is to develop cultural laws empirically.
2. The methodology of this model is based on the twin concepts of **Parallelism** and **causality.** The study of parallelism, involves a search for causality which has to be investigated in empirical reality.
3. The assumption and (also the thesis) of Steward is that societies that exist in similar environment and with same technology would parallel one another in their form of political, economic and other social organizations also.
4. Thus, there exists an interaction between environment and technology and technology is only a variable in hands of environment and hence is definitely not an ultimate factor responsible for evolution.

These assumptions and theses of Multilinear view has naturally drawn the attention towards the mechanisms involved in studying particular cultures and then making cross cultural generalizations, i.e., how to combine particular with general.

CULTURAL ECOLOGY

To make systematic cross-cultural generalizations, Julian Steward has provided a way to analyze **man-habitat interaction** in his cultural ecology model. According to the cultural ecological model, not all features of a given habitat and ecology are relevant to a given socio-cultural system nor all aspects of a socio-cultural system are affected or equally affected by man-environment interaction. This will leave only the evolutionary important portion of socio-cultural system to be analyzed. This part is called by

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The technology of the system is the basic component of the core. However, technology should also be analyzed in terms of the conditions of local habitat. The core, according to Steward, is more closely related to economic and subsistent activities.

Procedures Of Cultural Ecology Model

1. Analysis of interrelationship between technology and environment.
2. Analysis of the behavior patterns involved in exploitation of a particular area by means of a particular technology.
3. Analysis of the extent to which the above behavior pattern affects other aspects of culture.

Weaknesses of Steward's Scheme

1. The concept of Multilinear evolutionism of Steward is unexplained because the question of the "how many is Multilinear" still remains.
2. The concept of culture core is similar to Marxism and the concept itself is very confusing.
3. Leslie White criticized Steward for confusing history with evolution, because history is concerned with particulars, while evolution seeks to generalize.
4. Finally, Marvin Harris has criticized Steward while not accepting Multilinear view, that cultural ecology is spurious and the theory a "core of confusion".

CULTURAL MATERIALISM

Leslie White's Approach To Culture Change

The "Cultural Materialism" approach of Leslie White begins with the assumption that culture is primarily a mechanism of harnessing energy and of putting it to work in service of man. Culture is also a mechanism of challenging and regulating human behavior. Social systems are determined by the technological systems. According to White, culture is an **extra somatic temporal continuum** and his approach is presented in the following points.

1. The cultural systems can be divided into three sub-systems.
    a. **Technology** constitutes the most basic sub-system, which includes tools, weapons and the knowledge of their use. This is a means for capturing and utilizing energy.
    b. The second subsystem is **social-structural** and includes marriage, kinship, family etc.
    c. The third subsystem is **ideological** which includes beliefs and morals. All the three subsystems influence each other mutually.

However, the technological subsystem dominates other two in its influence. Hence, social structure and ideology of a culture are influenced by technology.

2. Culture is a system in itself and depends upon man for its survival.
3. The fundamental function of culture is the capturing and utilizing of free energy. Just as in the case of organic evolution, the level of complexity and organization depends upon the capacity of culture to capture and utilize energy.
4. The amount of energy captured and utilized is determined by the technological subsystem. The more efficient the technology, the more is the energy utilized and captured, which leads to the development of culture as a whole. This is expressed by White as the **"Law of Cultural Development"** which

"Culture advances as the amount of energy harnessed per capita per year increases, or as the efficiency of the economy of the means of controlling energy is increased or both".

This law is expressed by the formula **C = E x T** where, E is energy, T is Technology and C is Cultural development.

Evolution And History

Leslie White made a distinction between evolution and history. According to him, history is concerned with particular events which are unique to a particular time and place while evolution is concerned with events regardless of time and place. Evolution is a temporal continuum. Thus, historical studies are particularizing while evolutionary studies are generalizing. If you recall, Steward classified White as a universal evolutionist. This dichotomy between history and evolution explains why he is a Universalist. Leslie White's concept of evolution is progressive and he also explained how progress happens. He found a universal principle for evolution in energy.

Specific and General Evolution

In order to reconcile Leslie White's and Julian Steward's views, **Marshal D. Sahlins** and **Elman Service** have developed the concepts of Specific and General Evolution.

"General Cultural Evolution is the successive emergence of new levels of all-round development (Sahlins and Service 1988:28)". To White and others, general evolution is based on the amount of energy capture and deals with "culture" per se. White says *"culture advances as the proportion of non-human energy to human energy increases"*. In addition, this concept is characterized by the progression from lower to higher orders of organization. In other words, changes in the complexity and organization of cultural forms are a result of changes in the amount of energy captured. When general evolution is discussed, culture is viewed as a closed system. That is, culture is taken out of particular and historic contexts".

Specific cultural Evolution is the historical sequence of particular cultures and their lines of development. Unlike general cultural evolution, specific evolution is based on the efficiency of energy capture with respect to specific cultures. That is to say, a particular culture in a given environment may be less complex, both technologically and socially is the general evolutionary scheme; however, this particular culture may, at the same time, be the best adapted to its environment.

To conclude, evolution moves simultaneously in two directions. One hand, it creates diversity through adaptive modifications. On the other hand, evolution generates progress, because of which higher forms surpass lower ones. The former is specific while the latter is general evolution.

Leading Figures

Johann Jacob Bachofen (1815-1887) - Swiss lawyer and classicist who developed a theory of the evolution of kinship systems. He postulated that primitive promiscuity was first characterized by matriarchy and later by patrilineality. This later stage of patrilineality was developed in relation to Bachofen's theory of the development of private property and the want of man to pass this on to their children. Bachofen's postulation of a patrilineal stage following a matrilineal stage was agreed upon by Morgan.

Sir James George Frazer (1854-1873). Educated at Cambridge, he was considered to be the last of the British classical evolutionists. Frazer was an encyclopedic collector of data (although he never did any fieldwork), publishing dozens of volumes including the popular The Golden Bough. Frazer summed up this study of magic and religion by stating that *"magic came first in men's minds, then religion, then science, each giving way slowly and incompletely to the other* (Hays 1965: 127)." First published in two volumes and later expanded to twelve, Frazer's ideas from The Golden Bough were widely accepted. Frazer went on to study the value of superstition in the evolution of culture saying that it strengthened the respect for private property, strengthened the respect for marriage, and contributed to the stricter observance of the

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Sir John Lubbock (Lord Averbury) was a botanist and an antiquarian who was a staunch pupil of Darwin. He observed that some stone implements were cruder than others, and seemed, as they lay on the bottom of deposits, to be older. He coined the terms Paleolithic and Neolithic. The title of Lubbock's book, Prehistoric Times: All illustrated by Ancient Remains and the Customs of Modern Savages, illustrates the evolutionists analogies to "stone age contemporaries". This work also countered the degenerationist views in stating *"It is common opinion that savages are, as a general rule, only miserable remnants of nations once more civilized; but although there are some well established cases of national decay, there is no scientific evidence which would justify us in asserting that this is generally the case* (Hays 1965: 51-52)" Lubbock also contributed a gradual evolution of religion, seen in five stages: atheism, nature worship (Totemism), shamanism, idolatry, and monotheism.

Sir Henry James Sumner Maine (1822-1888). An English jurist and social theorist he focused on the development of legal systems as they key to social evolution. His scheme traces society from systems based on kinship to those based on territoriality, and from status to contract and from civil to criminal law. Maine argued that the most primitive societies were patriarchal. This view contrasted with the believers in the primacy of primitive promiscuity and matriarchy. Maine also contrasted with other evolutionists in that he was not a proponent of unilinear evolution.

John F. McLellan (1827-1881). A Scottish lawyer, he was inspired by ethnographic accounts of bride capture. From this he built a theory of the evolution of marriage. Like others including Bachofen, McLellan postulated an original period of primitive peoples practicing female infanticide because women did not to support the group. The shortage of women that followed was resolved by the practice of bridge capture and fraternal polyandry. These then gave rise to patrilineal descent. McLellan, in his Primitive Marriage, coined the terms "exogamy" and "endogamy".

Lewis Henry Morgan (1818-1881). One of the most influential evolutionary theorists of the 19th century and has been called the Father of American Anthropology. An American lawyer whose interest in Iroquois Indian affairs led him to study their customs and social system, giving rise to the first modern ethnographic study of a Native American group, the League of the Iroquois in 1851. In this, he considered ceremonial, religious, and political aspects and also initiated his study of kinship and marriage which he was later to develop into a comparative theory in his 1871 work, Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity. This latter work is also a milestone in the development of anthropology, establishing kinship and marriage as central areas of anthropological inquiry and beginning an enduring preoccupation with kinship terminologies as the key to the interpretation of kinship systems. His Ancient Society is the most influential statements of the nineteenth-century cultural evolutionary position, to be developed by many later evolutionists and employed by Marx and Engels in their theory of social evolution. Employing Montesquieu's categories of savagery, barbarism, and civilization, Morgan subdivided the first two categories into three stages (lower, middle, and upper) and gave contemporary ethnographic examples of each stage. Each stage was characterized by a technological advance and was correlated with advances in subsistence patterns, family and marriage and political organization.

Sir Edward Bunnet Tylor (1832-1917). Put the science of anthropology on a firm basis and destroyed the degeneration theory. Tylor formulated a definition of culture and also developed the idea of survivals. His major contributions were in the field of religion and mythology, and he cited magic, astrology, and witchcraft as clues to primitive religion. In Tylor's best work, Primitive Culture, he attempts to illuminate the complicated aspects of religious and magical phenomena. It was an impressive and well-reasoned analysis of primitive psychology and far more general in application than anything which had been earlier suggested. Tylor correlates the three levels of social evolution to types of religion: savages practicing animatism, barbarians practicing polytheism, and civilized man practicing monotheism. The primary importance of Tylor in relation to his contemporaries results from his use of statistics in his research.

SYMBOLIC AND INTERPRETIVE THEORIES

The major focus of symbolic anthropology is studying the ways in which people understand and interpret their surroundings, including the actions of the other members of their society. Leading proponents of this school include **Clifford Geertz, Victor Turner** and **David Schneider.**

Symbolic anthropology can be considered as a reaction to structuralism. Structuralism was grounded more in linguistics and this dissatisfaction can be seen in Geertz's article- **"The Cerebral Savage: on the work of Claude Levi Strauss".** Structuralism focused more on the meanings as they are derived from aspects of culture rather than derived from symbols. Secondly, structuralists focused on actions, not on actors while symbolic anthropologists believed in actor-centric actions. This split between the idealism of symbolic anthropologists and structuralists dominated around 1960-1970.

Symbolic Anthropology is also a reaction against materialism. Materialists define culture strictly in terms of overt, observable behavior patterns, and they share the belief that techno-environmental factors are primary and causal, while symbolic anthropologists view cultures in terms of symbols and mental terms.

Symbolic anthropology views culture as an independent system of meaning deciphered by interpreting key symbols and rituals. There are two major premises governing symbolic anthropology.

1. Beliefs, however unintelligible, become comprehensive when understood as part of a cultural system of meaning.
2. Actions are guided by interpretation, allowing symbolism to aid in interpreting ideal as well as material activities.

Traditionally, symbolic anthropology has focused on religion, cosmology, critical activity and expressive customs such as mythology and performing arts.

Approaches of Symbolic Anthropology

Symbolic Anthropology can be divided into two major approaches. **The Interpretive Approach**, associated with Clifford Geertz and **The Symbolic Approach** of Victor Turner.

According to Geertz, Man is in need of symbolic interpretation to orient himself with respect to the system of meaning that is any culture. This shows the interpretive approach to Symbolic Anthropology. Turner states that symbols constitute social action and they incline persons and groups to action. This shows the symbolic approach to Symbolic Anthropology.

Interpretive Approach

1. Geertz believes that analysis of culture should not be an experimental science in search of law but an interpretive one, in search of meaning.
2. Culture is expressed by the external symbols that a society uses rather than being locked inside people's heads.
3. He defines culture as *"a historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men communicate, perpetuate, and develop knowledge about and their attitudes towards life".*
4. Societies use symbols to express their world view, value-orientation, ethos and other aspects of culture.
5. Symbols are vehicles of culture, meaning that symbols should not be studied in and of themselves, but should be studied for what they can reveal to us about culture.
6. Geertz's main interest is in how symbols shape the ways that social actors see, feel and think about

Symbolic Approach

1. Turner's approach was very different from Geertz's interpretive approach. Turner was not interested in symbols as vehicles of culture but was instead interested in symbols as "operators in social process".
2. According to Turner, symbolic expressions of shared meanings, not material interests, those lie at the center of human relationships.
3. Symbols instigate social action and exert determinable influences on persons and groups to action.
4. Symbols i.e., operators by their arrangement and context produce social transformation.
5. Social transformations tie the people in a society to the society's norms, resolve conflict and aid in changing the status of actors.

Methodology

1. Like all forms of cultural anthropology, symbolic anthropology is based on cross cultural comparison.
2. One of the major changes made by symbolic anthropology was the movement to a literary- based rather than a science-based approach; ex; symbolic anthropology utilized literature from outside the bounds of traditional anthropology.
3. Symbolic anthropology examines symbols from different aspects of social life, rather than from one aspect at a time, isolated from the rest.
4. Symbolic anthropology focuses largely on culture as a whole rather than on specific aspects of culture that are isolated from one another.

Accomplishments

1. The major accomplishment of symbolic anthropology has been to turn anthropology towards issues of culture and interpretation rather than grand theories.
2. Symbolic anthropology helped anthropology turn to sources outside the bounds of traditional anthropology, such as philosophy and sociology.
3. Geertz's main contribution to anthropological knowledge is in changing the ways in which American anthropologists viewed culture - from being concerned with the operations of culture to the way in which symbols act as vehicles of culture.
4. Another contribution can be seen in the emphasis of studying culture from perspective of those actors that exist within that culture.
5. Turner's major addition to anthropology was the investigation of how symbols actually operate i.e., do they actually function in ways in which symbolic anthropologists say they do.

Criticism

1. Marxists criticized symbolic anthropology for neglecting historical conditions crucial to the development of non-cultural practices.
2. Marxists also charge that symbolic anthropology, while describing social conduct and symbolic systems, does not attempt to explain these systems, instead focusing on the individual systems themselves.
3. Another attack on symbolic anthropology came from cultural ecology. According to them, symbolic anthropology did not attempt to carry out their research in a manner so that other researchers could reproduce their results. Also, since different anthropologists could view the same symbol in different

Leading Figures

Symbolic anthropology can be divided into two major approaches. One is Associated with Clifford Geertz and University of Chicago and the other with Victor W. Turner at Cornell. David Schneider was also a major figure in the development of symbolic anthropology, however, he does not fall entirely within either of the above schools of thought (although it should be noted that Turner, Geertz, and Schneider were all at the University of Chicago briefly in the 1970s).

The major difference between the two schools lies in their respective influences. Geertz was influenced largely by sociologists Marx, Weber, and was concerned with the operations of "culture" and not with the ways which symbols operate in the social process. Turner was influenced by Emile Durkheim and was concerned with the operations of "society" and the ways in which symbols operate within it.

Turner, reflecting his English roots (see below), was much more interested in investigating whether symbols actually functioned within the social process in the ways that other symbolic anthropologists thought they did. Geertz focused much more on the ways in which symbols operate within culture, i.e., how individuals "see, feel, and think about the world".

Clifford Geertz (1926 -) studied at Harvard University in the 1950s. He was strongly influenced by the writings of Philosophers such as Langer, Ryle, Wittgenstein, Heidegger, and Ricouer, as well by Weber, adopting various aspects of their thinking as key elements in his interpretive anthropology, the results of which can be found in his compilation of essays entitled **" The interpretation of cultures".**

Geertz believes that an analysis of culture should "not (be) an experimental science in search of law but an interpretive one in search of meaning" (Geertz 1973d:5). Culture is expressed by the external symbols that a society uses rather than being locked inside people's heads. He defines culture as "an historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and their attitudes toward life" (Geertz 1973e:89). Societies use these symbols to express their "worldview, value-orientation, ethos, [and other aspects of their culture]". For Geertz symbols are "vehicles of 'culture", meaning that symbols should not be studied in and of themselves, but should be studied for what they can reveal to us about culture. Geertz's main interest is in "how symbols shape the ways that social actors see, feel, and think about the world". Throughout his writings, Geertz has "characterized culture as a social phenomenon, as a shared system of inter-subjective symbols and meanings".

Victor Witter Turner (1920-1983) is the major figure in the other branch of symbolic anthropology. Born in Scotland, Turner was influenced early on by the structural-functionalist approach of British social anthropology. However, upon embarking on a study of the Ndembu in Africa, Turner's focus shifted from economics and demography to ritual symbolism. Turner's approach to symbols was very different from that of Geertz. Turner was not interested in symbols as vehicles of "culture" as Geertz was but instead investigated symbols as "operators in the social process" and believed that "the symbolic expression of shared meanings, not the attraction of material interests, lie at the center of human relationships". Symbols "instigate social action" and exert "determinable influences inclining persons and groups to action". Turner felt that these "operators," by their arrangement and context, produce "social transformations". These social transformations tie the people in a society to the society's norms, resolve conflict, and aid in changing the status of the actors.

David Schneider was another important figure in the "Chicago school" of symbolic anthropology. He did not make the complete break from structuralism that had been made by Geertz and Turner; rather he retained and modified Levi-Strauss' idea of culture as a set of relationships. Schneider defined culture as a system of symbols and meanings. Schneider's system can be broken into categories; however there are no rules for the categories. According to Schneider (1980:5), regularity in behavior is not necessarily "culture" nor can culture be inferred from a regular pattern of behavior. A category can be made for an observable act, or can be created through inference. Therefore, things that cannot be seen, such as spirits,

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symbols and observable events and strove to identify the symbols and meanings that governed the rules of a society. Schneider differed from Geertz in that he detached culture from everyday life. He defined a cultural system as "a series of symbols" and a symbol as "something which stands for something else". This is in marked contrast to the elaborate definitions favored by Geertz and Turner.

COGNITIVE ANTHROPOLOGY AND NEW ETHNOGRAPHY

Cognitive anthropology is an idealist approach to studying the human condition. The field of cognitive anthropology focuses on the study of the relation between human culture and human thought. In contrast with some earlier anthropological approaches to culture, in cognitive anthropology cultures are not regarded as material phenomena, but rather cognitive organizations.

Basic Premises

1. Cognitive anthropologists study how people understand and organize material objects, events and experiences. It is an approach that stresses how people make sense of reality according to their own indigenous cognitive categories, not those of the anthropologist.
2. Cognitive anthropologist not only focuses on discovering how different peoples organize cultures, but also how they utilize culture.
3. Contemporary cognitive anthropology attempts to access the organizing principles that underline and motivate human behavior.
4. Cognitive anthropology is closely aligned with psychology because both explore the nature of cognitive processes. It has also adopted theoretical elements and methodological techniques from structuralism and linguistics.
5. Cognitive anthropology has a very broad scope. For example, studies have examined how people arrange colors and plants into categories as well as how people conceptualize disease in terms of symptoms, cause and appropriate treatment.
6. Cognitive anthropologists regard anthropology as a formal science. They maintain that culture is composed of logical rules and these rules can be accessed in mind. Cognitive anthropology emphasizes the roles of behavior, not behavior itself.
7. Cognitive anthropology does not claim that it can predict human behavior but delineates what is socially and culturally appropriate in a given situation or context. It is not concerned with describing events in order to explain or discover processes of change.

History

It was not until the 1950s that cognitive anthropology came to be regarded as a distinct theoretical and methodological approach within anthropology. However, the intellectual roots can be traced back to enlightenment. Philosophical speculations put forth during this period have analyzed the relation between human mind and society. The Enlightenment thinkers Rousseau, Hobbes and Locke all contented that the interaction of society and mind is of utmost importance for understanding society. However, these early intellectuals though concentrated on the relationship between the mind and society, they emphasized the impact of society on the human mind. This trend continued through the 18th century.

The earliest practitioners of anthropology were also interested in the relationship between the human mind and society. Both Morgan and Tylor continued Enlightenment tradition of explaining phenomena. The concept of Psychic Unity of Mankind, put forth by Adolph Bastian also was in this same direction.

Cognitive anthropology in modern studies can be traced back to Franz Boas. He encouraged the investigations in tribal categories of sense and perception.

NEW ETHNOGRAPHY

In many ways, cognitive anthropology was a reaction against the traditional methods of ethnology practiced prior to the late 1950s, much of it the result of the influence of field work pioneers, Malinowski and Boas. As more and more scholars entered the field, it was found that the ethnographies of places revisited did not always match the ethnographies of a previous generation. These conflicting ethnographic accounts raised the question of validity: to what extent could any ethnography be trusted?

Ethnographic validity became a central issue in cultural anthropology. The problem of validity was first tackled through linguistics (Etic and Emic). The discovery of the phoneme, the smallest unit of a meaningful sound, gave anthropologists the opportunity to understand cultures in the native language. This was thought to be a way of getting around the analyst's imposition of his own cultural bias on a society. This led to an approach known as **Ethnoscience** (also called **New Ethnography**).

Much of the development belonging to this genre can be traced to **Floyd Lounsbury** and **Ward Goodenough**. The most notable of this is Goodenough's paper on **Componental Analysis** in 1956. He laid out the basic premises for New Ethnography. He states that culture is a conceptual mode underlying human behavior, in that it refers to the standards for deciding what one feels about something, how to go about doing it. No longer was a simple description of what was observed by the ethnographer sufficient; the new aim was to find the underlying structure behind a people's conception of the world around them.

The early period of cognitive anthropology basically pursued an adequate ethnographic methodology. Scholars found previous ethnographic accounts to be problematic and biased and endeavored to study culture from the viewpoint of indigenous people rather than from the ethnographers' construction of a culture.

During the 1960's and 1970's a theoretical adjustment and methodological shift occurred within cognitive anthropology. Linguistic analysis continued to provide methods for understanding and accessing the cognitive categories of indigenous people. However, the focus was no longer restricted to items and relationships within indigenous categories but stressed analyzing categories in terms of mental processes. .Scholars of this generation assumed that there were mental processes based on the structure of the mind and hence common to all humans.

The contemporary questions of cognitive anthropology include the following:

If cultural items are shared; If so, to what extent; How are these units distributed across persons; and which units are centralized

These issues have taken cognitive studies away from the mainstream anthropology and moved it closer to psychology.

Cognitive anthropology trends now appear to be learning towards how culture is related to action, bringing up issues of emotion, motivation, how individuals during socialization internalize culture. Cognitive structure is also being related to physical structure of artifacts facts and behavior structure of groups.

Accomplishments

1. Main accomplishment of cognitive anthropology is that it provides detailed and reliable descriptions of cultural representations.
2. Cognitive anthropology has helped provide a bridge between culture and the functioning of the mind.
3. Cognitive anthropology has helped reveal some of the inner workings of the human mind, and gives us a greater understanding of how people order and perceive the world around them.

4. By far cognitive anthropology's most notable achievement is its development of cultural methodologies that are valid and reliable representations of human thought.

Criticism

Some of the most severe criticisms of cognitive anthropology have come from its own practitioners.

1. According to Keesing, the so called "New Ethnography" was unable to move beyond the analysis of artificially simplified and often trivial semantic domains.
2. Ethnoscientists tended to study phenomena without being able to elucidate their relevance to understanding culture as a whole.
3. There is not a way in which the findings of Ethnoscience can be applied to other cultures.
4. Cognitive anthropology deals with abstract theories regarding the nature of mind. While there have been a plethora of methods for accessing culture contained in mind, questions remain about whether results in fact reflect how individuals organize and perceive society or whether they are merely manufactured by investigations, having no foundation on their subject's reality.
5. Another criticism is that universal agreement on how to find the culture in the mind has yet to emerge. When one compares the works of major figures in the field, it is clear they each have a different idea about just how to pursue the goals of the field. Moreover, when approaching an issue as complex as the human mind, mental processes and culture it is salutary to seek a multifaceted convergence.

Conclusions

Significant advances have been made in a relatively short period of time in understanding the human mind and in understanding people's world views through cognitive anthropology. It is an exciting and fascinating field that offers both theoretical and methodological insights to nearly every anthropologist. Cognitive anthropology has something to offer to each of anthropology's four fields; archeology, biological anthropology, linguistics and cultural anthropology. Moreover, it has significantly changed the face of cultural anthropology, particularly with respect to its methodological development. Cognitive methods are used in a variety of anthropological contexts and applied to a variety of subjects. In short cognitive anthropology holds much promise for the future of cultural analysis.

Leading Figures

Early cognitive anthropological approaches to culture exhibit the influence of linguistics both in theory and in methods. Goodenough, Frake, and Conklin each contributed to the foundations upon which present-day cognitive anthropology rests. Some of the fundamental contributions of these scholars resonate today.

Ward Goodenough is one of cognitive anthropology's early leading scholars. Goodenough sought to establish a methodology for studying cultural systems. His fundamental contribution was in the framing of **componential analysis**, now more commonly referred to as **feature analysis**. Basically, componential analysis, borrowing its methods from linguistic anthropology, involved the construction of a matrix that contrasted the binary attributes of a domain in terms of plus, a code for the presence of a feature, and minuses, the code for the absence of a trait. The co-occurrence of traits could then be analyzed as well as attribute distribution. Several years later he analyzed the terminology of Yankee kinship to critique an apparent flaw with the method. That it was possible to construct many valid models using the same data was problematic. Essentially, he challenges the reliability of the results produced stating this finding had "profound implications for cultural theory, calling into question the anthropological premise that a society's culture is 'shared' by its members". He concludes that the relationship of componential analysis and cognition must remain inconclusive until further debate has been settled. Indeed, componential analysis presently serves as a part of analytic methodology instead of its primary method.

Charles Frake wrote an interesting article in the late sixties in which he comments extensively on the nature of current ethnographic data collection beyond kinship studies. Instead of collecting data by attaining "words for things" in which the ethnographer records discrete linguistic terms of the other's language as they occur by matching the terms against his own lexicon, he proposes that an ethnographer should get "things for words". He also emphasizes that the ethnographer "should strive to define objects according to the conceptual system of the people he is studying", or in other words elicit a domain. He argues that studies of how people think have historically sought evidence of "primitive thinking" instead actually investigating the processes of cognition. He contends that future studies should match the methodological rigor of kinship and should aim for developing a native understanding of the world. He promotes a "bottom up" approach where the ethnographer firsts attains the domain items (on the segregates) of different categories (or contrast sets). The goal, according to Frake, is to create taxonomy so differences between contrasting sets are demonstrated in addition to how the attributes of contrasting sets relate to each other.

Harold Conklin made important contributions to the study of kinship terminology including "Lexicographical Treatment of fold Taxonomies" (1969) and 'Ethnogenealogical Method" (1969) but he also applied ethnoscientific analysis to other domains. Conklin's study of Hanunoo color categories (1955) is characteristic of the sort of study produced by the early ethnoscientific approach. Upon eliciting the color categories of the Hanunoo, Conklin discovered they used two different means or levels for segmenting colors. The first level was a general classification about which there was a high degree of agreement among individual informants. Colors falling within this classification were mutually exclusive (i.e., red cannot be blue). Level-I included four fixed categories: blackness, whiteness, redness and greenness. Furthermore, Conklin noted that lightness, darkness, wetness, and dryness, all features existing in the material world, could correspond to color class, however, this was his analysis, not that of the Hanuhoo. Level-II, on the other hand, was composed of hundreds of specific colors. There was some disagreement about the membership of certain colors and inclusion of particular colors could overlap (for example, gold verses orange). It was unclear exactly where one color began and another left off. All colors of level-II could be collapsed into the categories of level-I. Level-II colors were used when a high degree of detail was required, but generally daily use relied on the use of level-I terms.

Goodenough, Frake and Conklin were leading figures of the early generation of cognitive anthropologists. Two anthropologists who were conducting fieldwork during much of the early development of anthropology have emerged as leading figures in contemporary cognitive anthropology: **A. K. Romney** and **Roy G. D'Andrade.** Both have written extensively on methods and have conducted fieldwork exploring specific domains. Both have made seminal contributions to an emerging cognitive theory of culture. A complete review of all of their work is beyond the scope of this endeavor.

Roy D' Andrade has been a most influential cognitive anthropologist who has made important contributions to methodology and theory. One of his earlier studies is particularly noteworthy for its methodology. In 1974 D'Andrade published an article criticizing the reliability and validity of a widely practiced method of social sciences. Researchers conducted studies of how people judge other's behavior. Judgments of informants, he argued, were influenced but only by what they witnessed, but also by the cultural models they entertained about the domain in question. He noted that their judgment is related to the limitations of human memory.

Aside from his methodological contributions, D'Andrade (1995) has recently synthesized the field of cognitive anthropology into one of the first books discussing the approach as a whole. Until recently cognitive anthropology has lacked a comprehensive history and textbooks. **The Development of Cognitive Anthropology** (1995) has provided scholars and students with an account of the development of cognitive anthropology from early experiments with the classic feature model to the elaboration of consensus theory.

One of **A. Kimball Romney's** most recent contributions to cognitive anthropology is the development of **consensus theory.** Unlike most methods that are concerned with the reliability of data, the consensus method statistically measures the reliability of individual informants in relation to each other and in reference to the group as a whole. It demonstrates how accurately a particular person's knowledge of a domain corresponds with the domain knowledge established by several individuals. In other words, the competency of individuals as informants is measured. Romney maintains that cultural consensus is a statistical model that does not pre-suppose an ideological alignment, as Aunger asserts, but rather it demonstrates any existing relationships between variables.

Furthermore, Romney asserts that all shared knowledge is not cultural but cultural knowledge has the elements of being shared among relevant participants and it is socially learned. Romney proceeds to outline three central assumptions of consensus theory: 1) that there is a single, shared conglomerate of answers that constitute a coherent domain; 2) each respondent's answers are given independently and only afterwards is the correlation between respondents known; and 3) items are relatively homogeneously known by all respondents. Cultural consensus, as other statistical methods, helps to eliminate bias in analyzing data. It can also reveal patterns, like the degree of intra-cultural variation, which may go unnoticed by research using other techniques. The validity of the model has been tested for a variety of domains and has so far proved to be reliable.

POST MODERNISM

Modernity came into being with the Renaissance. Modernity implies, "the progressive economic and administrative rationalization and differentiation of the social world". In essence this term was developed along with the development of the capitalist state. Post modernity, logically in keeping with the idea of (post), this term literally means "after-modernity". It refers to the incipient or actual dissolution of those social forms associated with modernity.

Modernism is an experiment in finding the inner truth of a situation. It can be characterized by self consciousness and reflexiveness. This is very closely related to post-modernism. If one sees modernism as culture of modernity, post-modernism is the culture of post modernity.

Melford Spiro provides an excellent synoptic over view of the basic premises of post-modernism. The postmodernists are basically critical of science. The post-modernist critique of science consists of two broad arguments- **epistemological and ideological.** Both are based on subjectivity. First, because of the subjectivity of the human object, anthropology cannot be a science. This subjectivity precludes the possibility of science discovering objective truth. Second, since objectivity is an illusion, science, according to the ideological argument, cannot contribute to the perspectives of opposed groups, females and third-world peoples because it subverts them.

BASIC PREMISES

1. According to Encyclopedia of Cultural Anthropology (1996), post-modernism is defined as an eclectic movement, originating in aesthetics - architecture and philosophy. Post modernism espouses a systematic skepticism of grounded theoretical perspective. Applied to anthropology, this skepticism has focused from the observation of a particular society to the observation of the observer.
2. Post-modernity concentrates on the tensions of difference and similarity erupting from globalization processes like cross-cultural interaction, interaction of local and global knowledge. It includes historical perspective of modernism and modernity.
3. Post-modernists are suspicious of authoritative definitions and singular narratives of any events. Post modern attacks of ethnography are based on the belief that there is no objectivity, scientific method is not possible.
4. Post modernists have been divided into two very broad camps, skeptics and affirmatives.

Skeptical Post modernists: They are extremely critical of the modern subject: they reject theory because theories are abundant, and no theory is considered more correct than any other. They feel that "Theory conceals, distorts, and obfuscates, it is alienated, disparate, and dissonant, it means to exclude, order, and control rival powers".

Affirmative Postmodernists: Affirmatives also reject theory by denying claims of truth. They do not, however feel that theory needs to be abolished, but merely transformed. Affirmatives are less rigid than skeptics.

5. **Self-Reflexivity:** Reflexivity can be defined as "The scientific observer's objectification of structure and placing the actors in a framework not of their own making but one produced by the observer". Self-reflexivity leads to a consciousness of the process of knowledge creation. It emphasizes the point of theoretical and practical questioning changing the ethnographer's view of themselves and their work. There is an increased awareness of the collection of data and the limitation of methodological systems. This idea becomes coherent in the postmodernists study of the culture of the anthropology.

Methodology

In several sources it is indicated that one of the essential elements of postmodernism is that it is on attack against theory and methodology. However, there are two methodologies characteristic of postmodernism which are interdependent - Deconstruction and Intuitive Interpretation. As substitutes for the scientific method, the affirmatives look to feeling and personal experience, skeptical post modernists say three are no substitutes for methods as we can really know anything.

Deconstruction: Deconstruction emphasizes negative critical capacity. It involves demystifying text to reveal external arbitrary presuppositions. By examining the margins of text, the effort of deconstruction is to identify what it represses, what it does not say and its incongruities. Deconstruction does not resolve inconsistencies but rather exposes them for distillation of information.

Intuitive Interpretation: Post modernism employs interpretation which is introspective and is a form of individualized understanding. It is more a vision than data observation. In Anthropology interpretation centers on listening to and talking with others.

Accomplishments

1. **Demystification:** Perhaps the greatest accomplishments of post modernism are the focus upon epistemological and ideological motivations in the social sciences.
2. **Critical Examination of Ethnographic Explanation:** Reexamination of the nature of ethnography leads to a questioning of ethnography itself as a mode of cultural analysis. Post modernism adamantly insists that anthropologists must consider the role of their own culture in the explanation of cultures being studied.
3. Post modern theory has led to a heightened sensitivity within anthropology to the collection of data.

Criticism

1. Roy D'Andrade in the article "Moral Models in Anthropology" criticizes post modernist concept of objectivity and subjectivity and states that objectivity is not impossible and in no way dehumanizing. He adds "science works not because it produces unbiased accounts but because its accounts are objective enough to be proved or disproved, no matter what any one wants to be true".

2. Melford Spiro argues that post-modern anthropologists cannot dismiss scientific method because if anthropology turns away from the scientific method, then anthropology will become the study of meanings, not discovery of causes which shape what it is to be human. Without objectives

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Leading Figures

Jean-Francois Lyotard: *"The Postmodern would be that which in the modern invokes unpresentable in presentation itself, that which refuses the consolation of correct forms, refuses the consensus of taste permitting a common experience of nostalgia for the impossible, and inquires into new presentations - not to take pleasure in them, but to better produce the feeling that there is something unpresentable."* Lyotard attacks many of the modern age traditions, such as the "Grand" Narrative or what Lyotard termed the Meta (master) narrative). In contrast to the ethnographies written by anthropologists in the first half of the 20th Century, Lyotard is stating that an all encompassing account of a culture cannot be done.

Jean Baudrillard: Baudrillard is a sociologist who began his work researching the, "Marxist critique of capitalism. During this phase of his work he argues that, "consumer objects constitute a system of signs that differentiate the population". To Baudrillard an individual seeks order within a society from objects. After sometime, however, Baudrilliard felt that Marxists tenets were not effectively evaluating commodities so he turned to postmodernism. Rosenau labels Baudrillard as a skeptic postmodernist for statements like, "everything has already happened... nothing new can occur", or "there is no real world". Baudrillard breaks down modernity and post modernity in an effort to explain the world as a set of models. He identifies early modernity as the period at the start of the Industrial Revolution, and post modernity as the period of mass media (cinema and photography). Baudrillard states that we live in a world of images but only simulations. Baudrillard implies that many people fail to understand this concept that, "we have now moved into an epoch...... where truth is entirely a product of consensus values, and where 'science' itself is just the name we attach to certain modes of explanation".

Jacques Derrida (1930 -) Derrida is identified as a poststructuralist and a skeptical postmodernist. In much of his writing he is concerned with the deconstruction of texts and the relationship of meaning between texts. He states, "a text employs its own stratagems against it producing a force of dislocation that spreads itself through an entire system". Derrida attacks Western philosophy in its understanding of reason. He sees reason as dominated by, metaphysics of presence". Derrida agrees with structuralisms insight, that meaning is not inherent in signs, but he proposes that it is incorrect to infer that anything reasoned can be used as a stable and timeless model. He tries to problemize the grounds of reason, truth, and knowledge and he questions the highest point by demanding reasoning for reasoning itself.

Michel Foucault (1926-1984): Foucault was a French philosopher who attempted to show that basic ideas about how people think of permanent truths of human nature and society change throughout the course of history. While challenging the influence of Marx and Freud, Foucault postulated that everyday practices enabled people to define their identities and systemize knowledge. Foucault's study of power and its shifting patterns is a fundamental concept of postmodernism. Foucault is considered a postmodern theorist because his work upsets the conventional understanding of history as a chronology of inevitable facts and replaces it with under players of suppressed and unconscious knowledge in and throughout history. These under players are the codes and unconscious knowledge in and throughout history and are the codes and assumptions of order, the structures of exclusion that legitimate the epistemes, by which societies achieve identities.

Nancy Scheper-Hughes (1944 -): She is a professor of Anthropology at the University of California, Berkeley. In her work "Primacy of the Ethical" Scheper-Hughes argues that, "If we cannot begin to think about social institutions and practices in moral or ethical terms, then anthropology strikes me as quite weak and useless." She feels that ethnographies can be used as tools for critical reflection and human liberation because she feels that "ethics" make culture possible. Since culture is preceded by ethics, therefore ethics cannot be culturally bound as argued by anthropologists in the past. These philosophies are evident in her other works such as, "Death without Weeping". The crux of her post-modern perspective is that, "Anthropologists, no less than any other professionals, should be held accountable for how we have used and how we have failed to use anthropology as a critical tool at crucial historical moments. It is the act of "witnessing" that lends our word its moral, at times almost theological, character".

7. CULTURE, LANGUAGE AND COMMUNICATION

Language is a system of conventional spoken or written symbols by means of which human beings, as members of a social group and participants in its culture, communicate.

Many definitions of language have been proposed. Henry Sweet, an English phonetician and language scholar, stated: "Language is the expression of ideas by means of speech-sounds combined into words. Words are combined into sentences, this combination answering to that of ideas into thoughts." The U.S. linguists Bernard Bloch and George L. Trager formulated the following definition: "A language is a system of arbitrary vocal symbols by means of which a social group cooperates."

A number of considerations enter into a proper understanding of language as a subject:

1. Every physiologically and mentally normal person acquires in childhood the ability to make use, as both speaker and hearer, of a system of vocal communication that comprises a circumscribed set of noises resulting from movements of certain organs within his throat and mouth. By means of these he is able to impart information, to express feelings and emotions, to influence the activities of others, and to behave himself with varying degrees of friendliness or hostility toward persons who make use of substantially the same set of noises.

2. Normally, people acquire a single language initially—their first language, or mother tongue, the language spoken by their parents or by those with whom they are brought up from infancy. Subsequent "second" languages are learned to different degrees of competence under various conditions, but the majority of the world's population remains largely monolingual. Complete mastery of two languages is designated as bilingualism; in a few special cases—such as upbringing by parents speaking different languages at home—speakers grow up as bilinguals, but ordinarily the learning, to any extent, of a second or other language is an activity superimposed on the prior mastery of one's first language and is a different process intellectually.

3. Language, as described above, is species-specific to man. Other members of the animal kingdom have the ability to communicate, through vocal noises or by other means, but the most important single feature characterizing human language (that is, every individual language), against every known mode of animal communication, is its infinite productivity and creativity. Human beings are unrestricted in what they can talk about; no area of experience is accepted as necessarily incommunicable, though it may be necessary to adapt one's language in order to cope with new discoveries or new modes of thought.

Animal communication systems are by contrast very tightly circumscribed in what may be communicated. Indeed, displaced reference, the ability to communicate about things outside immediate temporal and spatial contiguity, which is fundamental to speech, is found elsewhere only in the so-called language of bees. Bees are able, by carrying out various conventionalized movements (referred to as bee dances) in or near the hive, to indicate to others the locations and strengths of nectar sources. But nectar sources are the only known theme of this communication system. Surprisingly, however, this system, nearest to human language in function, belongs to a species remote from man in the animal kingdom and is achieved by very different physiological activities from those involved in speech. On the other hand, the animal performance superficially most like human speech, the mimicry of parrots and of some other birds that have been kept in the company of humans, is wholly derivative and serves no independent communicative function. Man's nearest relatives among the primates, though possessing a vocal physiology very similar to that of humans, have not developed anything like a spoken language.

Language interacts with every other aspect of human life in society, and it can be understood only if it is considered in relation to society. Because each language is both a working system of communication in the period and in the community wherein it is used and also the product of its past history and the source of its future development, any account of language must consider it from both these points of view.

The science of language is known as linguistics. It includes what are generally distinguished as descriptive linguistics and historical linguistics. Linguistics is now a highly technical subject; it embraces, both descriptively and historically, such major divisions as phonetics, grammar, and semantics, dealing in detail with these various aspects of language. Understanding language as a social and cultural phenomenon is the concern of **linguistic anthropology.** More about his area is discussed in the first chapter of this paper.

Importance of Language: Language is obviously a vital tool. Not only is it a means of communicating thoughts and ideas, but it forges friendships, cultural ties, and economic relationships. Speech and Communication depends on language as Speech is the verbal use of language, language is the organization and meaning of words or symbols, and communication is the recognition and understanding of the language.

Language, of course, is knowledge, and in our world today knowledge is one of the key factors in competitiveness. Brains and knowledge are what create the prosperity and growth we tend to take for granted. In an advanced industrial society in an increasingly interdependent world, the knowledge of other languages becomes indispensable. Just think of how the advent of the Internet has changed our lives. For the last few years, millions of people across the world, who share common interests, are able to communicate with each other and exchange ideas. Not only are they able to do this due to the various technological advances, but also because they share a common language.

Language is very important in any culture. A language does far more than just enable people to communicate with each other. The language of one country is different from the other country and it tells the features of the country which distinguish it from one company to another. Languages shape the way people perceive the world and it also provides help to define culture of any society. There are countries in which more than one language is spoken; you will find more than one culture in that society.

Speech Vs Language: Many linguists make a distinction between speech and language, most famously Saussure (1916). Speech involves producing sounds from the voice box. Talking birds, such as some parrots, are able to imitate human speech with varying ability. However, this ability to mimic human sounds is very different from the acquisition of syntax. On the other hand, the deaf generally do not use speech but are able to communicate effectively using sign language, which is considered a fully-developed, complex, modern language. What this implies is that the evolution of modern human language required both the development of the anatomical apparatus for speech and also neurological changes in the brain to support language itself.

NATURE OF LANGUAGE

There are three theoretical positions about the nature of language – The Structural View, the Communicative View and the Interactional View or perspective.

The structural perspective views language as a system of structurally related elements for the transmission of the meaning. These elements are usually described as phonological units (phonemes), grammatical units (phrases, clauses and sentences), grammatical operations (adding, shifting, joining or transforming elements) and lexical elements (function words and structure words). This is a pure linguistic treatment / analysis of language that constitutes understanding the various structural aspects of language and the areas of research under this perspective involve linguistic analysis and discourse. The target of language learning, under the structural perspective is the mastery of elements of the language system.

The communicative or functional perspective is the view that language is vehicle for the expression of functional meaning. This perspective lays more emphasis on the semantic and communicative dimensions of language than the grammatical or structural characteristics, although they are included in the study. Areas of research under this perspective include areas such as sociolinguistics, semantics and pragmatics. The objective of language study is to learn the expressive communication function and

The interactional view of language sees language primarily as the means for establishing and maintaining interpersonal relationships and for performing social transactions between individuals. Areas of research in this context include interactional analysis, conversational analysis etc. The object of learning in this area of research is to understand how people initiate and maintain conversations with each other.

CHARACTERISTICS OF LANGUAGE

1. **Language is a system**: Language has different linguistic levels (phonological, related to phonemes, intonation and rhythm; lexical semantic, which have to do with lexis, i.e., the words, and their meaning (semantics); syntactical, i.e., the rules of grammar; discourse, written language; conversation, i.e., the characteristics of spoken discourse (turn-taking, use of words, etc.); sociolinguistic (social factors, such as educational level, age, ethnic, sex, etc.);
2. **Language is dynamic:** This implies that language is changing constantly. Language is characterized by change in both its words and its meaning. Language can vary in its words or meaning from one generation to the other
3. **Dialects:** Language is subject to regional variation. Varieties of the same language (such as English) are spoken in the same country (Southern English vs. Northern English); there are also differences between countries (USA, UK, New Zealand, Australia, etc.) and different dialects as well (India, etc.);
4. **Sociolect:** Language is subject to social variation. The way the same language is spoken may vary depending on the speaker's social class or occupational groups. (more on this later in the chapter)
5. **Idolect:** Language is subject to individual variations. It is something like language DNA. This implies that no two individuals speak the same language in exactly the same manner. There are variations such as voice clarity and quality, pitch and speech rhythm, and differences in the choice of words and use of grammar, though all the speakers by and large follow the same rules of linguistic structure.
6. **Language is symbolic and arbitrary:** Most words in any language are symbols. For instance, the word apple neither looks nor sounds like an apple (how would an apple sound, anyway?). The relation between the word-symbol "apple" and the fruit it signifies is **arbitrary**, established by a convention handed down by word of mouth in a given speech community. For this reason, this fruit is signified by completely different sounds in other languages. In Mandarin Chinese it would be "ping guo"; in Cherokee "sunta"; in Spanish "manzana".

ORIGIN OF LANGUAGE

There are two main hypotheses exist concerning the origin of first language. Neither can be proven or disproved given the present knowledge.

1. **Divine Creation Hypothesis:** Many societies throughout history believed that language is the gift of the gods to humans. The most familiar is found in Genesis 2:20, which tells us that Adam gave names to all living creatures. This belief predicates that humans were created from the start with an innate capacity to use language.

   It can't be proven that language is as old as humans, but it is definitely true that language and human society are inseparable. Wherever humans exist language exists. Every Stone Age tribe ever encountered has a language equal to English, Latin, or Greek in terms of its expressive potential and grammatical complexity. Technologies may be complex or simple, but language is always complex. Charles Darwin noted this fact when he stated that as far as concerns language, "Shakespeare walks with the Macedonian swineherd and Plato with the wild savage of Assam." In fact, it sometimes seems that languages spoken by preindustrial societies are much more complex grammatically than languages such as English (example: English has about seven tense forms and three noun genders; Kivunjo, a Bantu language spoken on the slopes of Mount Kilimanjaro, has 14 tenses and about 20

noun classes.) There are no primitive languages, nor are any known to have existed in the past - even among the most remote tribes of Stone Age hunter-gatherers.

   Nevertheless, it is impossible to prove that the first anatomically modern humans possessed creative language. It is also impossible to disprove the hypothesis that primitive languages might have existed at some point in the distant past of *Homo sapiens* development.

2. **Natural Evolution Hypothesis:** According to this hypothesis, some point in their evolutionary development, humans acquired a more sophisticated brain which made language invention and learning possible. In other words, at some point in time humans evolved a **language acquisition device**, (Noam Chomsky & Steven Pinker) whatever this may be in real physical terms. The simple vocalizations and gestures inherited from our primate ancestors then quickly gave way to a creative system of language - perhaps within a single generation or two. According to the natural evolution hypothesis, as soon as humans developed the biological, or neurological, capacity for creative language, the cultural development of some specific system of forms with meanings would have been an inevitable next step.

   This hypothesis cannot be proven either. Archeological evidence unearthed thus far, seems to indicate that modern humans, *Homo sapiens*, emerged within the last 150,000 years. By 30,000 BC all other species of humanoids seem to have been supplanted by *Homo sapiens*. Could the success of our species vis-a-vis other hominids be explained by its possession of superior communicative skills? Speaking people could teach, plan, organize, and convey more sophisticated information. This would have given them unparalleled advantage over hominid groups without creative language. Of course, no one knows whether other species of humanoids--*Homo erectus* and *Neanderthals* -- used creative language. Perhaps they also did. In any case, *Homo sapiens*, "the wise human," should perhaps really be called *Homo loquens*, "the speaking human" because language and humans are everywhere found together, whereas wisdom among humans is much more selectively distributed.

   The next logical question that arises is that if humans acquired the capacity for language either by divine gift or by evolution, then exactly how might humans have devised the first language?

   There are several hypotheses as to how language might have been consciously invented by humans based on a more primitive system of hominid communication. Each hypothesis is predicated on the idea that the invention of language and its gradual refinement served as a continuous impetus to additional human mental development. None of the invention hypotheses is convincing and most linguists agree that the origin of language is still a mystery. But the inventive, sarcastic names given these hypotheses by their critics (mostly by the great philologist Max Mueller), explains the lack of agreement even amongst linguists.

Broadly, there are two sets of hypothesis that concern how humans have devised the first language – **The Imitation Hypothesis** and **the Necessity Hypothesis.** The former believe that language began through some sort of human mimicry of naturally occurring sounds or movements, while the latter hold that language began as a response to some acute necessity in the community.

The Imitation Hypothesis

1. The "**ding-dong**" **hypothesis** says that language began when humans started naming objects, actions and phenomena after a recognizable sound associated with it in real life. This hypothesis holds that the first human words were a type of verbal **icon**, a sign whose form is an exact image of its meaning: *crash* became the word for thunder, *boom* for explosion. Some words in language obviously did derive from imitation of natural sounds associated with some object: Chinook Indian word for heart-- *tun-tun*, Basque word for knife: *ai-ai* (literally *ouch-ouch*). Each of these iconic words would derive from an **index**, a sign whose form is naturally associated with its meaning in real space and time. The problem with this hypothesis is that **onomatopoeia** (imitation of sound, auditory iconicity) is a very limited part of the vocabulary of any language; imitative sounds differ from language to language: Russian: *ba-bakh*=bang, *bukh*= thud. Even if onomatopoeia provided the first dozen or so words, then

where did names for the thousands of naturally noiseless concepts such as *rock, sun, sky* or *love* come from?

2. The **"pooh-pooh" hypothesis** holds that the first words came from involuntary exclamations of dislike, hunger, pain, or pleasure, eventually leading to the expression of more developed ideas and emotions. In this case the first word would have been an involuntary *ha-ha-ha, wa-wa-wa.* These began to be used to name the actions which caused these sounds. The problem with this hypothesis is that, once again, emotional exclamations are a very small part of any language. They are also highly language specific. For instance, to express sudden pain or discomfort: Eng. *ouch*; Russ. *oi*; Cherokee *eee*. Thus, exclamations are more like other words in that they reflect the phonology of each separate language. Unlike sneezes, tears, hiccoughs or laughter, which are innate human responses to stimuli, the form of exclamations depends on language rather than precedes language. Also, exclamations, like most other words are symbols, showing at least a partially arbitrary relationship between sound and meaning.

3. The **"bow-wow" hypothesis** (the most famous and therefore the most ridiculed hypothesis) holds that vocabulary developed from imitations of animal noises, such as: *Moo, bark, hiss, meow, and quack-quack*. In other words, the first human words were a type of index, a sign whose form is naturally connected with its meaning in time and space. But, once again, **onomatopoeia** is a limited part of the vocabulary of any language. The linguistic renditions of animal sounds differ considerably from language to language, although each species of animal everywhere makes essentially the same sound:

   a) Dog: *bow-wow*; Chinese: *wu-wu*; Jap: *wan-wan*; Russ: *gaf-gaf, tyaff-tyaff*;

   b) Cat:*meow*; Russ: *myaoo*, Chin: *mao*; Jap: *nya-nya* and purr in French is *ron ron*.

   c) Pig: *oink-oink*; Russ: *hryu-hryu*; Chin: *oh-ee-oh-ee*; Jap: *bu-bu*.

   d) Rooster: Russian *kukareiku*; Japanese *kokekoko*

   e) Owl: Russian *ukh*; Cherokee *goo-ku*; Spanish and Japanese - *no special word*

Thus, the human interpretation of animal sounds is dependent upon the individual language, and it seems unlikely than entire vocabularies derived from them.

4. A somewhat different hypothesis is the **"ta-ta" hypothesis** (Gestural hypothesis) Charles Darwin hypothesized (though he himself was skeptical about his own hypothesis) that speech may have developed as a sort of mouth pantomime: the organs of speech were used to imitate the gestures of the hand. In other words, language developed from gestures that began to be imitated by the organs of speech--the first words were lip icons of hand gestures. It is very possible that human language, which today is mostly verbal, had its origin in some system of gestures; other primates rely on gesture as an integral part of communication, so it is plausible that human communication began in the same way. Human gestures, however, just like onomatopoeic words, differ from culture to culture. Cf. English crossing the finger for good luck vs. Russian "fig" gesture; nodding for yes vs. for no in Turkish and Bulgarian; knocking on wood vs. spitting over the left shoulder three times.

The Necessity Hypothesis

1. **Warning hypothesis.** Language may have evolved from warning signals such as those used by animals. Perhaps language started with a warning to others, such as *Look out, Run,* or *Help* to alert members of the tribe when some lumbering beast was approaching. Other first words could have been hunting instructions or instructions connected with other work. In other words, the first words were **indexes** used during everyday activities and situations.

2. The **"yo-he-ho" hypothesis.** Language developed on the basis of human cooperative efforts. The

cave entrances from roving carnivores or repeating warlike phrases to inflame the fighting spirit. It is fairly certain that the first poetry and song came from this aspect of beginning speech. Songs of this type are still with us: Volga boatmen, military marching chants, etc. Plato also believed that language developed out of sheer practical necessity. And Modern English has the saying: *Necessity is the mother of invention.* Speech and right hand coordination are both controlled in the left hemisphere of the brain. Could this be a possible clue that manual dexterity and the need to communicate developed in unison?

3. A more colorful idea is the **lying hypothesis**. E. H. Sturtevant argued that, since all real intentions or emotions get involuntarily expressed by gesture, look or sound, voluntary communication must have been invented for the purpose of lying or deceiving. He proposed that the need to deceive and lie - to use language in contrast to reality for selfish ends - was the social prompting that got language started.

There are no scientific tests to evaluate between these competing hypotheses. All of them seem equally far-fetched. This is why in the late 19th century the Royal Linguistic Society in London actually banned discussion and debate on the origin of language out of fear that none of the arguments had any scientific basis at all and that time would be needlessly wasted on this fruitless enquiry. Attempts to explain the origin of language are usually taken no more seriously today either.

Each of the imitation hypotheses might explain how certain isolated words of language developed. Very few words in human language are verbal **icons**. Most are **symbols**, displaying an arbitrary relationship of sound and meaning. (Example: the word *tree* in several languages: Spanish árbol; French arbre; Slovak strom; Georgian he; Ket oks; Estonian puu; German Baum; Russian derevo; Latvian koks; Hawaiian lā'au).

And each of the necessity hypotheses might explain how involuntary sounds made out of need in certain contexts might have come to be manipulated as words for an object even out of context. However, the extended use of natural **indexes** still leaves unexplained the development of grammar--the patterns in language which have definite structural functions but no specific meaning. The creative, generative aspect of human language that we call grammar is language's most unique feature. Where did grammar come from? There is nothing like grammar (patterns with definite functions yet no set meaning) in animal systems of communication. How language developed a complex grammar remains a complete mystery. This means that how language developed is equally a mystery. We simply don't know how language may have actually evolved from simple animal systems of sounds and gestures.

Regardless of whether language was a special gift from the gods, a natural evolutionary acquisition, or an ingenious, conscious human invention made at some specific moment in our species' distant past, the fact remains that language does exist. And since so many languages exist today, another question arises: **Was there one or more than one original language? Was there one or more than one invention of language?** There are about 5,000 languages spoken on Earth today. We know that there were even more spoken in the past, when most people lived in small bands or tribes rather than in large states.

There are few theories regarding **language diversity.**

1. The oldest belief is that there was a single, original language. The idea of a single ancestor tongue is known today as **monogenesis**. In Judeo-Christian tradition, the original language was used by divine intervention, as described in the story of the Tower of Babel in Genesis. There is a similar story from the Toltecs of pre-Columbian Mexico, who tell of the building of the great pyramid at Cholula, and the dispersal of the builders by an angry god. And similar stories are found in other parts of the world. It may be interesting to note here that people who believe in a single origin for language have different hypotheses as to what that first language may have been.

a) A Basque scholar claimed that the first language was Basque.

b) A German philologist of the last century maintained that German was the first language and that all other languages are inferior corruptions of it. Other European linguists conferred the same exalted status on Greek or Sanskrit.

c) One Swedish philologist claimed that in the Garden of Eden God spoke Swedish, Adam spoke Danish and the serpent spoke French.

2. There is a second hypothesis of human origin and, consequently, of the origin of human language: the **hypothesis of parallel evolution**. This hypothesis holds that, as humans evolved parallel in more than one location; each group developed its own unique language. The hypothesis of the multiple origin of humankind is sometimes called the **Candelabra theory**. The candelabra hypothesis tends to be favored in East Asia and by a smaller number of scientists in the West. The hypothesis of multiple linguistic origins that often goes along with this hypothesis is known as **polygenesis**. Each of the original languages then would then have diverged into numerous forms. The major language families of today would be descended from these separate mother tongues.

3. Theories of monogenesis do not necessarily derive from religious belief. Many modern scholars believe in a theory of monogenesis that has come to be called the **Mother Tongue Theory**. This theory holds that one original language spoken by a single group of *Homo sapiens* perhaps as early as 150 thousand years ago gave rise to all human languages spoken on the Earth today. As humans colonized various continents, this original mother tongue diverged through time to form the numerous languages spoken today. Since many scientists believe that the first fully modern humans appeared in Africa, the mother tongue theory is connected with a more general theory of human origin known as the **Out of Africa theory**. Currently, the theory of evolutionary monogenesis tends to be favored by a group of linguists working in the United States.

Regardless of the origin of language, the fact remains that there are over 5,000 mutually unintelligible forms of human speech used on Earth today. And, although many are radically different from one another in structure - the differences are superficial since each and every one of these languages can be used creatively. Languages do not differ in terms of their creative potential but rather in terms of the level upon which particular distinctions are realized in each particular language. What is expressed concisely in one language requires a phrase in another language. (Wsords like Swahili mumagamagama "a person who habitually loses things" and Russian zajchik "the rainbow reflection from glass.")

VERBAL AND NONVERBAL COMMUNICATION

Speech and writing are, indeed, the fundamental faculties and activities referred to by the term language. There are, however, areas of human behaviour for which the term is used in a peripheral and derivative sense.

When individuals speak, they do not normally confine themselves to the mere emission of speech sounds. Because speaking usually involves at least two parties in sight of each other, a great deal of meaning is conveyed by facial expression, tone of voice, and movements and postures of the whole body but especially of the hands; these are collectively known as gestures. The contribution of bodily gestures to the total meaning of a conversation is in part culturally determined and differs in different communities. Just how important these visual symbols are may be seen when one considers how much less effective telephone conversation is as compared with conversation face to face; the experience of involuntarily smiling at the telephone receiver and immediately realizing that this will convey nothing to the hearer at the other end of the line is common. Again, the part played in emotional contact and in the expression of feelings by facial expressions and tone of voice, quite independently of the words used, has been shown in tests in which subjects have been asked to react to sentences that appear as friendly and inviting when

friendly facial expressions. It is found that it is the visual accompaniments and tone of voice that elicit the main emotional response. A good deal of what goes under the heading of sarcasm exploits these contrasts.

Just as there are **paralinguistic** activities such as facial expressions and bodily gestures integrated with and assisting the communicative function of spoken language, so there are vocally produced noises that cannot be regarded as part of any language, though they help in communication and in the expression of feeling. These include laughter, shouts and screams of joy, fear, pain, and so forth, and conventional expressions of disgust, triumph, and so on, traditionally spelled "ugh!," "ha ha!," etc., in English. Such non-lexical ejaculations differ in important respects from language: they are much more similar in form and meaning throughout mankind as a whole, in contrast to the great diversity of languages; they are far less arbitrary than most of the lexical components of language; and they are much nearer the cries of animals produced under similar circumstances and, as far as is known, serve similar expressive and communicative purposes. As noted above, some people have tried to trace the origin of language itself to them.

Nonverbal communication (NVC) is usually understood as the process of communication through sending and receiving wordless messages.

NVC can be communicated through gesture and touch **(Haptic communication)**, by body language or posture, by facial expression and eye contact. NVC can be communicated through object communication such as clothing, hairstyles or even architecture, symbols and infographics. Speech contains nonverbal elements known as paralanguage, including voice quality, emotion and speaking style, as well as features such as rhythm, intonation and stress. Likewise, written texts have nonverbal elements such as handwriting style, spatial arrangement of words, or the use of emoticons.

However, much of the study of nonverbal communication has focused on face-to-face interaction, where it can be classified into three principal areas: **environmental conditions** where communication takes place, **the physical characteristics** of the communicators, and **behaviors of communicators** during interaction.

Verbal Vs Oral Communication

Scholars in this field usually use a strict sense of the term "verbal", meaning "of or concerned with words," and do not use "verbal communication" as a synonym for oral or spoken communication. Thus, vocal sounds that are not considered to be words, such as a grunt, or singing a wordless note, are nonverbal. Sign languages and writing are generally understood as forms of verbal communication, as both make use of words — although like speech, both may contain paralinguistic elements and often occur alongside nonverbal messages. Nonverbal communication can occur through any sensory channel — sight, sound, smell, touch or taste. NVC is important as: *"When we speak (or listen), our attention is focused on words rather than body language. But our judgment includes both. An audience is simultaneously processing both verbal and nonverbal cues. Body movements are not usually positive or negative in and of themselves; rather, the situation and the message will determine the appraisal."* (Givens, 2000, p. 4)

The first scientific study of nonverbal communication was **Charles Darwin**'s book ***The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals (1872).*** He argued that all mammals show emotion reliably in their faces. Studies now range across a number of fields, including, linguistics, semiotics and social psychology.

While much nonverbal communication is based on arbitrary symbols, which differ from culture to culture, a large proportion is also to some extent iconic and may be universally understood. **Paul Ekman's** influential 1960s studies of facial expression determined that expressions of anger, disgust, fear, joy, sadness and surprise are universal.

Types of Nonverbal Communication

1. **Clothing and Bodily Characteristics:** Elements such as physique, height, weight, hair, skin color, gender, odors, and clothing send nonverbal messages during interaction. For example, a study was made in Vienna, Austria, of the clothing worn by women attending discotheques. It was found for certain groups of women (especially women which were in town without their partners) that motivation for sex, and levels of sexual hormones, were correlated with aspects of the clothing, especially the amount of skin displayed, and the presence of sheer clothing, e.g. at the arms. Thus, to some degree, clothing sent signals about interest in courtship. Research into height has generally found that taller people are perceived as being more impressive. Melamed & Bozionelos (1992) studied a sample of managers in the UK and found that height was a key factor affecting who was promoted. Often people try to make themselves taller, for example, standing on a platform, when they want to make more of an impact with their speaking.

2. **Physical Environment:** Environmental factors such as furniture, architectural style, interior decoration, lighting conditions, colors, temperature, noise, and music affect the behavior of communicators during interaction. The furniture itself can be seen as a nonverbal message.

   a. **Proxemics:** Proxemics is the study of how people use and perceive the physical space around them. The space between the sender and the receiver of a message influences the way the message is interpreted. The perception and use of space varies significantly across cultures and different settings within cultures. Space in nonverbal communication may be divided into four main categories: **intimate, social, personal, and public space.** (Scott Mclean, 1969) The distance between communicators will also depend on sex, status, and social role. Proxemics was first developed by **Edward T. Hall** during the 1950s and 60s. Hall's studies (*The Silent Language)* were inspired by earlier studies of how animals demonstrate territoriality. The term territoriality is still used in the study of proxemics to explain human behavior regarding personal space. **Hargie & Dickson** (2004) identified 4 such territories:

      - **Primary territory**: this refers to an area that is associated with someone who has exclusive use of it. For example, a house that others cannot enter without the owner's permission.

      - **Secondary territory**: unlike the previous type, there is no "right" to occupancy, but people may still feel some degree of ownership of a particular space. For example, someone may sit in the same seat on train every day and feel aggrieved if someone else sits there.

      - **Public territory**: this refers to an area that is available to all, but only for a set period, such as a parking space or a seat in a library. Although people have only a limited claim over that space, they often exceed that claim. For example, it was found that people take longer to leave a parking space when someone is waiting to take that space.

      - **Interaction territory**: this is space created by others when they are interacting. For example, when a group is talking to each other on a footpath, others will walk around the group rather than disturb it.

   b. **Chronemics:** Chronemics is the study of the use of time in nonverbal communication. The way we perceive time, structure our time and react to time is a powerful communication tool, and helps set the stage for communication. Time perceptions include punctuality and willingness to wait, the speed of speech and how long people are willing to listen. The timing and frequency of an action as well as the tempo and rhythm of communications within an interaction contributes to the interpretation of nonverbal messages. **Gudykunst & Ting-Toomey** (1988) identified 2 dominant time patterns:

- **Monochronic time schedule (M-time):** Time is seen as being very important and it is characterized by a linear pattern where the emphasis is on the use of time schedules and appointments. Time is viewed as something that can be controlled or wasted by individuals, and people tend to do one thing at a time. The M-pattern is typically found in North America and Northern Europe.

- **Polychronic time schedule (P-time):** Personal involvement is more important than schedules where the emphasis lies on personal relationships rather than keeping appointments on time. This is the usual pattern that is typically found in Latin America and the Middle East.

3. **Movement and Body Positions:** A number of sub-categories exist in this domain of NVC.

   a. **Kinesics:** Kinesics is the interpretation of body language such as facial expressions and gestures — or, more formally, non-verbal behavior related to movement, either of any part of the body or the body as a whole. The term was first used (in 1952) by Ray Birdwhistell, an anthropologist who wished to study how people communicate through posture, gesture, stance, and movement. Part of Birdwhistell's work involved making film of people in social situations and analyzing them to show different levels of communication not clearly seen otherwise. The study was joined by several other anthropologists, including Margaret Mead and Gregory Bateson. Drawing heavily on descriptive linguistics, Birdwhistell argued that all movements of the body have meaning (i.e. are not accidental), and that these non-verbal forms of language (or paralanguage) have a grammar that can be analyzed in similar terms to spoken language. Thus, a "kineme" is "similar to a phoneme because it consists of a group of movements which are not identical, but which may be used interchangeably without affecting social meaning" Birdwhistell estimated that "no more than 30 to 35 percent of the social meaning of a conversation or an interaction is carried by the words." He also concluded that there were no universals in these kinesic displays - a claim disproved by Paul Ekman's analysis of universals in facial expression. Kinesics are an important part of non-verbal communication behavior. The movement of the body, or separate parts, conveys many specific meanings and the interpretations may be culture bound. As many movements are carried out at a subconscious or at least a low-awareness level, kinesic movements carry a significant risk of being misinterpreted in an intercultural communications situation.

   b. **Posture:** Posture can be used to determine a participant's degree of attention or involvement, the difference in status between communicators, and the level of fondness a person has for the other communicator. Studies investigating the impact of posture on interpersonal relationships suggest that mirror-image congruent postures, where one person's left side is parallel to the other's right side, leads to favorable perception of communicators and positive speech; a person who displays a forward lean or signify positive sentiment during communication. Posture is understood through such indicators as direction of lean, body orientation, arm position, and body openness.

   c. **Gesture:** A gesture is a non-vocal bodily movement intended to express meaning. They may be articulated with the hands, arms or body, and also include movements of the head, face and eyes, such as winking, nodding, or rolling ones' eyes. The boundary between language and gesture, or verbal and nonverbal communication, can be hard to identify. Psychologists Paul Ekman and Wallace Friesen suggested that gestures could be categorized into five types: emblems, illustrators, affect displays, regulators, and adaptors.

      - **Emblems** are gestures with direct verbal translations, such as a goodbye wave;

      - **Illustrators** are gestures that depict what is said verbally, such as turning an imaginary steering wheel while talking about driving;

- **Regulators** are gestures that control interaction;
- An **adaptor** is a gesture that facilitates the release of bodily tension, such as quickly moving one's leg.

Gestures can also be categorized as either speech-independent or speech-related. Speech-independent gestures are dependent upon culturally accepted interpretation and have a direct verbal translation. A wave hello or a peace sign are examples of speech-independent gestures. Speech related gestures are used in parallel with verbal speech; this form of nonverbal communication is used to emphasize the message that is being communicated. Speech related gestures are intended to provide supplemental information to a verbal message such as pointing to an object of discussion.

Gestures play a major role in many aspects of human life. Gesturing is probably universal. Gestures are a crucial part of everyday conversation such as chatting, describing a route, negotiating prices on a market; they are ubiquitous. Gestures have been documented in the arts such as in Greek vase paintings, Indian Miniatures or European paintings. Gestures also play a central role in religious or spiritual rituals such as the Christian sign of the cross. In Hinduism and Buddhism, a mudra (Sanskrit, literally "seal") is a symbolic gesture made with the hand or fingers. Each mudra has a specific meaning, playing a central role in Hindu and Buddhist iconography. An example is the Vitarka mudra, the gesture of discussion and transmission of Buddhist teaching. It is done by joining the tips of the thumb and the index together, while keeping the other fingers straight.

d. **Haptics:** Haptics is the study of touching as nonverbal communication. Touches that can be defined as communication include handshakes, holding hands, kissing (cheek, lips, hand), back slapping, high fives, a pat on the shoulder, and brushing an arm. Touching of oneself may include licking, picking, holding, and scratching. These behaviors are referred to as "adaptors" and may send messages that reveal the intentions or feelings of a communicator. The meaning conveyed from touch is highly dependent upon the context of the situation, the relationship between communicators, and the manner of touch.

e. **Eye gaze:** The study of the role of eyes in nonverbal communication is sometimes referred to as "**oculesics**". Eye contact can indicate interest, attention, and involvement. Gaze comprises the actions of looking while talking, looking while listening, amount of gaze, and frequency of glances, patterns of fixation, pupil dilation, and blink rate.

4. **Paralanguage:** Paralanguage (sometimes called **vocalics**) is the study of nonverbal cues of the voice. Various acoustic properties of speech such as tone, pitch and accent, collectively known as **prosody**, can all give off nonverbal cues. Paralanguage may change the meaning of words. The linguist **George L. Trager** developed a classification system which consists of the voice set, voice qualities, and vocalization.

- **The voice** set is the context in which the speaker is speaking. This can include the situation, gender, mood, age and a person's culture.
- **The voice qualities** are volume, pitch, tempo, rhythm, articulation, resonance, nasality, and accent. They give each individual a unique "voice print".
- **Vocalization** consists of three subsections: characterizers, qualifiers and segregates. Characterizers are emotions expressed while speaking, such as laughing, crying, and yawning. A voice qualifier is the style of delivering a message - for example, yelling "Hey stop that!", as opposed to whispering "Hey stop that". Vocal segregates such as "uh-huh" notify the speaker that the listener is listening.

SOCIAL CONTEXT OF LANGUAGE USE

Language and Culture

It has been seen that language is much more than the external expression and communication of internal thoughts formulated independently of their verbalization. This is demonstrated by the fact that one's mother tongue is intimately and in all sorts of details related to the rest of one's life in a community and to smaller groups within that community. This is true of all peoples and all languages; it is a universal fact about language.

Although the faculty of language acquisition and language use is innate and inherited, every individual's language is "acquired by man as a member of society," along with and at the same time as other aspects of that society's culture in which he is brought up. Society and language are mutually indispensable. Language can have developed only in a social setting, and human society could be maintained only among people speaking and understanding a common language.

Language is transmitted culturally; that is, it is learned. To a lesser extent it is taught, when parents deliberately encourage their children to talk and to respond to talk, correct their mistakes, and enlarge their vocabulary. But it must be emphasized that children very largely acquire their mother tongue (i.e., their first language) by "grammar construction" from exposure to a random collection of utterances that they encounter.

If language is transmitted as part of culture, it is no less true that culture as a whole is transmitted very largely through language, insofar as it is explicitly taught. The fact that mankind has a history in the sense that animals do not is entirely the result of language.

Sociolinguistics is the study of the effect of any and all aspects of society, including cultural norms, expectations, and context, on the way language is used. It also studies how languages differ between groups separated by certain social variables, e.g., ethnicity, religion, status, gender, level of education, age, etc., and how creation and adherence to these rules is used to categorize individuals in social or socioeconomic classes. As the usage of a language varies from place to place (dialect), language usage varies among social classes, and it is these **sociolects** that sociolinguistics studies. Some fundamental concepts of sociolinguistics are described here.

Speech Community: Speech community is a concept in sociolinguistics that describes a more or less discrete group of people who use language in a unique and mutually accepted way among themselves. Speech communities can be members of a profession with a specialized jargon, distinct social groups like high school students or hip hop fans, or even tight-knit groups like families and friends. Members of speech communities will often develop slang or jargon to serve the group's special purposes and priorities.

Prestige: Crucial to sociolinguistic analysis is the concept of prestige. Certain speech habits are assigned positive or negative values and these are automatically assigned to the speaker. Prestige can operate on many levels. It can be realized on individual sound or phoneme level to pronunciation. On a macro scale, prestige values extend to language-choice.

Social Networks: Understanding language in society means that one also has to understand the social networks in which language is embedded. A social network is another way of describing a particular speech community in terms of relations between individual members in a community. A network could be loose or tight depending on how members interact with each other. For instance, an office or factory may be considered a tight community because all members interact with each other. A large group with 100+ students is a looser community because students may only interact with the instructor and maybe 1-2 other students. A multiplex community is one in which members have multiple relationships with each other. For instance, in some neighborhoods, members may live on the same street, work for the same employer and even intermarry. The looseness or tightness of a social network may affect speech of people if they participated in a relatively dense social network (i.e. had strong local ties and interacted with many other speakers in the community), and less likely if their networks were looser (i.e. fewer local ties). A social network may apply to the macro level of a country or a city, but also to the inter-personal level of neighborhoods or a single family. Recently, social networks have been formed by the Internet, through chat rooms, MySpace groups, organizations, and online dating services.

Class Differences: Sociolinguistics as a field distinct from **dialectology** was pioneered through the study of language variation in urban areas. Whereas dialectology studies the geographic distribution of language variation, sociolinguistics focuses on other sources of variation, among them class. Class and occupation are among the most important linguistic markers found in society. One of the fundamental findings of sociolinguistics, which has been hard to disprove, is that class and language variety are related. Members of the working class tend to speak less standard language, while the lower, middle, and upper middle class will in turn speak closer to the standard. However, the upper class, even members of the upper middle class, may often speak 'less' standard than the middle class. This is because not only class, but class aspirations, are important.

Class Aspiration: Studies, such as those by William Labov in the 1960s, have shown that social aspirations influence speech patterns. This is also true of class aspirations. In the process of wishing to be associated with a certain class (usually the upper class and upper middle class) people who are moving in that direction socio-economically will adjust their speech patterns to sound like them. However, not being native upper class speakers, they often hypercorrect, which involves overcorrecting their speech to the point of introducing new errors. The same is true for individuals moving down in socio-economic status.

Social Language Codes: Basil Bernstein, a well-known British socio-linguist, devised in his book, 'Elaborated and restricted codes: their social origins and some consequences,' a social code system which he used to classify the various speech patterns for different social classes. He claimed that members of the middle class have ways of organizing their speech which are fundamentally very different from the ways adopted by the working class.

1. **Restricted code:** In Basil Bernstein's theory, the restricted code was an example of the speech patterns used by the working-class. He stated that this type of code allows strong bonds between group members, who tend to behave largely on the basis of distinctions such as 'male', 'female', 'older', and 'younger'. This social group also uses language in a way which brings unity between people, and members often do not need to be explicit about meaning, as their shared knowledge and common understanding often bring them together in a way which other social language groups do not experience. The difference with the restricted code is the emphasis on 'we' as a social group, which fosters greater solidarity than an emphasis on 'I'.

2. **Elaborated code:** Basil Bernstein also studied what he named the 'elaborated code' explaining that in this type of speech pattern the middle and upper classes use this language style to gain access to education and career advancement. Bonds within this social group are not as well defined and people achieve their social identity largely on the basis of individual disposition and temperament. There is no obvious division of tasks according to sex or age and generally, within this social formation members negotiate and achieve their roles, rather than have them there ready-made in advance. Due to the lack of solidarity the elaborated social language code requires individual intentions and viewpoints to be made explicit as the 'I' has a greater emphasis with this social group than the working class.

Age Differences: There are several different types of age-based variation one may see within a population. One example of subgroup vernacular is the speech of street youth. Just as street youth dress differently from the "norm", they also often have their own "language". The reasons for this are the following: (1) To enhance their own cultural identity (2) To identify with each other, (3) To exclude others, and (4) To invoke feelings of fear or admiration from the outside world. Strictly speaking, this is not truly age-based, since it does not apply to all individuals of that age bracket within the community.

Differences according to Gender: Men and women, on average, tend to use slightly different language styles. Most of these differences tend to be more quantitative than qualitative. Some major areas of these differences are discusses here.

1. According to Zimmerman and West, women tend to make more **minimal responses** compared to men. Minimal responses imply the use of paralinguistic features like "mhm" or "yeah". Men on the other hand, generally use them less frequently and where they do, it is usually to show agreement.

2. Men and women differ in their use of **questions** in conversations. For men, a question is usually a genuine request for information whereas with women it can often be a rhetorical means of engaging the other's conversational contribution or of acquiring attention from others conversationally involved, techniques associated with a collaborative approach to language use (Barnes). Therefore women use questions more frequently. In writing, however, both genders use rhetorical questions as literary devices.

3. According to DeFrancisco, female linguistic behavior characteristically encompasses a desire to **take turns** in conversation with others, which is opposed to men's tendency towards centering on their own point or remaining silent when presented with such implicit offers of conversational turn-taking as are provided by hedges such as "y' know" and "isn't it". This desire for turn-taking gives rise to complex forms of interaction in relation to the more regimented form of turn-taking commonly exhibited by men.

4. According to Dorval, males tend to **change the subject** more frequently than females. This difference may well be at the root of the conception that women chatter and talk too much, and may still trigger the same thinking in some males. In this way lowered estimation of women may arise. Incidentally, this androcentric attitude towards women as chatterers arguably arose from the idea that any female conversation was too much talking according to the patriarchal consideration of silence as a womanly virtue common to many cultures.

5. Men tend to be more **verbally aggressive** in conversing (Labov), frequently using threats, profanities, yelling and name-calling. Women, on the whole, deem this to disrupt the flow of conversation and not as a means of upholding one's hierarchical status in the conversation.

6. More recently, Deborah Tannen has compared gender differences in language as more similar to 'cultural' differences. Comparing conversational goals, she argued that men have a **report style**, aiming to communicate factual information, whereas women have a **rapport style**, more concerned with building and maintaining relationships.

8. RESEARCH METHODS IN ANTHROPOLOGY

A. FIELDWORK TRADITION IN ANTHROPLOGY

The central problem of anthropology is the explanation of humanity. An anthropologist seeks to understand the origin and development of the species, the manner in which humans form groups and develop distinctive ways of life called 'culture' and the various limitations and potentials inherent in humanity. Anthropology is concerned with human beings, past and present, and with all of their works and activities.

There are many other disciplines that deal with humanity but anthropology's special role among the many disciplines concerned with people lies in its unique combination of holistic, historical and comparative methods, which are explained in the first chapter of this paper.

Anthropology cannot be conceived without fieldwork. Fieldwork is the study of people and their culture in their natural habitat. Anthropological field work has been characterized by the prolonged residence of the investigator; his participation in and observation of the society, and his attempt to understand the inside view of societies. A society provides a ready-made laboratory for the social scientist in some-what the same way that the human organism serves the biologist.

Field studies have long been the hallmark of cultural anthropologists and to a lesser extent of sociologists; they are increasingly being done by political scientists. A difference exists between anthropologists and sociologists in the history, problems and methods of field work; today, however the trend is towards similarity.

Anthropologists began to do field studies toward the end of the 19th century although Morgan's study of Iroquois appeared somewhat earlier. The major emphasis on anthropological field work has been primarily from British and American anthropologists, with notable exceptions as the work of Thornwood in Germany and of Levi-Strauss in France. Among the first expeditions were those of Franz Boas in British Columbia and of Haddon with his associates in the Torres Strait region of the Pacific. Their goal was to extend the boundaries of the knowledge of man by studying wide variations in his cultures.

The publication of Malinowski's "Argonauts of Western Pacific" in 1922 revealed the great potentialities of field work. This study of the Trobriand Islanders, among whom Malinowski had lived for almost three years, set new standards for field workers which continue to operate. Field work came to mean immersion in tribal societies, learning as far as possible, to speak, to think, to see, to feel and to act as a member of its culture and at the same time, as a trained anthropologist from a different culture. Starting with field research in small and homogenous societies, in recent years the range in type and size of societies studied by the anthropologists has been much extended. With this extension, new methods have developed but certain others have remained constant.

Nature of Anthropological Research

Anthropologists are considered to be the only academic specialists who are routinely trained in art of studying and understanding the cultures other than their own and they have become the authorities on the art, music and literature of most of the peoples of the world. This authority and the development of knowledge about alien cultures and traditions are not learnt in a strike of a second or prolonged historical research, but by the magnificent capability of participant observation of an anthropologist who tries to mingle with the people of the society he studies and develops the knowledge of their culture by merely practicing it. This is followed in the specific and systematic manner. This systematic procedure is called Field Work Methodology.

An anthropologist has developed an ability to compare modernized societies with other quite different societies and this ability tends to highlight unusual features of modern society and modern thought. An anthropologist, through his field research, brings to light an object which may be at the same time

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understanding, which is an additional form of proof. In demand for supplementary proof, one rather imagines the anthropologist as modeled after an engineer, who conceives and constructs a machine by a series of rational operations, it has to work, however a logical certainty is not enough. The possibility of trying the intimate experience of the "other" with oneself is but one of the means available for obtaining this final empirical satisfaction for which every research feels a need, less a proof, perhaps than a guarantee.

In anthropology, experimentation precedes both observation and hypothesis. One of the peculiarities of the small societies an anthropologist studies during his field work is that each constitutes a readymade experiment because of its relative simplicity and limited number of variables required to explain its functioning. By comparison with other researchers, anthropologist enjoys an advantage and suffers a handicap. He finds the experiments already setup - but he cannot control them. It is therefore natural that anthropologists attempt to substitute for them, models or systems which preserve the characteristic property of the experiment but which they are able to manipulate.

The boldness of such an approach is however tampered by the observation as practiced by an anthropologist. Leaving his country, his home, for long periods of time, exposing himself to hunger, sickness and sometimes danger, surrendering his customs, his beliefs and without mental restriction, he assumes the forms of life of an alien society. An anthropologist practices integral observation, observation beyond which there is nothing except complete absorption of the observer by the object of his observation.

This alternation of rhythm between two methods - the empirical and the deductive and the rigor with which an anthropologist practices each in an extreme and almost purified form, gives anthropology its distinctive character among the various branches of science. This takes us to understanding the issue of subjectivity in anthropological research.

Subjectivity and Reflexivity in Anthropological Research

Anthropological research is influenced to a great extent by the very nature of social phenomena which are studied by anthropologists. Before we look into the concept of social research, as it is pursued in anthropology, it is imperative to reckon the demands of "scientific research", which are listed below:

1. Reliance on empirical evidence
2. Use of relevant concepts
3. Commitment to objectivity
4. Ethical neutrality
5. Generality
6. Predictions based on probability
7. Public methodology that affords testing of conclusions through replication

The issues regarding objectivity in anthropological research are mentioned below:

1. The behavior of the human beings is affected by many factors like environmental, temporal, biological, psychological and socio-cultural, by and large acting simultaneously. It is often said that this complexity precludes the observer to see the underlying uniformity in human behavior. Under such circumstance, it is a formidable task for a scientist to discover any order or principle which would apply to all men. "Since the observer and the observed both being similar, an objective approach is really difficult to make. Moreover, except in totalitarian societies, a controlled experiment in the laboratory of society with free men as objects – a sine qua non of an empirical science is well impossible in social sciences".

2. In contrast to the physical sciences, the social sciences in general and anthropology in particular, lack the power of exact prediction. This is due to the "erratic, idiosyncratic and irregular" nature of human behavior.

3. While the physical phenomena may be known directly through senses, the social phenomena are known only symbolically through words which represent traditions, values, customs and a whole realm of subjective world. This makes verification of conclusions very difficult, for the same phenomenon can be interpreted differently by different anthropologists.

4. Most of the subject matter of social sciences is qualitative and does not admit of quantitative measurement.

5. Social phenomena, in contrast to physical phenomena, are characterized by greater heterogeneity, especially in an extremely stratified social matrix.

Explanations

1. With reference to the issue # 1 mentioned above, it can be said that the emphasis on the complexity of social data is ill-founded. For, in the midst of the apparent chaos, there is indeed some pattern. If social life is complex, it would be unlivable. All social interaction is based on expectations of behavior, may it be an interaction between thousands of people in highly complex groups or the interaction in small cohesive groups. This means that a reasonable prediction of people's behavior is possible, and it is an important part of life. Complexity is a relative concept. Social phenomena may be complex to us because our knowledge of them is inadequate and the tools of study in anthropology have developed to tackle this problem effectively.

2. With reference to the inability of anthropological research to provide exact prediction, we can say that this criticism is not so well-founded. While individual behavior may be unpredictable, one can predict, with quite a high degree of accuracy, the behavior of a whole group based on the knowledge of the pattern. As Lundberg says, the low predictive potential in social sciences is due to our limited knowledge of relevant variables operative in the groups. "As our knowledge of the variables increases and we are able to judge the effect of various variables involved, it will be possible for us to predict social events with much greater accuracy".

3. In regard to the criticism that social phenomena studied by anthropologists are known only symbolically, it can be said that there has come about a standardization of concepts denoting social facts, and also, techniques have been developed to measure most of the so-called subjective facts in objective terms like socio-metric measures.

4. Qualitative and quantitative measurements are only different stages in the growth of a science and it is not as though some data are by nature quantitative and some qualitative. As science develops, what were previously thought of as qualitative data may get transformed into quantitative data? Secondly, we should not forget that qualitative expressions and analyzes have their own importance in a social inquiry.

5. Even though we accept the fact that social phenomena are characterized by greater heterogeneity in case of stratification and classification, fairly a high degree of internal homogeneity exists within each stratum or class, thus enabling social research and anthropologists to reach conclusions of broad applicability.

We can conclude this debate by saying that most of the physical sciences allow for controlled laboratory experiments, hence their exactness. The social sciences suffer from this handicap, although to a limited extent laboratory experiments are possible here too. As social sciences develop, a number of human problems may hopefully be brought within the reach of laboratory experiments.

Moreover, one chief characteristic feature of social phenomena is that the cause and effect are difficult to

finding wrong answers. We now may have realized that social data typically pose certain problems when it comes to these being subjected to the highly developed quantitative methods of the physical sciences. R.K. Merton advises social scientists not to express despair in doubting whether a science of society or man is really possible but, with the present limitations in view, "develop special theories applicable to limited ranges of data" and build their way up slowly toward more general theories of broader applicability.

In addition to the issues raised above, the question of objectivity in research involves two other considerations – Logic, which implies the correct method of dealing with any question and Epistemology, the question of how we know anything.

Social scientists, especially the anthropologists, are branded as subjective because they themselves are human beings, living as they do in societies, have certain social interests, participate in social movements and accept certain values and ways of life. The problem in terms of lack of emotional detachment or subjectivity arises from the fact that anthropologists have such a large stake in the outcome of their studies that their own interests are affected by the findings of their studies. Hence their wishes may seriously influence the results of their studies. It is a difficult task for an anthropologist to completely detach from the customs and traditions. It is a major psychological feat to achieve objectivity required for scientific enquiry.

Influences that prevent objectivity

The influences that may prevent the anthropologist from taking full account of the evidence at their disposal are ...

1. Personal motives
2. Customs and
3. Social situations of which the anthropologist is itself a part

To be objective in the conduct of an enquiry, one should let one's beliefs be influenced by the above factors. Failure in objectivity will prevent an anthropologist from holding rational beliefs.

Thus, failure in objectivity is often attributed to the simple fact that the social scientist as a social being is participating in social affairs. In answering this objection we may say that the biologist is himself an organism and a physicist also a body of given mass, interacting with other organisms and bodies, respectively. We should assume that the theories of the biologist and the physicist would be unduly subject to the influence of biological and physical environments at the expense of evidence. We should no more assume, for the same reason that the anthropologist's interaction with his social environment will interfere with his objectivity and rationality. Indeed, no one is causally detached from the subject matter he is investigating.

In view of the foregoing discussion, we may say that a true case has not been made against the possibility of an effective degree of objectivity in a social inquiry. The dangers however are present and if we wish to proceed scientifically, we must find the best means of avoiding these. No one lives in a social vacuum and in all loyalty to scientific procedure no one can afford to ignore the sources of these adverse influences on his beliefs. The true remedy is rather to make one conscious of these influences.

Problems and Challenges in Fieldwork

Social knowledge is different in character from natural knowledge in that it involves not only the study of the natural entity called man but the entire psyche and intellect of this entity as a whole. Anthropology being the study of these natural phenomena, the understanding of the social knowledge involves field work in anthropology.

Intensive field work is considered as a major method of socio-cultural anthropology. Intensive field work has travelled far since Malinowski did his field work in Trobriand Islands with reference to methods and techniques used and kind of communities and problems studied.

The term "field" means the community of the human beings studied. Field work is equally important for the disciplines like Sociology, Psychology and Political Science. Hence field work is not distinctive to anthropology alone, but the mode of anthropology makes it a different science compared to other social sciences. This distinctiveness of methodology in anthropological field work comes from participant observation.

Participant observation is considered as an inevitable tool to understand man in his complete attire - material and non-material. Since anthropology today has acquired popularity and acceptance because of its applied value, field work through participant observation is the only means to understand the problem of the people concerned.

In this context, it would be necessary to quote Mahatma Gandhi according to whom, "to help the poor, one must think like the poor". Mao stated that, "to understand the social problems, first direct your eyes downwards do not hold your head high and gaze at the sky. Unless a person is interested in turning his eyes downwards and is determined to do so, he will never in his whole life understand the things...."

There is a misconception that an anthropologist can easily study his own society than those of alien cultures. In ~~fact,~~ what is one's own society is difficult to define. A field worker is stranger in his own society than in those of others. The field worker suffers with a problem of entry into a field and establishing a rapport with the people. The problem here is not regarding the ease of doing a field work but is that of identifying the problems specific to both alien and one's own society.

Participant observation is the term which usually goes synonymous with intensive field work. Participant observation usually is interpreted as a deliberate participation of the field worker in the society around him. This participation is "deliberate" according to many scholars because of the non-availability of roles in a simple society. In a modern society, this deliberation is made a compulsion because of the complex social organization where there is a rigid prescription of the role assumption. Hence, whether it is one's own society or that of an alien, the relative ease of entry into the field is left to the ability of the anthropologist alone.

When there is a non-availability of role for an anthropologist, it heightens the problem of his legitimacy in the society. He may be considered as an unwelcome intruder. The only option left to him is to be curious and friendly outsider - what he really is. Non-participant observation is never an alternative to participant observation because of two reasons.

1. Non-participant observation borders on the impossible for anyone who plans to spend fairly long periods in the field.
2. The informants expect an anthropologist to be involved in their affairs.

Participant observation is necessary for survival in the field because an anthropologist cannot spend a year aloof, merely pursuing data unless he is a robot. The question then is not whether the anthropologist should involve himself in the affairs of the people he is studying but, how far should he go. Arising from this question are numerous problems which are practical, methodological and moral.

The situations arising in the field have their own dynamics and the anthropologist is more often the servant of these dynamics than a master. Most important, is the often neglected fact that the anthropologist is himself under surveillance.,

Practical Problems

The first practical problem of an anthropologist is whom to be involved with. Usually the anthropologist

with the knowledgeable. These local elite start advising the anthropologist what he should do. They would not stop tendering advice, but may begin to interfere actively or even monopolize the anthropologists.

The practical problems accentuate in situations where there are sharply differentiated and opposed groups. It's like walking on a razor's edge when managing relationships with two rival groups. Every anthropologist should manage with all the factions in the society. He cannot be confined to one group which leads to commotion in the society.

The most significant practical problem is to be able to stay on in the field and collect at least minimum of reliable data. The collection of this minimum reliable data in fact has its own hurdles. Anthropologists do commit blunders (to err is human). These blunders can be accepted by the society during the initial period of field work. Indeed people who are being studied, like the feeling of being superior to the anthropologist and this in fact yields excellent dividends for an anthropologist. As the time passes, people might think about the use to which the information is collected. To avoid any problem, the people start searching and waiting for the anthropologist to commit mistakes and any mistake might even lead to the expulsion of the anthropologist from the society.

Methodological Problems

The first methodological problem concerns the choice of the field. The anthropologist does not waste or not in a position to spend enough time to search for a typical field. The criteria to select a field may vary. It may be a trial and error selection (random) or serendipitous knowledge or the criterion of language or the cooperation of the members etc. Though the canons of scientific methods enjoin the anthropologist to select a typical field, it is next, only to the impossible.

Methodology imposes a compulsion of holism on an anthropologist. Anthropologists usually misinterpret holism as a study of all aspects of study, which they do, but by handling individual aspects independently. Holism cannot be possible in complex societies and also the simple societies which are very dynamic in their structures. The concept of holism and also uniqueness in anthropological approach to the study of a society is only to remind the anthropologist that the society or a segment of the society he is studying is only a part of complex whole and he should look for and follow the links where ever necessary.

Skepticism ingrains in an anthropologist, the necessity that data collection should be closely guided by hypotheses. Hypotheses cannot be formulated without any knowledge about the field, definitely not in a vacuum. Moreover an anthropologist cannot anticipate any developments in the field which eventually guide his own course of investigation. What is important is the necessary knowledge in the sub-area one is interested and the rest is taken care of by the interaction between the field worker and the field. In fact, in anthropological methodology an anthropologist is considered the best, if his research is open to any changes because of these interactions in the fields.

Besides intellectual acumen and the ability to absorb any type of problem - what is necessary for an anthropologist is the gift of empathy. He should put himself in the position of the informants and see the world as they see it.

There should be an idea of open ended quest where the anthropologist should collect enough data irrespective of its pertinence to his interests or not. This unexpected data may also lead to a change in his own field of interest which he should readily accept.

The anthropologist should observe the society as unobtrusively as possible so that he does not cause any disturbance in it. But, he should not avoid any involvement in the field, which is a necessity to go ahead with his investigation.

Last but not the least, a usual advice to anthropologists is to keep away personal biases and their social background away from the field as far as possible.

Moral Problems

An anthropologist has to entertain the idea of maintaining communication with the field even after the field work has completed and also convince the informants that his field work brings social action which is the first most important moral problem. A field worker in fact, cannot do this because of practical and personal purposes. When dealing with two factional groups, an anthropologist has to convince each group that he is with it because he has no choice but to pursue his business.

Moral problems accentuate when the field is heterogeneous, particularly when the persons of anthropologist's cultural background live in the same field. It is widely agreed that the moral problems are highly insoluble. The only way to overcome this is to act in accordance with the values of one's own society.

Positivistic and Non-positivistic Approaches

Out of all the theoretical, methodological and philosophical debates about the social sciences, is a distinctive revival of interest in participant observation and field research in anthropology. Field research in anthropology has always been associated with certain gaminess and adventures; to a limited extent its return to prominence is probably associated with a resurgence of these qualities. But the revival is also related to the abstract intellectual debates in a very fundamental way for participant observation and field research have a direct relevance to the recent challenges to traditional conceptions of social science objectivity. To understand the nature of crisis in objectivity and the relevance of participant observation research, it is essential to know more about the logic and rationale of traditional notions of science. The intellectual foundations on which the edifice of modern science rests are conventionally termed "Positivism".

Positivism is generally understood to refer a complicated philosophy of science which focuses attention on the "factual character" of real world observations. Positivism involves a methodological insistence on independent and controlled observations of naturally occurring real-world events as a condition for accepting or rejecting claims of truth.

Technical methodological controls are considered to completely eliminate, either actually or potentially all observer effects on observations; the result is that the factual realities arrived at through research observations are not dependent on the knowing subject for their intelligibility. The promise of positivist objectivism then is to eventually produce a body of factual knowledge about the natural world which is not dependent on the properties of any particular knowing mind or on the existing situation of that knowing mind in the world.

A given observer might be motivated by good intentions to render an impartial, value-free authentic description of some aspect of society; the actual consequences of such efforts are in every case to support the established order and its ideological rationalization.

All social science knowledge is grounded in our everyday lives. Furthermore, all of our observations of the empirical realities in our daily lives are rendered socially intelligible and meaningful only by and through our participation as societal members. This membership brings with it a vast reservoir of "common sense", knowledge, role conceptions, and typifications and so on. And our acquisitions of such "cultural knowledge" precede our learning of scientific theory and method. In the most basic sense, then all empirical investigations in the social sciences involve participant observation in that they necessarily pre-suppose this social competence. This is true of laboratory or experimental research, surveys and interviews and field research. The major point is that the observation of naturally occurring everyday events yields the fundamental data for building a more abstract understanding of the basic properties of human existence.

B. DISTINCTION BETWEEN TECHNIQUE, METHOD AND METHODOLOGY

Research basically means a search for knowledge. It is a scientific and systematic search for pertinent information on a specific topic. Research can be defined s "a careful investigation or inquiry especially through search for new facts in any branch of knowledge". It is an academic activity; comprises defining and redefining problems, formulating hypothesis or suggested solutions; collecting, organizing and evaluating data; making deductions and reaching conclusions; and at least carefully testing the conclusions to determine whether they fit the formulating hypothesis. It is thus an original contribution to the truth with the help of study, observation, comparison and experiment. In short, the search for knowledge through objective and systematic method of finding solution to a problem is research.

Research methods may be understood as all those methods/techniques that are used for conduct of research. Research methods or techniques thus refer to the methods the researchers use in performing research operations. In other words, all those methods which are used by the researcher during the course of studying his research problem are termed as research methods. Since the object of research, particularly the applied research, is to arrive at a solution for a given problem, the available data and the unknown aspects of the problem have to be related to each other to make a solution possible. Keeping this in view, research methods can be put into the following three groups:

1. In the first group we include those methods which are concerned with the collection of data. These methods will be used where the data already available are not sufficient to arrive at the required solution
2. The second group consists of those statistical techniques which are used for establishing relationships between the data and the unknown.
3. The third group consists of those methods which are used to evaluate the accuracy of the results obtained.

The research methods falling in the above stated groups are generally taken as the analytical tools of research.

At times, a distinction is made between research techniques and research methods. ***Research techniques*** refer to the behavior and instruments we use in performing research operations such as making observations, recording data, techniques of processing data and the like. ***Research methods*** refer to the behavior and instruments used in selecting and constructing research technique. For example, in the *method* of participant observation, the *techniques* that can be used are interactional recording, possible use of tape recorders, photographic techniques etc. However in practice, the two terms are used interchangeably and when we talk of research method, we also encompass research techniques in its meaning.

Research methodology is a way to systematically solve the research problem. It may be understood as a science of studying how research is done scientifically. In it we study the various steps that are generally adopted by a researcher in studying his research problem along with the logic behind them. It is necessary for the researcher to know not only the research methods or research techniques, but also the methodology. Researchers not only need to know how to develop certain indices or tests, how to calculate the mean, the mode, the median or the standard deviation or the chi-square, how to apply particular research techniques, but they also need to know which of these methods or techniques are relevant and which are not and what would they mean and indicate and why. Researchers also need to understand the assumptions underlying various techniques and they need to know the criteria by which they can decide that certain techniques and procedures will be applicable to certain problems and other will not. All this means that it is necessary for the researcher to design his methodology for his problem as the same may differ from problem to problem.

Thus, research methodology has many dimensions and research methods do constitute a part of the research methodology. The scope of research methodology is wider than that of research methods. Thus, when we talk of research methodology we not only talk of research methods but also consider the logic behind the methods we use in the context of our research study and explain why we are using a particular method or technique and why we are not using others so that research results are capable of being evaluated either by the researcher himself or by others. Why the research study has been undertaken, how the research problem has been defined, in what way and why the hypothesis has been formulated, what data have been collected and what particular method has been adopted, why particular technique of analyzing data has been used and a host of similar other questions are usually answered when we talk of research methodology concerning a research problem or study.

C. TOOLS OF DATA COLLECTION

OBSERVATION

Observation is the basic method of obtaining information about the world around us. In John Dollard's words, "the primary research instrument is observing human intelligence, trying to make sense out of human experience".

Observation may take place in a real life setting or a laboratory. The type of observation technique to be chosen in a particular study depends on the purpose of the study. The various types of observation put in practice by the anthropologists are:

1. **Controlled / Uncontrolled Observation:** Controlled observation is a method in which anthropologists create an atmosphere artificially for observation. This is under their control. This procedure is extremely useful for an experimental case study. Studies involving controlled observation are descriptive in nature. They involve minimum participation of the observer.

Uncontrolled observation is a method in which the anthropologist conducts his research in a society as a member but the universe of study is a natural occurrence and cannot be controlled. This procedure involves an analysis of everyday events and generalization based on that analysis.

2. **Structured / Unstructured Observation:** The structured observation is characterized by a careful definition of the units to be observed, information to be recorded, and the selection of pertinent data for observation and standardization of conditions of observation.

The unstructured observation represents ideally a contrasting situation in respect of all the above.

3. **Participant / Non-Participant Observation:** In the former, an anthropologist studies a particular society or culture by directly participating in the social and cultural activities of the society as a member of that society. In the latter, an anthropologist studies a particular society or culture but not participating as a member of that society.

Participant observation is now accepted as a pre-requisite to a responsible field work. Only by moving into a local community, involving oneself in the daily life of the people, learning the language and settling down for long periods of time, the anthropologist recognizes the ordinary but vital texture of the social or cultural life. Participant observation has a reference to the observer, sharing to a greater or lesser degree, the life of the group he is observing. This sharing may be intermittent but active contacts at close proximity do afford an intimate study of persons. In other words, participant observation is an attempt to put both the observer and the observed on the same side by making the observer a member of the group so that he can experience what they experience and work within their frame of reference.

Merits

1. The members of the community are unaware of the researcher's purpose. Their behavior is least likely to be affected. Thus the researcher can record the natural behavior of the group.
2. Since the researcher actually participates in the group under observation, he has an access to a body of information, giving him a great depth of experience which could not easily be obtained in other methods.
3. The researcher can record the context which gives meaning to expressions of opinion. He can also check the truth of statements made by the members of the group.
4. Some rare occurrences like sexual behavior, family crisis and underworld activities are not amenable to direct observation by an outsider.

Limitations

1. Participant by becoming a member of a particular group narrows his range of experience.
2. If the participant assumes an important role, he becomes instrumental in effecting changes in the group behavior.
3. Emotional involvement of the observer in some incidents like anger, death, and love are detrimental to the objectivity which, in the scientific parlance, is his single greatest asset.

Participant Observation: It's Significance in Anthropological Fieldwork

Intensive field work has been considered for nearly seven decades to be the major, if not distinctive method of anthropology and until recently, the discipline is primarily concerned with the study of small scale societies, primitive and present. Intensive field work however has travelled far since Malinowski did his field work in the Trobriand Island, both with regard to the methods and techniques used and the kind of communities and problems studied.

Participant observation (the popular name for intensive field work) literally means that the field worker should participate in the community activity in order to observe and understand the social reality around him. A major assumption behind this interpretation has been the presumed inability of simple societies to accept someone who cannot be fitted into one of the known roles. It is doubtful if role assumption is necessary for participant observation, even in simple societies and in modern complex societies the rigid presumption of role assumption may create serious problems. Assumption of a role in stratified situation could drastically limit the field worker's contacts to just one segment of the population. Perhaps there is good reason for the field workers to resist being typed into any role except that of outsider, if that can be called a role.

On the other hand, the non-availability of role may heighten the field worker's problem of legitimacy. He will be considered an unwelcome intruder, or worse still, a simple idler. The only option open to the fieldworker in most situations is to be what he really is a friendly and curious outsider. A surprisingly large number of people are willing to accept an inquisitive stranger about whose mission they have only the vaguest idea and notion.

The friendly and curious outsider is no non-participant observer for the simple reason that such a being does not exist outside the confines of the methodology. Non-participant observation borders on the impossible for anyone who plans to spend fairly long periods in the field.

Success in the field calls for other qualities besides intellectual acumen. The field worker should not only be tough enough to survive the difficulties and reverses which come in his field but have the gift of empathy. He should be able to put himself in the position of individuals from diverse backgrounds and see the world as they see it. In intensive field work the scholar has not only to collect accurate information on a variety of items but also be able to think and feel like the people whom he is studying.

It is the idea of open ended quest which permits a field worker to collect unexpected material pertaining to not only his chosen theme of research but to other themes as well. Thus a single project may be productive of answers to more than one set of questions. There is however, what may be called the grain of field which the field worker has to follow.

Involvement may be essential for going ahead with the research itself. Participation may become source of data and insight. The field worker should keep aside his personal biases at a best counsel of perfection. The field worker cannot do very much even about the biases he is aware of, leave alone those of which he is unaware. He cannot help being what he is and there are definite limits beyond which he cannot transform himself even for the sake of fieldwork.

INTERVIEW

The personal interview is an effective, informal verbal or conversation, initiated for specific purposes and focused on certain planned content areas. The objectives of the interview may be the exchange of ideas and experiments, eliciting of information pertaining to a wide range of a data in which the interviewee may wish to rehearse his past, define his present, and canvass his future possibilities. According to Young, it is "an intentional process". "The interview" according to Gopal, "is conversation with a purpose and, therefore, is more than a mere oral exchange of information".

Objectives of Interview

"In modern complex society, experiences are highly varied. Few people share a common lot, their attitudes and values are often quite divergent. Many people can live within a protective wall of anonymity, even though they brush elbows daily.

With the growth of urban life, the intimate face to face contacts are decreasing. It has affected primary social group, to a degree, and secondary group considerably. Few people share their experiments with others and many live in complete isolation. A Social Scientist has to prove the causes for it and to find the response to the changing social conditions at individual and group level. It is here that interview is of great significance. One can secure full account of a person's experiences, attitudes, and values during his entire life cycle. It can secure "a portrait of human personality" which is broad enough to encompass the social background that governs the present scheme of life, and deep enough to reveal inner strivings, tensions, wishes and changes in behavioral relations. In free-flowing accounts, interviewees may suggest explanations of their behavior which may account for their motivations and actions and provide new insights not afforded by other exploratory techniques".

Techniques of Interviewing

The techniques of interview are very complicated. It is not just talking face to face. It is a great psychological effort. One must be fully prepared for the task. One may imagine the situation and structure out the interview accordingly. Young has pointed out that the "complexity of feelings, tones, variable reactions, reflective thinking processes, symbolic silences, assumed roles, and levels of influence which enter into interviewing relationship" are to be assumed by the interviewer.

Besides these are other considerations which can never be overlooked. In the fitness of the interview, the interviewer and the one being interviewed should be well introduced. The effort should be to bring about an informal atmosphere as quickly as possible.

It is possible to do this once the purpose and importance of the interview is well established. The convention of the group, and the convenience of the interviewed should be given due importance. In a group interview, the leader should be first interviewed. The interviewer must listen patiently and act very tactfully in guiding the interview. He should not ask interrupting question and should avoid raising questions that might be confusing. The questions with 'yes' or 'no' answers should be at best avoided. Once the interviewee gets emotional, the interview may be suspended for the next session.

Advantage of the Interview as Research Tool

Interview is always direct. It is a trustworthy and a reliable tool of research. It permits a maximum variation in directing the inquiry. People unable or unwilling to answer even the shortest questionnaire will talk, and freely too, owing to the informality of the occasion. The interview helps to supplement personal information and check on experience and ideas. Also, the interviewer has greater opportunity to appraise the accuracy and validity of replies. Contradictory statements can be followed up and possible reasons for contradiction learned. It enables the interviewer to differentiate on the spot between fact and fiction in the information supplied. It is, however, necessary to emphasize that the flexibility and other advantages of the interview depend largely on the approach and experience of the person conducting it. If he can control the interview tactfully, lots of information and attitude can be drawn out specially, if the direction of inquiry can be imperceptibly changed.

Interviews are classified on the basis of its purpose, the number of persons interviewed, length of contact and the manner of approach adopted. It may be structured or unstructured. There are generally three types of interviewees: the man in a position of authority may give an interview on a specific issue; one with special knowledge, the expert may express himself; and in the street, i.e., the masses may be contacted in a given situation.

QUESTIONNAIRES AND SCHEDULES

Both questionnaire and schedule are much used tools in gathering a variety of data. They have been used for the collection of personal preferences, social attitudes, belief, opinions, behavior patterns, group practices and habits and much other data. The increasing use of schedules and questionnaires is probably due to increased emphasis by social scientists on quantitative measurement of uniformly accumulated data.

The questionnaire, like the schedule, is designed to collect data from large, diverse and widely scattered groups of people. The questionnaire is generally sent through the mail to informants, to be answered as specified in a covering letter; but otherwise without further assistance from the sender. The schedule, on the other hand, is generally filled out by the research worker or the enumerator, who can interpret the questions when necessary. Webster defines a schedule as "a formal list, a catalogue or inventory," and it may be added that it is a counting device, used in formal and standardized inquiries, the sole purpose of which is aiding in the collection of quantitative cross sectional data. The U.S. Bureau of the census distinguishes between the schedule and the questionnaire on the basis of the auspices under which the data are collected.

Schedules and questionnaires are beneficial as supplementary and extending devices in observation, in interviews, and in evaluating personal behavior and social situations. They also aid in standardizing and objectifying observations and interviews, and finally they are useful devices for isolating one element at a time and thus intensifying observation of it. The vast variety of schedules can be classified in various ways. Few forms are presented here.

Observational Schedules or Forms

The observation form offers the opportunity for uniform classification in recording the activities and social situations of persons or groups being observed. One observer or several may be employed to secure uniformly systematic data in an observation study.

An observation schedule usually serves several purposes simultaneously.

1. It is a specific "Memory Tickler".
2. It is an objective recording device that makes possible accurate accumulation of large quantities of data.
3. It is a standardizing device.
4. It aids to delimit the scope of the study and to concentrate on the circumscribed elements

Document Schedules

These are used for recording data obtained from documents, case histories, and other materials. In order to secure measurable data, the items included on this type of form are limited to those that can be uniformly secured from a large number of case histories or other records. For example, a study of criminal records might include such items as type of offence, number and types of previous offences, age at time left school, age at time started work, amount of education. It is generally necessary, however, to inspect a large number of records before the items that will yield measurable factors appearing on an adequate number of records can be ascertained.

The document schedule should not be considered a tally sheet. A separate schedule should be used to list the pertinent points from each case record. Tabulations are made from these schedules, either by hand tally or by machine tabulation.

Institutional Survey Forms or Evaluation Schedules

Schedules of this type are used to visualize the problems faced by or inherent in a given type of institution. The length of such inquiries depends upon the aspects of the given situation under investigation. All information calls for replies to be recorded by written entries such as "Yes" or "No". The questions to be asked of informants and the instructions to be followed by the enumerators are precise, and the definitions are expertly given.

QUESTIONNAIRES

There is also a vast variety of questionnaires which can be classified in various ways. Here we confine ourselves to the structured and unstructured questionnaires.

Structured questionnaires

These are those which pose definite, concrete and preordained questions, that is, they are prepared in advance and not constructed on the spot during the questioning period. Additional questions may be used only when need arises to clarify vague or inadequate replies by informants or when more details are needed than those supplied by them. The form of the particular questions may require responses, which are either closed or open. Closed Form questionnaires are used when categorized data are required, that is, when they need to be put into classifications. The respondent checks those supplied responses, which approximate his situation. The Open End responses are free and spontaneous expressions on the part of the informant who is not limited in his replies to a particular question posed to him. The open-end responses are used chiefly for intensive studies of a limited number of cases or for preliminary exploration of new problems and situations. At times the respondent is asked to write a descriptive essay and express his viewpoints, describe his relationships, attitudes, indicate his problems and report on details and events, without restrictions imposed as in the case of closed questions.

Structured questionnaires are used in a wide range of projects, both to initiate a formal inquiry and also to supplement and check data previously accumulated. These may pertain to studies of economic or social problems, measurement of opinion on public issues or events, studies of administrative policies and changes, studies on the cost of living, consumer expenditures, child welfare, public health, and numerous other issues.

The benefits derived from the open-end question are also its limitations. Since it is non restrictive, a wide range of answers is usually given, some articulate and some meaningless, with wide intermediate gradations of response. Obviously non-directed response poses some problem of classification and analysis. The open-end question has been employed successfully where the primary information to be developed is qualitative in nature.

One of the principal values of the open-end question is its use as an exploratory tool before opinion has been solidified or before the research objective has been clearly defined.

Generally, the questions posed in this type of questionnaire are sufficiently definite for the responses to be quantified, although much qualitative information is also secured. Both types of information secured may either constitute the basis for a case study or supplement case and statistical data.

Unstructured Questionnaires

These are frequently referred to as interview guides. They also aim at precision and contain definite subject matter areas, the coverage of which is required during the interview. The interviewer, however, is free - within limits - to arrange the form and timing of the inquiries. Flexibility is the chief advantage of the unstructured questionnaire. It is designed to obtain viewpoints, opinions, attitudes, and to show relationships and interconnections between data that might escape notice under more mechanical types of interrogation. The objective is to give the respondent maximum opportunity to revel how he had arrived at or developed his world of experience. No check lists with predetermined responses are provided. Rather, free responses are solicited.

This form of questioning assumes insight, articulate and possession of facts by the respondents. It is used for intensive studies, but generally for a limited number of selected cases. It has been applied to studies of family group cohesiveness to studies of personal experiences, beliefs and attitudes.

The chief advantage of unstructured questionnaires stems from the danger that non additive and non comparable data will be accumulated when structuring is imposed.

PROBLEMS OF COMMUNICATION

Although the content of questionnaires and schedules is governed by the purpose of the study, many problems of communication apply to all surveys regardless of content.

Language: Much careful attention and experimentation are needed to produce effectively worded questions. The language should be concise and directed toward producing uniformity of understanding among the respondents. In evaluating a question, it is more important to ask "How will the respondent interpret this?" than to ask "What does this question mean?"

Continued emphasis is being placed upon the study of semantics, and an increasing number of studies are being conducted for the advancement of precision in questionnaire wording.

1. The vocabulary chosen should be simple - within the easy grasp of the least intelligent of the group studied.

2. The syntax should be clear and straightforward. Long, involved sentences that require extended concentration on the part of the respondent defeat their purpose.

3. Phrases and expressions known only in certain sections of the country should be avoided. Professional "jargon" and technical words should be used only if the inquiry is directed to a selected group to whom the language is common. There is some evidence that persons tend to give any answers to questions rather than to state they do not know the meaning of the questions.

4. Questions and statements of a leading character - ones that put replies into the mouth of the respondents - are to be guarded against. The wording of the question should not make it easier to say "yes" than to say "no" or vice versa. Presenting a choice to the respondent is acceptable, provided that more than one choice is offered.

5. Units of enumeration should be precisely stated or defined in order to ensure proper orientation of the respondent. It is generally possible to build the unit references into the questions themselves.

6. Subjective worlds such as "bad". "Good", "fair" and the like do not lend themselves to quantitative measurement or qualitative analysis. Subjective [illegible] should be avoided.

Frame of Reference: The respondent's frame of reference will influence his answers. This problem has by no means been solved, but research and experimentation have developed some criteria in constructing effective questions.

1. Complex questions that require the respondent to go through several steps of reasoning before answering are undesirable and have often resulted in misleading information.

2. Questions on controversial issues should be broken down into components, so that the tester can determine the respondent's feelings about many aspects of the problem, including those which he refuses to comment upon. A series of specific questions is needed, sometimes referred to as "filter questions" in order to gather adequately the reactions to all sides of the issue.

3. When questions seek to uncover degree of intensity of feeling or conviction, it is often necessary to find out to what extent the respondent's attitudes have been crystallized toward the subject. It is well to include a series of "why", "what", "when", and "how" questions, the answers to which are analyzed in relation to answers to other specific questions. More precise techniques have been explored, such as the inclusion of questions calling for answers that can be subjected to attitudinal scaling and the use of questions to reveal the intelligence level of the respondent. These techniques are restricted in use because of the specialized skills required for their construction and interpretation.

4. The required answers should be within the informational scope of the respondent. It would be meaningless, for instance, to ask people to report their blood pressure readings, because not enough people would know about them.

5. The length of the questions and statements used and should be governed by an estimate of the respondent's comprehension level. If a question appears too long, the best way of splitting it should be investigated.

Arrangement of Questions: The arrangement or ordering of the questions should receive special attention and be presented with care. Every effort should be made to have the order appear logical to the respondent.

1. The questions placed first on the questionnaire should be those easiest to answer. Factual questions, such as name, relationship and age, often serve successfully as starters, and also have the desired effect of making it possible for the respondent to participate early in the interview. Sometimes "interest catching" questions are used at the beginning of the questionnaire and this procedure seems to work well, as long as the questions are not controversial in nature.

2. Placing a question early in the questionnaire that can affect answers to later questions on the form should be prevented wherever possible. This defect is not always detectable until several arrangements have been tried out and carefully watched from this standpoint.

3. A time sequence should be observed in the arrangement of questions. If it is necessary to include questions relating to several periods of time on the same form, they should be so grouped that the respondent will not be forced mentally to jump from one time period to another.

4. Subject matter sequence, likewise, is important, and in so far as possible all questions pertaining to one subject should be grouped together. In fact, if time sequence and subject matter sequence conflict and both cannot be observed, it is usually more important to retain the subject matter sequence.

Length of Questionnaire: Much has been said and written about the length of the questionnaire, but the length in itself need not be a guiding factor in the designing. The important consideration is that the questionnaire covers the subject and that the techniques used are those which will meet the demands of

pertinent to the study and that the form is free of unnecessary repetition. When a complex study calls for a lengthy interview, steps should be taken to provide a successful administration of the questionnaire, rather than to emasculate it by deletions and "short cuts" of important information.

Conclusion

In summary, the wide use of schedules and questionnaires as independent research tools is a controversial issue. There is more agreement that, if used as a subsidiary research tool, these forms can often be of advantage in a great variety of studies. The disadvantage of schedules and questionnaires stems from:

1. The difficulty of ascertaining the representativeness of the data obtained through these means and therefore, the generalizations may be said to be based on "unknown" samples.

2. Vague phraseology or questions not readily understood by the masses in all walks of life that are expected to supply data.

3. Replies which may have been answered in a perfunctory manner.

4. Uniform questions - a desirable attribute of schedules and questionnaires - do not always "fit" the varied groups, varied cultural patterns, and levels of education of the large number of people participating in the study.

5. It is often difficult to learn the meaning of the data supplied. Ambiguity, either in wording or meaning of data, is one of the greatest sources of error in surveys. This is especially true in subject matter involving attitudes, estimates and subjective data which have low reliability.

Of prime importance in the construction of schedules and questionnaires are:

1. Definiteness and concreteness
2. Simplicity of questions
3. Freedom from possibilities of subjective evaluation
4. Care in removing tendencies to put the replies in respondent's mouth

The units of enumeration need to be so precisely defined that they will assure accurate and full information. Everyday language of practical affairs has proved to be the most useful, since it alone can capture the thinking of the public. Questions should be constructed with a view to their forming a logical part of a *specific* tabulation plan. This procedure points to both superfluous questions and those which have been omitted but need to be included.

Carefully constructed schedules and questionnaires are held to have some advantages over the personal interview. The former provide privacy and leisurely pace, so respondent can reflect on the questions raised and weigh his responses to them.

Schedules and questionnaires are capable of reaching a large number of diverse people relatively speedily and at a fraction of the cost of the personal interview. It is often pointed out that when highly intimate information is sought, the mail questionnaire offers the desired anonymity and thus ensures reliable replies. In spite of their shortcomings - which are being gradually eliminated - schedules and questionnaires are being increasingly used, especially in research surveys.

CASE STUDY

Social scientists, in their study of human behavior, strive to obtain a fundamentally real and enlightened record of personal experiences which would reveal in concrete detail a man's inner strivings, tensions, motivations that drive him to action, the barriers that frustrate him or challenge him, the forces that direct him to adopt a certain pattern of behavior and to live according to a certain scheme and philosophy of life. Only some of man's experiences can be learned by observing him in action. To understand his behavior fully and intimately, he must supply a detailed and penetrating account of what he does and has done, what he thinks he does and has done, what he expects to do, and says he ought to do. A fairly exhaustive study of a person or group is called a case study.

Social scientists study many culture groups, small social groups (a family, political party, a gang, a leadership group). They also study large groups as social units (Sects, national and racial groups). Social institutions (courts, hospitals, churches, industrial organizations, governmental divisions) have also been studied comprehensively as social units. Studies of neighborhoods, large and small communities have been frequent topics of studies as social units. A comprehensive study of a social unit- be that unit a person, a group, a social institution, a district, or a community is called a case study.

Case study method, thus, is a form of qualitative analysis wherein careful and complete observation of an individual or a situation or an institution is done; efforts are made to study each and every aspect of the concerning unit in minute details and then from case data, generalizations and inferences are drawn.

Case data may be gathered exhaustively of an entire life cycle of a social unit or a definite section of it. Whether a section or the whole of a life is studied, the aim is to ascertain the natural history, that is, an account of the generic development of a person or group, or whatever constitutes the social unit in a particular study, revealing the factors that molded the life of the unit within its cultural setting. Because of its aid in studying behavior in specific precise detail, Burgees termed the case study method "The Social Microscope".

Evolution of the Case Study Method

Frederic Le Play is reputed to have introduced the case study method into social science. Herbert Spencer, an English Sociologist was the first to use case materials in his ethnographic studies. Dr. William Healy, a psychiatrist, was among the first to adopt the case study method in his work with juvenile delinquents. Historians, and especially new historians, have used the case method for descriptive accounts of persons, eras, and nations. Anthropologists and ethnologists have utilized the case study method for their detailed descriptions of primitive and modern cultures. Some notable works in this context include Cora Du Bois' The People of Alore; Robert Redfield's Tepoztlan: A Mexican Village and Oscar Lewis' Life in a Mexican Village: Tepoztlan Restudied. Novelists and wartime correspondents sketched their characters of persons and families by means of the case study method. In the field of social psychology, some of the most exhaustive case studies have been made by H. A. Murray and his associates at the Harvard Psychological Clinic.

The actual adoption and widespread use of the case study method as systematic sociological field research is attributed to the work of Thomas and Znaniecki, The Polish Peasant. They used extensively personal documents - diaries, letters, and autobiographies - and at times combed the files of social agencies, in their search for concrete and specific detail about personal conduct and group behavior within the cultural situation. They wanted to present a continuous picture through time of the person's own interpretations of his experiences and his relations with the others. They believed the personal document to be the chief instrument for reaching the actual attitudes and values of people as well as for obtaining a cross section of the entire process of social becoming.

Case studies contain the personal life records as complete as possible, and they constitute the perfect type of sociological material. This is because they represent a more enlightening and fundamentally more real record of personal experiences, with a wealth of concrete detail, vivid memories, tensions, anxieties, and

multifarious reactions to social situations which escape the attention of most skilled investigators using other techniques.

Thomas and Znaniecki are of the opinion that if social science has to resort to the use of techniques other than the case study method, it is "only because of the practical difficulty of obtaining at the moment a sufficient number of records to cover the totality of sociological problems and of the enormous amount of work demanded for an adequate analysis of all the personal material necessary to characterize life of a social group".

Characteristics of Case Study

1. Under this method the researcher can take one single social unit or more of such units or even a situation for the study
2. The selected unit is studied comprehensively in minute details. Generally, the study extends over a long period of time to ascertain the natural history of the unit so as to obtain enough information for drawing correct inferences.
3. The method implies a complete study of the social unit covering all the facts. Through this method, one tries to understand the complex of factors that are operative within a social unit as an integrated entity.
4. Case study is more qualitative than quantitative. Mere quantitative information is seldom collected. Every possible effort is made to collect as much information as possible, concerning all aspects of life.
5. In the context of case study, an effort is made to know the mutual inter-relationship of causal factors.
6. Behavior patterns of the unit are directly studied, rather through an indirect and abstract approach.
7. Case study results in fruitful hypotheses along with the data which may be helpful in testing them, and thus this method enables a generalized knowledge.
8. Case study method is based on the assumption of uniformity in the basic human nature in spite of the fact that human behavior may vary according to situations.

Advantages of Case Study

There are several advantages of the case study method. Some important ones are...

1. Being an exhaustive study of a social unit, the case study method enables us to understand fully the behavior pattern the concerned unit in the words of Charles Horton Cooley, "case study deepens our perception and gives us a clearer insight into life... it gets at behavior directly and not by an indirect and abstract approach".
2. Through case study, a researcher can obtain a real and enlightened record of personal experiences which would reveal man's inner strivings, tensions and motivations that drive him to action along with the forces that direct him to adopt a certain pattern of behavior.
3. This method enables the researcher to trace out the natural history of the social unit and its relationship with the social factors and other forces involved in its surrounding environment.
4. It helps in formulating relevant hypotheses along with the data which may be helpful in testing them. Case studies, thus, enable the generalized knowledge to get richer.
5. The method facilitates intensive study of social units, which is generally not possible through

6. Information collected under the case study method helps the researcher in the task of designing appropriate questionnaires and schedules, for the said tasks require a thorough knowledge of the universe of study.
7. This method is a means to well understand the past of a social unit because of its emphasis on historical analysis. Besides, it is also a technique to suggest measures for improvement in the context of the present environment of the concerned social units.
8. Case studies constitute the perfect type of research tools as they represent real records of personal experiences which, very often, escape the attention of most of the skilled researchers using other techniques.
9. Case study method enhances the experience of the researcher and this in turn increases his analyzing ability and skill.
10. Case study enables the study of social change. One account of minute study of different facets of a social unit, the researcher can well understand the dynamics of social change.
11. Case study reveals new research problems and leads to further research or new research. They are both the gateways and final destinations for social research.

Limitations of Case Study

In spite of so many advantages, case study method is not free from certain limitations.

1. Case studies are seldom comparable. One cannot always employ logical analysis or scientific classification to the cases.
2. According to Read Bain, the data collected through case studies are not significantly scientific as they did not provide "impersonal, universal, non-ethical, non-practical, repetitive aspects of phenomenon". Instead, he contended, subjects may provide whatever data they think the investigator wants. The greater the rapport, the more subjective the whole process is.
3. The danger of false generalizations is always present as no set rules are followed in collection of the information and only few units are studied.
4. Case study consumes more time and requires tremendous expenditure.
5. The assumptions of case study are not realistic at all times and the usefulness of case data may be subject to doubt.
6. Correct sampling for case study is not always possible in a large society. Hence the method cannot be used in all circumstances.

In conclusion, despite these limitations, case studies are popular amongst social scientists, as a tool of social scientific research, in view of its several advantages. Most of the limitations can be removed if the researchers are conscious of them and are well trained in the modern method of collecting case data. Case studies in modern times can be conducted in such a manner that the data collected are amenable to quantifications and statistical treatments. Thus, the limitations of case study method can be reduced when statistical analyses and case data complement each other.

GENEALOGICAL METHOD

The genealogical method has proved of such value in anthropological research that it is now considered an essential technique in sociological investigation. It is commonly found that genealogical knowledge plays an important role among non literate peoples; ancestry is often traced back several generations and a large number of collaterals are known by name. It is clear this knowledge has a functional value; genealogical data are used in the regulations of marriage, inheritance of property, succession to

chieftainship, etc. It seems almost a truism to state that the investigator must understand a principle which is in constant use in his own field of study. Yet such understanding is not as simple as might appear to the uninitiated; not many people trouble to analyze the principle underlying genealogical kinship in their own culture so that it is not surprising that they should find themselves at sea in alien cultures. Before going into the technique of taking genealogies more must be said of the uses of the method.

In a small community it is often possible to take the genealogies of all the inhabitants, and this census can then form the basis not only of sociological work but also for investigation on population and migrations. The data in the genealogies will not only give the investigator the names and relationship to one another of all those whom he will meet in daily work, but will further give him information about individuals not present in the community. Such knowledge is a great asset. There are few people who are not flattered by the personal attention that is shown to them when greeted by their correct names; the skilled fieldworker will use the data he has gained from a few informants to make many more personal contacts. The study of kinship, so necessary to social anthropology, can only be adequately undertaken by means of the genealogical method. When recording the daily and the ceremonial life of a group in which the genealogies have been recorded, the observer will be able to follow the grouping that habitually takes place, whether persons who associate in various activities are genealogically related, and if so, how. He will be able to discover exactly which members of the family are allowed free entry to the house, which are treated ceremonially. When any important event occurs the investigator will know are the individuals who render assistance etc. On the occasions of ceremonies connected with birth, marriage, and death, genealogical data concerning the principal participants are invaluable. In collecting genealogies the investigator will find corroboration, or new information which he may not have expected, with regard to the remarriage of widows, special marriage customs observed among chiefly families, etc. Both from the point of view of gaining exact information and as an actual introduction to the group with whom work is to be done, the collection of genealogical data affords a sound basis and should be begun as soon as possible.

In most places it will be found that there are certain members of the community having special genealogical knowledge who may be used as informants. The evidence of young men in genealogical matters must be accepted with caution, except for their own generation, for knowledge of this kind is acquired slowly, in most cases through the teaching of the older members of the community. While collecting the genealogies there will, of course, be much overlapping; a family referred to in the ancestry of one man's father will appear again in that of the mother of another, and of the wife of a third, and thus ample means of corroboration and of ascertaining the trustworthiness of different witnesses is provided.

Certain precautions must, however, be taken. The natives must not be allowed to suppose that the work is actually a government census, which might be used for purposes of collecting taxes; any idea of the kind that may get about must be contradicted, and confidence must be gained on that score. There may be specific cultural reasons that make the imparting of genealogical data a roundabout process; the investigator must never try to override such obstacles, but should recognize them as social traits and investigate them as such; then in a sympathetic manner he is sure to find a way of circumventing the difficulties arising from such traits.

One difficulty is the existence in some culture of taboos on names, especially on those of the dead and of certain relatives; for this reason it may even be necessary to collect each genealogy from persons who do not themselves appear in it. Other difficulties arise from the practice of adoption and of exchanging names, while either the paucity or the plurality of personal names may also be a source of confusion. When, however, such sources of difficulty are once recognized, they become merely new instruments for understanding the social conditions of the people; thus, when it is found that adoption exists, detailed inquiry should be made and concrete information obtained which will enable a complete study to be made of the very practice that caused the difficulty.

Technique of the Genealogical Method

In recording genealogical tables it is convenient to write the names of males in capital letters, and those of the females in ordinary writing. The names of the social divisions, village, etc., may be written in red ink. In recording a marriage, the name of the husband may be put to the left of that of the wife. Whenever a large mass of genealogical material has been collected, it is most convenient to write on one sheet, descendants in one line only, and to give cross references to descendants in the other line, citing the genealogies in which they are to be found. The line chosen will depend on whether the people stress patrilineal or matrilineal descent. Thus with patrilineal descent and a family of sons and daughters, the children of the sons will be given on one sheet, while the children of the daughters will appear in the genealogies of their husbands. When a person has died unmarried, it may be well to indicate whether death has taken place in infancy or in adult life, by the abbreviations d.y. (Died Young), and d.unm. (Died Unmarried). The names of the living should be underlined or distinguished in some other way, to enable a genealogical census of the population to be taken.

In collecting genealogies, accurate information can be obtained with a minimum knowledge of the language. The following method is necessary both for those employing an interpreter and for those who are familiar with the native language, because it is only by means of careful investigation into the kinship system that the exact significance of such apparently simple words as "mother", "father", "brother", and "sister" can be ascertained.

First the informant should be asked the name of his mother, the woman from whose womb he was born, and then he should be asked the name of the man she married, the one who begot him. Then how he addresses each of these, or what the native word for this relationship is. Then enquiry should be made as to how each parent addresses the informant. Having thus obtained the terms for father, mother and child, and having recorded the name of the informant's father and mother, the question should be put; "Had so and so (mother) and so and so (father) - both by name - other children besides yourself? What are their names? Having obtained the names and sex of the other children of the informant's father and mother, the next inquiry should be how the informant addresses them, and reciprocally how they address the informant. Thus a genealogical record of an elementary family is obtained, with the terms for father, mother, child and sibling. Using the native terms that he has ascertained, the investigator is in a position to continue the genealogy and to record other persons related by kinship and affinity and their terms of address.

Having obtained the terms for husband and wife, the investigator can now use these five terms - father, mother, husband, wife, and child - for gathering all further information. "She who bore" or "he who begot" should be added to the terms for mother and father, because the informant may be using these terms in a wider sense than the investigator. With these five terms the most complicated genealogical tables can be drawn up; the terms for brother and sister, cousin, uncle and aunt, must be avoided, as the sense in which they are used varies greatly.

The next step is to ask "did so and so (the father by the name) have wives other than so and so (the mother by name)? Did these two (by name) have children?"?" Did your mother have another husband? Did these two have children?" Thus the half sibling relationship is made clear.

The names of the parents of the informant's parents should be recorded, their children other than the informant's parents, their wives and children, in the same way and so on, for as many generations as the informant can remember. This will give one genealogy as far as it can be traced. The genealogy of the informant's wife may be recorded next.

LIFE HISTORIES

One important source collecting data may be the study of biographical and autobiographical accounts or even an interpretive understanding of events and incidents from individuals' lives in the past. While biographies may be defined as systematic accounts of the whole or a substantial part of an individual's

sharp turnings and choices that an individual makes in specific circumstances and what these choices reveal about his and his fellow beings' beliefs and attitudes in general. The most famous use of such techniques has been made by Clifford Geertz in his anthropological and historical studies.

A Life- History is that research project which does not begin or end with the recording of an individual's life but covers all possible sources of related evidence through several methodologies, thus aspiring towards a `triangulation' of `meaning', context and evidence. The availability of a series of biographical accounts, diaries, letters, photographs, folklore etc., offer a rich mine of source material for developing a life history.

Advantages of Life History

1. Life history can systematically explore the experience of social change.
2. Life history helps understand more about individual lives from the perspectives individuals themselves – something quantitative interviews may be missing.
3. Life history interviews can provide information about biographical resources, aspirations, opportunities, constraints and turning points.
4. Life history enables the researcher to make "thick description" of the context.
5. The method can capture data pertaining to the effects of age, different periods etc.
6. A number of methods can be used to collect data in reconstructing life histories – individual survey, calendar survey, life history interviews etc. These combinations of methods add benefits to life history like validity and reliability, facilitating systematic comparison etc.
7. Life history addresses life as a whole and locates life in historical times.

Are the Cases / Life Histories Typical?

The representativeness and the typicality of cases and life history documents have long been of great concern to social researchers. Life and personal traits are complex and varied. Are there cases similar enough to those described by the authors of these studies to enable us to say that these cases are representative of their kind? Are we able to say that these data provide bases for generalization? The answer depends, in some measure at least, on the researcher's wise choice of data, on their ability as impartial observers and accurate recorders.

Those who have had an opportunity to study hundreds of cases have found striking similarities and uniformities within groups of people, studied independently, at different times, in different countries, and under different social conditions.

Anthropologist Franz Boas, on the basis of his famed studies of primitive men, concluded that the organization of the human mind is practically identical among all races of men, and that the modes of thought and action are the same. Even the dynamic changes which groups and communities undergo display a certain degree of similarity and uniformity. Not only do certain personality traits remain constant, but social change has a certain regularity and consistency in its patterns of recurrence.

Criteria for Life History

John Dollard's discussion of the criteria for the life history still remains the most penetrating on the subject.

1. The subject must be viewed in a cultural series. That is, even though he is singled out for individual study, he must be regarded as a member of a cultural group or community.
2. Behavior of individuals must be viewed as socially relevant. That is the behavior should be seen

3. The family of the subject of study must be viewed in its role of submitting the culture and way of life of the group through its individual members.

4. The continuous related character of experience from childhood through adulthood should be stressed.

5. The "social situation" must be studied in order to learn kind and degree of social pressures, social forces, social participation or abstention, exercised by the subject.

6. The life history material must be organized and conceptualized.

The techniques for recording case histories need much serious attention. The raw narrative data are at times a curious admixture of accounts of personal experiences of the narrator and views and biases of the recorder. Devotion to accurate and precise recording of specific situations is a cardinal essential in scientific reports. Writing up a case history should be looked upon as having as much importance as writing up a laboratory experiment. Uniform methods of recording and carefully selected case data may provide a basis for comparison and classification of significant common as well as peculiar differences in given situations, and ultimately serves as a basis for deriving scientific generalizations.

ORAL HISTORY

Oral history can be defined as the recording, preservation and interpretation of historical information, based on the personal experiences and opinions of the speaker. It often takes the form of eye-witness evidence about past events, but can include folklore, myths, songs and stories passed down over the years by word of mouth. While it is an invaluable way of preserving the knowledge and understanding of older people, it can also involve interviewing younger generations.

Historians, folklorists, anthropologists, sociologists, journalists, linguists, and many others employ some form of interviewing in their research. Although multi-disciplinary, oral historians have promoted common ethics and standards of practice, most importantly the attaining of the "informed consent" of those being interviewed. Usually this is achieved through a deed of gift, which also establishes copyright ownership that is critical for publication and archival preservation.

Oral historians generally prefer to ask open-ended questions and avoid leading questions that encourage people to say what they think the interviewer wants them to say. Some interviews are "life reviews," conducted with those at the end of their careers, others are focused on a specific period in their lives, such as war veterans, or specific events, such as those with survivors of a natural calamity.

The first oral history archives focused on interviews with prominent politicians, diplomats, military officers, and business leaders. Whatever the field or focus of a project, oral historians attempt to record the memories of many different people when researching a given event. Interviewing a single person provides a single perspective. Individuals may misremember events or distort their account for personal reasons. By interviewing widely, oral historians seek points of agreement among many different sources, and also record the complexity of the issues. The nature of memory–both individual and community–is as much a part of the practice of oral history as are the stories collected.

Uses of Oral History

1. Oral history permits questioning the witness. In his book "Listening to History", Trevor Lummis said "One precise advantage of oral history is it is interactive and one is not left alone, as with documentary evidence, to divine its significance; the 'source' can reflect upon the content, offer interpretation as well as facts". This is especially important when we need to know the underlying reasons for a decision.

2. In oral history questioning with individuals, the "closed door" of the written record gives way to "open door" of the interview. The motives behind the spoken words can be significant and the interviewer can find this influence, which is not possible otherwise. This means, oral histories can identify psychological realities that justify individual and group behaviors.

3. Oral histories can reveals facts that do not get into public records. The stories of despair at both individual and societal levels often do not find a place in public domains. An emphatic listener can easily record these facts.

4. Oral history is the only way to collect data in those societies or situations where there are no written records.

5. Oral history involves recording life histories among all socioeconomic levels of the population. This is especially important where most of history is an interpretation of few "elite" and so called "enlightened" few in a society.

6. Oral history testimonies are often useful in interpreting other public documents understandable and intelligible.

Some limitations that this method suffers from include repetitive data, idiosyncratic information and ethnocentrism. But these can be overcome by using proper techniques of interview as explained in the relevant topic earlier.

SECONDARY SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Secondary sources of information refer to the data which have already been collected and analyzed by someone else. Secondary data my either be published data or unpublished data. Usually published data is available in (a) various publications of the central, state and local governments; (b) various publications of foreign governments or of international bodies and their subsidiary organizations; (c) technical and trade journals; (d) books, magazines and newspapers; (e) reports and publications of various associations connected with business and industry, banks, stock exchanges etc. (f) reports prepared by research scholars, universities etc., in various disciplines and (g) public records and statistics, historical documents, and other sources of published information.

Sources of unpublished data are many. They may be found in diaries, letters, unpublished biographies and also may be available with scholars and research workers and other public and private individuals or organizations.

A researcher must be extremely careful while using secondary data. He must make a minute scrutiny because it is possible for the data may be unsuitable or inadequate in the context of the research problem. Dr. A. L. Bowley observes that it is never safe to take published statistics at their face value without knowing their meaning and limitations.

The researcher should, by the way of caution, see that the secondary data possess following characteristics:

1. **Reliability of Data:** The reliability can be tested by finding out such things about the data: (a) Who collected the data? (b) What were the sources of data? (c) Were they collected by using proper methods? (d) At what time were they collected? (e) Was there any bias of the compiler? (f) What levels of accuracy were desired and were they achieved?

2. **Suitability of Data:** the data that are suitable for one enquiry may not be necessarily found suitable in another. In this context, the researcher must very carefully scrutinize the definition of various terms and units of collection used at the time of collecting the data from the primary source originally. Similarly, the object, scope and nature of the original enquiry must also be studied. If the researcher finds differences in these, the data will remain unsuitable for the present enquiry and should not be used.

3. **Adequacy of Data:** if the level of accuracy achieved in data is found inadequate for the purpose of the present enquiry, they will be considered inadequate and should not be used the researcher. The data will also be considered inadequate if they are related to an area which may be either narrower or wider than the area of present research.

Secondary sources of information are important in any social research, provided they are reliable, suitable and adequate. As a method, it is highly economical and time saving, as compared to elaborate field surveys.

PARTICIPATORY APPRAISAL

The term PRA or Participatory Rural Appraisal is being used to describe a growing family of methods to enable local people to share, enhance and analyse their knowledge of life and conditions, to plan and to act. PRA flows from and owes much to traditions and methods of participatory research, applied anthropology and fieldwork.

Among many applications PRA has been used in natural resource management programs for women and the poor, agriculture, health and food security.

PRA has evolved and spread from beginnings in Ethiopia, India, Kenya and elsewhere and in early 1994 has known to be quite widely practised in many other countries.

PRA has many sources of which the most direct is RRA or Rapid Rural Appraisal from which it has evolved. RRA itself began as a response in the late 1970s and early 1980s to the biased perceptions derived from rural development tourism (the brief rural visit by the urban based professional) and the many defects and high costs of large scale questionnaire surveys. PRA has much in common with RRA but differs basically in the ownership of information and nature of the process; in RRA information is more elicited and extracted by outsiders as part of a process of data gathering; in PRA it is more generated, analysed, owned and shared by local people as part of a process of their empowerment. It is based on the assumption that local people can and should conduct their own appraisal and analysis found in activist participatory research.

Principles of PRA: Effective PRA has been found to require practitioners and facilitators to follow basic principles. Some are shared by RRA and PRA and some have been additionally evolved and emphasised in PRA.

1. A reversal of learning, to learn from local people, directly on the site, and face to face, gaining insight from local physical, technical and social knowledge.
2. Learning rapidly and progressively, with conscious exploration, flexible use of methods, opportunism, improvisation, iteration and cross checking, not following a blueprint program but being adaptable in learning process.
3. Offsetting biases, especially those of rural development tourism, by being relaxed and not rushing, listening and lecturing, probing instead of passing on to next topic, being unimposing instead of important, and seeking out the proper people and women, and learning their concerns and priorities.
4. Optimising tradeoffs, relating the costs of learning to the usefulness of information, with tradeoffs between quantity, relevance, accuracy and timeliness. This includes the principles of optimal ignorance - knowing what is not worth knowing, and then not trying to find it out, and of appropriate imprecision - not measuring what need not be measured, or more accurately then needed, following the dictum that it is better to be approximately right than precisely wrong.
5. Triangulating, meaning cross checking and progressive learning and approximation through plural investigation. This variously involves assessing and comparing findings from several

6. Seeking diversity, meaning looking for and learning from expectations, oddities, dissenters and outliers in any distribution. This has been expressed as seeking variability - maximising the diversity and richness of information.

Principles Additionally Stressed in PRA: Of these shared principles, PRA puts special stress on setting of biases, and the associated changes in outsiders' behaviour. In addition, PRA in practice manifests four further principles:

1. They do it: Facilitating investigation, analysis, presentation and learning by local people themselves, so that they generate and own the outcomes, and also learn. This has been expressed as "handing over the stick". It requires the confidence that "they can do it". Often the facilitator initiates a process of participatory analysis and then sits back or walks away, taking care not to interview or interrupt.
2. Self-critical Awareness: Meaning that facilitators continuously and critically examine their own behaviour. This includes embracing error - welcoming error as an opportunity to learn; facing failure positively - "failing forwards" and correcting dominant behaviour.
3. Personal Responsibilities: PRA practitioners tend to take personal responsibility for what is done rather than relying on the authority of manuals or of a rigid set of rules. This is in the spirit of words of the one sentence manual "use your own best judgement at all times".
4. Sharing: Sharing of information and ideas between local people, between them and outsider facilitators, and between different practitioners and sharing field camps, training and experiences between different organisations, regions and countries.

Interestingly, the principles shared by RRA and PRA are mainly epistemological, to do with obtaining information and gaining knowledge, while those special to PRA are mainly personal, to do with outsiders' "behaviour and attitudes". This contrast indicates the emphasis in PRA on how outsiders interact with local people.

Dangers to deal within PRA and RRA: Like any other newly labelled approach to development, PRA faces dangers and is vulnerable.

Four dangers remain as concerns expressed by practitioners and trainers.

1. **Instant Fashion:** Both RRA and PRA are vulnerable to discrediting by over rapid promotion and adoption, followed by misuse, and by sticking on labels without substance. The hardened development professional who knows how to vary vocabulary to fit fashion will replace questionnaires with "RRA","PRA", but may not know or care about what it entails. Yet, conventional questionnaires are one of the methods which RRA and PRA have sought to avoid and improve on.
2. **Rushing:** The word "rapid" was needed in the late 1970s and early 1980s to offset the long drawn-out learning of traditional social anthropology and counter that of large-scale questionnaire surveys. But by the later 1980s "rapid" had become a liability. It has been used to legitimise rash and biased rural development tourism. Hurried rural visits, in sensitivity to social context, and lack of commitment compound errors, and can mean that the poorest are, once again, neither seen, listened to, nor learnt from. Misleading findings then follow.

To offset this danger, it has been found to require care, patience and planning to have plenty of time. Much of the rationale for PRA and RRA has been to make time to find the poorest, to learn from them, and to empower them. It has been suggested that the first R of RRA and the middle R of PRA would better be "relaxed" than "rapid".

3. **Formation:** In the long term, this may prove the most difficult problem. With any innovation, there is an urge to standardise and codify, often in the name of quality. Manuals are called for and composed. They can indeed be useful as compilations of ideas and experience, as handbooks that widen choice of

methods and applications, and as source of tips and techniques. But manuals also inhibit and intimidate. With any new approach or method, they are short to start with but grow fast. The lesson has been for practitioners to learn in the field, through experience, feeling free to start taking responsibility for what they do making mistakes, and learning on the run. It has been not books of instructions, but personal commitment, critical awareness and informed improvisation, which have best-assured quality and creativity.

4. **Routinization**: With scaling up spread, repetition leads practitioners into regular habits. There are many ways of doing PRA and RRA. But practitioners have shown signs of slipping into unvarying standard practices, overlooking other options. Some routinisation is inevitable and even desirable. But, experimenting, inventing, testing, adapting and constantly trying to improve have been part of the strength of these techniques.

D. ANALYSIS, INTERPRETATION AND PRESENTATION OF DATA

DATA ANALYSIS

C. Wright Mills succinctly summarized the aims of social analysis thus: "Ideas, facts, ideas, figures, ideas... with these you are trying to build a little world containing all the key elements which enter into the work at hand; to put each in its place in a systematic way, continually readjusting the framework around the developments in each part of it. Merely to live in such a world is to know what is needed: ideas, facts, ideas, figures, ideas".

A social analyst assumes that behind his accumulated data there is something more important and revealing than the facts and figures themselves. He assumes that carefully thought out, well-marshalled facts and figures, when related to the whole body of data, have significant general meaning from which valid generalizations can be drawn. He further assumes that social analysis is a continuous process throughout the entire research undertaking, though rudimentary and tentative at the start. The very determination of what types of data to secure, what techniques to use in securing them, what sources to tap, what hypotheses to formulate and test, and how to test them, necessitates classification and analysis. A researcher or a student hardly needs to stand in awe of social analysis. He has been involved in it, in a way, since the early beginnings of his research project.

Systematic Analysis, however, is a special process used at the time whole body of the gathered data – facts and ideas, figures and ideas – is at hand. The function of systematic analysis is to build an intellectual edifice in which properly sorted and sifted facts and figures are placed in their appropriate settings and consistent relationships, so that general inferences can be drawn from them – the aim of a mature science.

Content analysis is a research technique for the systematic, objective, and quantitative description of the content of research data procured through interviews, questionnaires, schedules, and other linguistic expressions, written or oral.

The aim imposes a number of demands upon the analyst. He must remember that facts and figures, in and by themselves, do not often make scientific sense. And contrary to popular belief, facts and figures do not speak for themselves. Raw and bare, standing in a social vacuum so to speak, unrelated to their cultural and historical contexts, they can be the prey of the most reckless and treacherous of the theorists (Alfred Marshall).

Facts are never simple. They involve subjective and objective elements in varying degrees and combinations. Two teen-agers, for example, of the same race, nationality, cultural background, even of the same dispositions, mental abilities, and educational achievement, cannot be analyzed on the same level of understanding their personalities, since their experiences and attitudes may differ.

Social analysis demands also a thorough knowledge of one's data. Without penetrating, insightful knowledge, analysis is likely to be aimless, if not altogether worthless, and time consuming, however interesting and comprehensive the data might be in other respects.

The researcher needs to cultivate the habit of asking himself many questions about his project and the collected data – even questions which may appear foolish to him at the time. It is this procedure which stirs his imagination and induces new ways of looking at his problems and his data. Some questions might have been already raised, and perhaps satisfactorily answered, but in view of the total body of materials which may point to broader implications, different and fuller answers may be needed.

Reading and rereading, examining and re-examining the gathered data is one way of eliminating the thorn from one's side or at least minimizing its discomfort, while accomplishing several other purposes at the same time:

1. Getting the feel of the intrinsic complexity of the stat to be analyzed
2. Perceiving their essential relationships, similarities and differences
3. Checking and verifying the internal consistency and completeness of the various aspects under consideration
4. Weighing the relative significance of the recorded items
5. Assessing the validity of established categories, codes and classes to which the data have already been subjected in preliminary form.

This kind of analysis implies the importance of precision, accuracy and painstaking care in the scrutiny of the data at hand. However, the exercise of these practices should not suggest rigidity and inflexibility. In order to gain any degree of precision, it is necessary to doubt and to experiment with open mind and considerable flexibility.

According to G.B. Giles, "in the process of analysis, relationships or differences supporting or conflicting with original or new hypotheses should be subjected to statistical tests of significance to determine with what validity data can be said to indicate any conclusions".

Before the actual analysis of data, it has to be subjected to **processing.** Processing implies editing, coding, classification and tabulation of collected data so that they are amenable for analysis.

1. **Editing:** Editing of data is a process of examining the collected raw data to detect errors and omissions and to correct these when possible. It involves a careful scrutiny of the completed questionnaires and schedules. Editing is done to assure that the data are consistent with other facts gathered, uniformly entered, as complete as possible and have been well arranged to facilitate coding and tabulation.

2. **Coding:** Coding refers to the process of assigning numerals or other symbols to answers so that responses can be put into a limited number of categories or classes. Such classes should be appropriate to the research problem under consideration. They must also possess the characteristic of exhaustiveness and also that of mutual exclusivity which means that a specific answer can be placed in one and only one cell in a given category set. coding is necessary for efficient analysis and through it several replies may be reduced to a small number of classes which contain the critical information required for analysis.

3. **Classification:** Most research studies result in a large volume of raw data which must be reduced into homogeneous groups of we are to get meaningful relationships. This fact necessitates classification of data which happens to be the process of arranging data in groups or classes on the basis of common characteristics. Data having a common characteristic are placed in one class

and in this way the entire data get divided into a number of groups or classes. Classification can either based on attributes or class intervals.

4. **Tabulation:** when a mass of data has been assembled, it becomes necessary for the researcher to arrange the same in some kind of concise and logical order. This procedure is referred to as tabulation. Thus, tabulation is the process of summarizing raw data and displaying the same in compact form for further analysis. In a broader sense, tabulation is an orderly arrangement of data in columns and rows. It is essential because
    a. It conserves space and reduces explanatory and descriptive statements to a minimum.
    b. It facilitates the process of comparison.
    c. It facilitates the summation of items and the detection of errors and omissions.
    d. It provides a basis for various statistical computations.

Types of Analysis

As already stated, by analysis we mean the computation of certain indices or measures along with searching for patterns of relationship that exist among the data groups. Analysis, particularly in case of survey or experimental data, involves estimating the values of unknown parameters of the population and testing of hypotheses for drawing inferences. Analysis may, therefore, be categorized as descriptive analysis and inferential analysis.

Descriptive Analysis

Descriptive analysis is largely the study of distributions of one variable. This study provides us with profiles of companies, work groups, persons and other subjects on any of a multitude of characteristics such as size, composition, efficiency, preferences etc. This sort of analysis may be in respect of one variable (described as **unidimensional analysis**), or in respect of two variables (described as **bivariate analysis**) or in respect of more than two variables (described as **multivariate analysis**). In this context we work out various measures that show the size and shape of a distribution along with the study of measuring relationships between two or more variables.

Correlation analysis studies the joint variation of two or more variables for determining the amount of correlation between two or more variables. **Causal analysis** is concerned with the study of how one or more variables affect changes in another variable. It is thus a study of functional relationships existing between two or more variables. Causal analysis is considered relatively more important in experimental researches, whereas in most social and business researches our interest lies in understanding and controlling relationships between variables than with determining causes per se and hence correlation analysis is considered relatively more important.

In modern times, with the availability of computer technology, there has been a rapid development of multivariate analysis which may be defined as "all statistical methods which simultaneously analyze more than two variable son a sample of observations".

Inferential Analysis

Inferential analysis is concerned with the various tests of significance for testing hypotheses in order to determine with what validity data can be said to indicate *some conclusions*. It is also concerned with the estimation of population values. It is mainly on the basis of inferential analysis that the task of interpretation, i.e., the task of drawing inferences and conclusions, is performed.

DATA INTERPRETATION

Subsequent to collection and analysis of data, the researcher has to accomplish the task of drawing

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may be drawn and the whole purpose of doing research may get vitiated. It is only through interpretation that the researcher can expose relations and processes that underlie his findings. In case of hypotheses testing studies, if hypotheses are tested and upheld several times, the researcher may arrive at generalizations. But in case the researcher had no hypotheses to start with, he would try to explain his findings on the basis of some theory. This may at times result in new questions, leading to further researches. All this analytical information and consequential inferences may well be communicated through the research report.

Meaning of Interpretation

Interpretation refers to the task of drawing inferences from the collected facts after an analytical and/or experimental study. In fact, it is a search for broader meaning of research findings. The task of interpretation has two major aspects...

1. The effort to establish continuity in research through linking the results of a given study with those of another
2. The establishment of some explanatory concepts.

According to C. William Emory, "in one sense, interpretation is concerned with relationships within the collected data, partially overlapping analysis. Interpretation also extends beyond the data of the study to include the results of other research, theory and hypotheses". Thus, interpretation is the devise through which the factors that seem to explain what has been observed by the researcher in the course of the study can be better understood and it also provides a theoretical conception, which can serve as a guide for further researches.

Functions of Interpretation

Interpretation is considered a basic component of research process for the following reasons.

1. It is through interpretation that the researcher can well understand the abstract principle that works beneath his findings. Through this he can link up his findings with those of other studies, having the same abstract principle, and thereby can predict about the concrete world of events. Fresh inquiries can test these predictions later on. This way the continuity in research can be maintained.
2. Interpretation leads to the establishment of explanatory concepts that can serve as a guide for future research studies; it opens new avenues of intellectual adventure and stimulates the quest for more knowledge.
3. Researcher can better appreciate only through interpretation why his findings are what they are and can make others to understand the real significance of his research findings.
4. The interpretation of the findings of exploratory research study often results into hypotheses for experimental research and as such interpretation is involved in the transition from exploratory to experimental research. Since an exploratory study does not have a hypothesis to start with, the findings of such a study have to be interpreted on a post-factum basis.

Techniques of Interpretation

The task of interpretation is not an easy job; rather it requires a great skill and dexterity on the part of researcher. Interpretation is an art that one learns through experience and practice. The researcher may, at times, seek the guidance from experts from accomplishing the task of interpretation.

The techniques of interpretation often involve the following steps.

1. Researcher must give reasonable explanations of the relations which he has found and he must interpret the lines of relationship in terms of the underlying processes and must try to find out

the thread of uniformity that lies under the surface layer of his diversified research findings. In fact, this is the technique of how generalization should be done and concepts be formulated.

2. Extraneous information, if collected during the study, must be considered while interpreting the final results of research study, for it may prove to be a key factor in understanding the problem under consideration.
3. It is advisable, before embarking upon final interpretation, to consult with specialist in the similar domain for identifying any omissions and errors in logical argumentation. Such consultations would also reduce the amount of individual bias, if any.
4. Research must accomplish the task of interpretation only after considering all relevant factors affecting the problem to avoid false generalizations. He must be in no hurry while interpreting results, for quite often the conclusions which appear to be right at the beginning may not at all be accurate.

Precautions in Interpretation

One should always remember that even if the data are properly collected and analyzed, wrong interpretation would lead to inaccurate conclusions. It is, therefore, absolutely essential that the task of interpretation be accomplished with patience in an impartial manner and also in correct perspective. Researcher must pay attention to the following.

1. The researcher must invariably satisfy himself that
   a. The data are appropriate, trustworthy and adequate for drawing inferences
   b. The data reflect good homogeneity
   c. Proper analysis has been done through statistical methods.
2. The researcher must remain cautious about the errors that can possibly arise in the process of interpreting results. Errors can arise due to false generalizations and / or due to wrong interpretation of statistical measures, such as the application of findings beyond the range of observations, identification of correlation with causation and the like. Another major pitfall is the tendency to affirm that definite relationships exist on the basis of confirmation of particular hypothesis. In fact, the positive test results accepting the hypothesis must be interpreted as "being in accord" with the hypothesis, rather than as "conforming the validity". The researcher must remain vigilant about all such things so that false generalization may take place. He should be well equipped with and must know the correct use of statistical measures for drawing inferences concerning his study.
3. He must always keep in view that the task of interpretation is very much intertwines with analysis and cannot be distinctly separated. As such he must take the task of interpretation as a special aspect of analysis and accordingly must take all those precautions that one usually observes while going through the process of analysis viz., precautions concerning the reliability of data, computational checks, validation and comparison of results.
4. The researcher must never lose sight of the fact that his task is only to make sensitive observations of relevant occurrences, but also to identify and disengage the factors that are initially hidden to the eye. This will enable him to do his job of interpretation on proper lines. Broad generalization should be avoided, as most research is not amenable to it because the coverage may be restricted to a particular time, a particular area and particular conditions. Such restrictions, if any, must invariably be specified and the results must be framed within their limits.
5. According to Pauline Young, the researcher should remember, "ideally in the course of a research study, there should be constant interaction between initial hypothesis, empirical observation and theoretical conceptions. It is exactly in this are of interaction between theoretical orientation and empirical observation that opportunities for originality and creativity lie". He must pay special attention to this aspect while engaged in the task of interpretation.

PRESENTATION OF DATA

REPORTING

Research report is considered a major component of the research study for the research task remains incomplete till the report has been presented. As a matter of fact, even the most brilliant hypothesis, highly well designed and conducted research study, and the most striking generalizations and findings are of little value unless they are effectively communicated to others. The purpose of research is not well served unless the findings are made known to others. Research results must ultimately enter the general store of knowledge.

Writing of the report of presentation of the research findings is the last step in a research study and requires a set of skills somewhat different from those called for in respect of the earlier stages of research.

Steps in Writing a Report

Research reports are the product of slow, painstaking, accurate inductive work. The usual steps involved in writing a report are...

1. Logical analysis of the subject-matter
2. Preparation of the final outline
3. Preparation of the rough draft
4. Rewriting and polishing
5. Preparation of the final bibliography
6. Writing the final draft

Types of Reports

Research reports vary greatly in length and type. In each individual case, the form and length are dictated by the problems at hand, nature of study and final consumer. Very broadly we can classify reports into two types - Technical reports and Popular reports.

1. **Technical Reports:** In technical reports, the main emphasis is on the methods employed, assumptions made in the course of study and the detailed presentation of the findings including their limitations and supporting data. A general outline of a technical report can be...
   a. Summary of results
   b. Nature of the study
   c. Methods employed
   d. Data
   e. Analysis of data and presentation of findings
   f. Conclusions
   g. Bibliography
   h. Technical appendices
   i. Index
2. **Popular Reports:** This type of report gives emphasis on simplicity and attractiveness. The

mathematical details and liberal use of charts and diagrams. Attractive layout along with large print and many subheadings are some of the features of a popular report. Besides, in such a report emphasis is given on practical aspects and policy implications. A general outline of a popular report can be...

a. The findings and their implications
b. Recommendations for action
c. Objective of study
d. Methods employed
e. Results
f. Technical appendices

Precautions in Reporting / Presentation

Research report is a channel of communicating the research findings to the world. A good research report is one that does this task efficiently and effectively. As such it must be prepared keeping the following precautions in view:

1. While determining the length of the report one should keep in view the fact that it should be long enough to cover the subject but short enough to maintain interest. In fact, reporting should not be a means to learn more and more about less and less.
2. A research report should aim at sustaining the readers' interest in all aspect.
3. Abstract terminology and technical jargon should be avoided in a research report. The report should be able to convey the matter as simply as possible.
4. Readers are often interested in acquiring a quick knowledge of the main findings and as such the report must provide a ready availability of the findings. For this purpose, charts, graphs and statistical tables may be used for the various results in the main report in addition to the summary of important findings.
5. The layout of the report should be well thought out and must be appropriate and in accordance with the objective of the research problem.
6. The reports should be free from grammatical mistakes and must be prepared strictly in compliance to the techniques of composition of report-writing such as the use of quotations, footnotes, documentation, proper punctuations, use of abbreviations, footnotes etc.
7. The report must present the logical analysis of the subject matter. It must reflect a structure wherein the different pieces of analysis relating to the research problem fit well.
8. A research report should show originality and should necessarily be an attempt to solve some intellectual problem. It must contribute to the solution of a problem and must add to the store of knowledge.
9. Towards the end, the report must state the policy implications relating to the problem under consideration. It is usually considered desirable if the report makes a forecast of the probable future of the subject concerned and indicates the kinds of research still needs to be done in that particular field.

In spite of all that has been stated above, one should always keep in view the fact that reporting / presenting research findings is an art which is learnt by practice and experience, rather than by mere indoctrination.